

THE OUK-HOOS 1- p2000

MODERN REVIEW

A Monthly Review & Miscellany

EDITED BY

RAMANANDA CHATTERJEE



(Volume 1.) Numbers 1 to 6.

(January to June, 1907.)

055.1

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Allahabad :

Printed at the Indian Press, and Published by the Editor.

PRICE RUPEES FOUR.

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P, 26, 902

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From the original painting by
RAJA RAVI VARMA.

THE FATAL GARLAND.

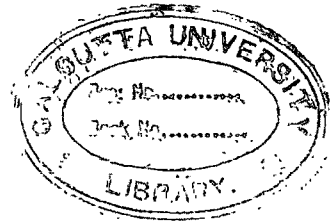
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THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

JANUARY, 1907

No. 1



WESTERN LITERATURE AND THE EDUCATED PUBLIC OF INDIA

BY THE LATE PRINCIPAL W. KNOX JOHNSON

I BEGIN with one word of personal explanation. Nothing short of an absolute command could have induced me, as a junior member of the University, and one also whose business lies rather with the ink-pot and the pen, to be standing in this place to-day. I will not say more about the circumstances which bring me here, but perhaps the Vice-chancellor will allow me to say, the responsibility, if you are much wearied, is not mine.

However, now that I must stand here, let me say that the subject announced is only an approximation. It sounds so large that many persons may have smiled at it. My purpose is only to say a few words, if possible, which may be of some practical assistance to Indians with an inquiring mind. I have an imaginary Indian in view who has acquired some competence in English, and who may be sometimes inclined to make a closer acquaintance with the modern literature, historical and imaginative, of our West. If I can contrive to say anything of practical use to any single Indian here, I am quite content to be told both that

my title is pretentious, and that I am guilty of a rambling and ill-ordered discourse.

Some persons in this room have received a certain key to European thought, that is, the English language—one of the four great modern literary languages. The door, however, which that key can open, the door into the world of modern European ideas in general, remains closed. Wherever this is the case, the original acquisition of English was a mere bread-study, and, so far as the culture of the intellect and the object of a University are concerned, had no meaning. I often think now-a-days that it might be well also, when we have time, as we all really have time, to see what lies on the other side of that closed door.

To-day we are considering modern western literature. By "modern", I do not mean modern in the sense in which everything since the Renaissance is modern;—and we ourselves indeed are still in the Renaissance. We are still in Europe struggling to free ourselves, still marching in our exodus from the last or

middle European age. I mean the modern time in the sense of our time. No man can be called educated who knows that time only. But you have your old world and we have ours. And the modern time is that western time with which an Indian should begin who desires to acquaint himself with our ideas. We may call this age the 19th Century, if we remember that intellectually the 19th Century did not begin, as we might suppose, in 1801. The 19th Century begins about the year 1750. It begins with the Frenchman Diderot, a vagabond fighting hunger in the streets of Paris. Some historian of literature, I think Wilhelm Scherer, has remarked that it was altogether a bad time for literature in those days. The age of Pope and Addison was gone. The best men knew the struggle with adversity; nearly all of them ate their bread with tears. Fielding, Johnson, Collins, Vauvenargues, Goldoni, Winckelmann, Lessing: it is so all over Europe. But with many of them the 19th Century begins. It begins with Lessing as it begins with Diderot. We find Lessing in those days battling against odds in Leipzig and in Berlin. But most of all does our age begin with Rousseau, whose wanderings in Savoy and Italy and Eastern France had in 1750 just come to an end. How much we begin with Rousseau may be judged from the fact that it was possible for Lord Acton to defend the proposition that Rousseau has had more influence in the world than any writer who ever lived: more than Aristotle, or Cicero, or Aquinas. And in Strassburg, a few years later, we can see the 19th Century well on its way. We can see Goethe there as a student, Goethe, who was to be the great leader of our modern time. We can see him sitting at the feet of so-called Philosophers of History, or speechifying against the old style of French drama, defending Hamlet, reading Rousseau, fiery with indignation that the church had burnt Giordano Bruno for teaching the new astronomy of Copernicus, and already revol-

ing in his mind the legend of Faust, as it had reached us from the Middle Age.

It is well that we should hear some un-English names. For western culture, such as it is, with its faults, with its infinitely greater excellences, is one. I am aware that one department of it, English literature, is at times severely criticised by Indians. But nearly all these criticisms, so far as they are valid, affect European letters as a whole. The thought of Europe, which is in reality world-thought, can be approached by any one of four languages. It so happens that Indians approach it through English. I once heard a famous writer of France say that it would have been specially interesting if Indians had entered the European circle of ideas by means of either Russian or Spanish. When asked why, he replied that each of these nations has in it much of the East, and, therefore, he argued, European thought would have been more quickly and thoroughly assimilated than it has been now. However that may be, if the language of Indian Universities had been Russian or Spanish, Indians would have been at a terrible disadvantage. They would have been nowhere near the intellectual centre of Europe. They might as well learn Portuguese or Dutch. But each of the approaches, through English, French, German, or Italian, is a broad highway into the city of knowledge, and leads straight to the heart of the modern world.

But we cannot speculate on the contingent Past. What must be understood is that Europe, from the point of view from which Indians regard it, is one intellectual whole. As this is not enough realized at present, I shall mention other than English names. But some of these names will be of men whose works are, partly at least, translated into English. For these translations there ought to be a demand in India, although so far, unfortunately, there seems to be none.

Should any lingering doubt remain in the mind of any Indian as to what benefit he would derive from exploring the thoughts of our leading European men, mostly still unknown, I would put before him a preface of Ernest Renan's. It is to one of his latest and ripest books. He is pointing out that in any country it is the character of the *highest* instruction given which really matters, and which carries with it the intellectual future. All else, he says, is of secondary importance. This is the true source and root of the lower kinds of education, and not contrariwise. The lower education without the highest kind is of little avail. Suddenly he turns round upon his countrymen, and asks, "What defeated Frenchmen in the Franco-German War?" "Not Moltke! not Bismarck!", he exclaims, "but the mind, the high seriousness, the method, the thought of Germany! It was Luther, Kant, Fichte, Hegel, who fought with us in the Franco-German War!" And so we too can see with Japan. Japan belongs to another family of man than ours, but she is aware of the necessity at least to enter and to reconnoitre the modern world. Hence her efficient universities, her successful studies of intellectual things, of knowledge under the European form.

I think, however, we can be full of confidence. Mark Pattison says somewhere that the *beginning* is everything. We have introduced the beginnings, sometimes under the disguise, certainly, of the applicable and the advantageous. Fifty years is not very much time.

Chateaubriand says of his generation, "we were caught in the whirlpool at the meeting-place of two different civilisations." So too our Indian students are often

"Wandering between two worlds, one dead,
The other powerless to be born."

But Chateaubriand also says: "I struck out boldly, and landed on the farther shore." I think we can be confident that this agitation of the surface must surely continue to

spread in ever widening circles. In time the names not of five or six only, but of all the chief writers of Europe must surely become known. Then we shall see the works of those writers often asked for, and a demand for translations, too, such as does not exist now, for example, at the Public Library in Allahabad.

It is not of much importance what amount we know when we leave our university. Few men know much worth mentioning before they are thirty or even forty; and then only if the first flame of curiosity with which they looked out upon our world has been kept steadfastly burning. As for scholars, we do not speak of them yet in this part of India. To sow the seed of curiosity, the desire to hear of further what is really passing beyond our secluded corner of the world, is at present the humble task of this university. We cannot, save in rare instances, give learning. What we can give is the sense that in Europe also such a thing exists as learning, and that the pursuit of and passion for truth is in Europe also as eager and as sincere, as it is outside our universities in India, or as it ever was in any golden age.

I am constantly asking one question of my Indian friends: "Does this curiosity exist in India with regard to the literature of the West?" Their answer nearly always is, "Yes! It exists in a minority, of course, scattered; but far more than you can see." Then again, in a journal of Allahabad which I generally find interesting, *The Hindustan Review*, the matter was treated two or three years ago. The writer, Mr. Jadunath Sarkar, was very positive on this point. He wrote from personal knowledge what I have heard sometimes doubted, but have often been told, that a proportion of the now considerable public which has received an English education is anxious, as opportunity offers, to pursue these things. If this is so, if literature has begun to gain an entrance, the future is secure. The

power of literature is in itself and not from any extraneous pushing.

The difficulty is that at present this minority seems to have so little intelligent guidance. There is no sadder sight in India than most of the booksellers' advertisements of English books which assail our eyes in newspapers. I speak of booksellers who deal with Indians. They remind one of the lines scribbled in some jail by a poetical felon:—

If of all words of tongue or pen,
The saddest are, It might have been,
Far sadder are those I daily see,
It is, but it hadn't ought to be.

I have often wondered what the explanation may be of the hard fact that the weekly steamers are bringing to the shores of this country the wrong books. In things of the mind also we seem to have plague and famine in India; a plague of tenth-rate literature and a famine, or at least a grievous scarcity of books of the first order, the books which it really imports us to know. A small organisation, a little selection, a distributing society even, guided in the interests of literature—these are not enterprises requiring a giant intellect or a giant capital. Good literature consists of the best books over a long period of time, in the age we are considering, say, 150 years. But we cannot rely on the bookseller only. The ordinary bookseller's business is not to sell the best books of the last 150 years, but all the books without distinction published within the last six months. Now, it is not a bad rule in reading, unless one has real confidence in one's own judgment, never to read a book outside one's own subject, published within the last six months. One will do better only to read the books which are still spoken of at the end of their first six months, or of their first six years.

Now the objection is made to me, that the best books are too difficult. I wish everybody in this room could realise that this is a complete misunderstanding. Let us take some

specimens of these booksellers' lists. Abstract from them the merely educational or prescribed works,—School Arithmetics, Herbert Spencer, and so on. Next eliminate the technical, banal books,—books which are no books, but an investment for money, volumes on medicine, engineering, law. Excellent they may be, but they cannot free our minds. I will now read to you what remains, in the very latest catalogues I have seen:—

1. Conventional lies of our Civilisation.
2. Degeneration.
3. Paradoxes.
4. Mrs. Humphry Ward's and Mrs. Lyttleton's translation of the Thoughts of Joubert.
5. Lives of Eminent Engineers.
6. Life of Lord Dundonald.
7. Sir Edward Clarke's Public Speeches.
8. George Sims' Memoirs of my Mother-in-law.
9. Poems of Sir Lewis Morris.
10. Pictures of the Royal Academy.

And there is also some fiction not worth reading out.

I do not wish to say anything against these books. What we are considering is, the question of difficulty and range. What I say without hesitation is that the persons who are able to read the lies and paradoxes of our civilisation can also read the vital and excellent truths which underlie it, which have given it life and light, and power, and have suddenly, almost, established it all over the world. The lies pass and the degeneration degenerates, but those truths remain. We say again that whoever can read the life of Lord Dundonald, or the biography of an eminent engineer, can also read the life of Darwin, or Lewes's Goethe, or the life of Sir Walter Scott, or Carlyle's John Sterling, or the memoir of Tennyson, or even of the Master of Balliol. He could read the autobiographies of John Stuart Mill or of Cardinal Newman or Mark Pattison, or the Letters of Byron or of George Eliot, or of Taine, or of Lord Acton, or the correspondence between Flaubert and George Sand. These are the people who are interesting;

they are the men and women who moved in the centre of the stream, they are the very forces which make our time. We shall hear 100 times more from any one of these than from Lord Dundonald. There is no engineer, however eminent, who will teach us as much about what we want to know as these. As to the speeches, I have heard Sir Edward Clarke deliver his speeches; and I confidently affirm to any Indian in doubt that however adapted to their own purpose, they contain for him nothing, absolutely nothing that is of any avail. Whoever reads the poetry of Sir L. Morris will do far better, if he must have a living poet, with Mr. Watson, or Mr. Swinburne, or even a translation of Carducci. But why can we not rather read a dead poet? It is the dead poet whose poetry is really living. The pictures from the Royal Academy are very well, if we have first read—I will not say about the Age of Pericles—but, say, Holroyd's or Symonds's Michael Angelo. Michael Angelo would be a vital portion of the history of the West, and of the march of ideas as a whole. Of George Sims and of his mother-in-law one has simply never heard. I do not know whether Mrs. Humphry Ward and Mrs. Lyttleton have succeeded in mitigating the severity of Joubert. By what concatenation of unfortunate circumstances does a book of this kind come to India to be offered in the stock of a bookseller dealing with Indians! I hope these books are not what are called "remainders." "Remainders," you may know, are those books which have failed, and cannot get themselves sold, and so have to be somehow disposed of elsewhere. As to Joubert, the French have a peculiar literature of this highly compressed kind, where the object is to compress a volume into four sentences. No literature requires a greater effort to meet it on the part of the reader—just that sort of effort to meet the literature which our critics so often say is wanting in our university men, where any-

thing European is concerned. Again, it is just that kind of prose which because of the different genius of the language can not be translated from French into English. It cannot be done. Lastly, Joubert has not the breadth and humanity of the great Frenchmen, in spite of the essay of Mrs. Humphry Ward's uncle, Mr. Arnold. His best thing, I suppose, is the comparison of our life to *woven wind*. I rather think you have that in Hafiz already. His next best thing I have seen also in Coleridge. I am not going to say one word against Joubert. I feel as much as anybody what can be said, and has been said so eloquently on his behalf by Chateaubriand, and by Sainte-Beuve and by Mr. Arnold. It is not a bad thing for a European to have passed by way of the peculiar religious philosophies of a Coleridge or of a Joubert, even if he does not, as he will not, remain there. Joubert also is a milestone on that road which every European must travel if he would find a philosophy, an intellectual freedom of his own. Or if he is not a milestone, at least he is like some pleasant tree, which gives us for a moment or two a refreshing shade. But in the Liberation-War of humanity, as Heine calls it, the battleground is always changing; and that battle has long passed by and away from Joubert. And what does Joubert contain for an Indian at Allahabad in the year 1905?

Let us not forget that Joubert lived in a great generation. The 19th Century was a great age of literature, and the generation of Joubert is the most important period. Among Joubert's contemporaries, however simpler for an Indian, because of wide interest, how much more accessible and fertilising to the mind, are the *Conversations with Eckermann*, or the maxims of Goethe, or even the table-talk of Coleridge! And as regards translations of that time, we are not restricted to Mrs. Ward and Mrs. Lyttleton. It might almost be laid down that in the

modern world wherever you have a great age of original literature, you have a great age of translation also. Our best translations of that generation are among the great translations of the world—Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister*, Shelley's translations, Coleridge's from Schiller. In that age all the great men, without exception I think, translated, and some of them, Coleridge, Shelley, Carlyle, are among the greatest translators we have seen. There are Shelley's fragments from *Faust*, and his *Symposium*, and many others of his, for any one who wishes for a window into European literature. The reader of *Hafiz* surely can also become a reader of the *Symposium*, which has been called the greatest piece of prose yet written. Then in Carlyle's *Wilhelm Meister*—has any one who has read, for example, the *Burial of Mignon*, ever afterwards forgotten it?—with that great refrain calling us back from death unto life, and warning us that earnestness alone lends to our life something of the eternal. And then again you have there Coleridge's *Wallenstein*, and his other translations from Schiller, and with them you have Carlyle's *Life of Schiller*. I will not myself express an opinion about Schiller; but I will say this, that from his noble view of literature and of life, an Indian will obtain a hundred times more than he is likely to obtain from Joubert; and also that a hundred Mrs. Humphry Wards will not give us a better introduction to a writer than you will get from Coleridge and Coleridge. The philosophy of Schiller may not be of the most subtle or profound kind, but he is for that very reason far more accessible, less recondite, than Joubert,—far more easy to grasp for an Indian reader who cannot see the mind of Europe at its best. If we go to such men as Schiller, or if we go to that splendid *Bell* written by Goethe after Schiller's death—the greatest perhaps ever written by one poet,—and if we try to find out from

them what Germany sees in Schiller, we find it is just this, that he was able, as hardly any other poet, to call men out of the world of sense, the common and the prose of everyday, which hems us all in. We find that he had such an ardent aspiring faith in the eternal order, and in the good and in the true—despite the apparent evidence of the world to the contrary—as one with that order, that he is able to carry us with him, and to keep our faith from failing in the good and in the beautiful and in the true also. He can do that for us, as Wordsworth can,—another poet influenced by Rousseau.

There is a famous and just criticism of the great Italian dramatist Alfieri which finds in him a narrow elevation. I should not be surprised to hear that a good judge found, at this distance of time, some narrowness as well as elevation in Schiller, when compared at least with his greater contemporary Goethe. Mr. Arnold, who was our greatest English critic since Coleridge, once went to see Sainte-Beuve, the greatest critic of Europe since Goethe. In the course of the interview Mr. Arnold observed that he ventured to think Lamartine was not a great or an important poet. Now Lamartine is a poet of whom the French think a great deal, though French poetry is even more inferior to English poetry than English prose is inferior to French prose. But Sainte-Beuve replied, "He was important for *us*." So there are poets, like Schiller perhaps, like Lamartine and Tennyson certainly, of the very first moment in the intellectual history of their *own* nation, but who are not world-poets, such as in Lamartine's generation were Goethe, and Leopardi, and Byron.

The enthusiasm for translation perhaps never rose so high, in any age of the world, as it did in those days. What has been said of Latin literature is very true of that generation of giants in the 19th Century. The great men translate more and not less—they

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are still more receptive than the smaller men. You have splendid translations then, as we also have in our own days. In that age Keats wrote the noblest tribute ever penned to the power of translation over an imaginative mind, and so high did the wave rise, that we actually read those very strange and difficult remarks in Eckermann about translation being a substitute for the original. I venture to think that Goethe has said far truer things on this very subject of translation elsewhere. Goethe represents one extreme as Dante represents the other. Dante tells us that all translation of poetry is impossible. And that also has its truth. For Indians, I would say "yes"! Read all the good translations: but remember two things. To the first has never been given its true importance. I do not know indeed where to find it stated. What we get from a translation depends really far more on the quality of our own minds than on what reviewers always discuss, namely, the quality of the translation. The criticism of Hamlet in Wilhelm Meister is written from a translation. The West-Eastern Diwan was inspired by a translation. When Keats reads a translation of Homer, we have his great sonnet, and when a speculative mind like Kant reads one, we have, at least, to judge from Professor Wallace's biography, some appreciation. But on another kind of mind, such as Mr. Herbert Spencer's, if you will look at his remarks on translation in his Autobiography, a translation seems to produce no effect at all. More than this. The very greatest minds usually find nourishment in a translation. Where you and I shall take the book out of the window. We all know how much Goethe received from Sakuntala. He read a translation of a translation: and Shakespeare fed his spirit on Plautus. But he also read that matter at third hand. We receive," as a great translator says, "but what we give."

possible to say beforehand what is

transferable into another language and form. The muse of translation is shy and wary. We can translate Wilhelm Meister and we cannot, now that Shelley and Coleridge are dead, translate Faust. But very many of the good things in modern literature are really translation—translation, that is, a poet understands it, where not literalness but fidelity, is the aim. There are hundreds of examples. Take Arnold's lines on Goethe:

He was happy, if to know
Causes of things, and far below
His feet to see the lurid flow,

and so on. These are really translations. Again, could the most famous thing in Faust have been written but for the 102nd Psalm? But, more striking than mere passages, take whole poems. I will take one of the great things in modern literature. I will take Tennyson's "Ulysses". Dryden, who is one of the authors who have written best on this subject, would have placed "Ulysses" in his third class of translations, a very good class too, as he says,—that of *imitations*. "Ulysses" nothing has been lost. All has been transferred:—all that stirs us, all that is heart-shaking, in the 26th canto of the Inferno. And we can say without fear to the Indian reader of our men, like Gray, Milton, Tennyson, Arnold, William Watson, who constantly be imbibing from them something of the older classical European spirit also. For Indians fortunate enough to have leisure, the second thing to remember in reading translations is what Goethe says in another place: "Translators are like go-betweens or matchmakers: they arouse an irresistible desire to see the original which they have described. The best service of all which a translator can do for us is to make us buy a dictionary and a grammar of the original. Even a very moderate and indeed almost elementary knowledge of the original language enables a reader to obtain vastly more from the translation than he will otherwise. It initiates him

least into the spirit, the incommunicable atmosphere or texture which every language possesses, which is an essential element of its thought, and which in every language defies all translation.

All this however is a digression, and I make such a digression because my aim is practical. I would, if possible, attempt to urge Indians to something like an acquaintance with European books. I now wish to contest the criticism which I have myself most often heard brought forward against our English literature—namely, that it is too “materialistic”. I suppose this means too much occupied with merely outward things. Now I want to ask, does this criticism really arise, in *any instance*, from the study of our English books and minds as a whole? Or does it not sometimes result from too close an analysis of the lies and paradoxes only? English literature does not mean, whatever your booksellers may tell you, only Macaulay and Herbert Spencer, and Mr. Kipling. Degenerations, lies and paradoxes do not compose the whole. In the English mind there is Bentham, and there is also Newman in the English mind. And there must always be two such strains in the mind of every great nation, because the very reason for which a nation is called into being is *not* to live, as Joubert says Plato lives, in the thin regions of the upper air, but to deal with the transitory daily world of appearances. Its genius cannot be only the genius of the fire and the rainbow and the dew, the genius of a Shelley or a Coleridge or a Wordsworth. Unless you have that mingled genius you will never have a nation at all. But every man in Europe who cares for these things knows also that no peoples in our modern period we speak of to-day have produced so many and such splendid types of that exalted genius which deals with the inner and eternal world of reality as Germany and England. And I say that you will find in the really typical minds of England, in

her Tennysons and her John Stuart Mills, those two strands of reason inextricably woven together. What are the books, and who are the men, that have influenced the present generation of thoughtful Englishmen?—there are still some thoughtful Englishmen. They are books like *Sartor Resartus*, Emerson's Essays, “In memoriam”, Arnold's Poems, Arnold's Essays, Marius the Epicurean. They are men like Wordsworth, Coleridge, Newman, Ruskin, Arnold. Then who will point out to us the materialism, if you mean by materialism neglect of the inner life, in men and books like these?

The man who has made the present generation of Englishmen is Arnold; and in literature there is only one Arnold, Matthew Arnold. The present generation would not, of course, bind itself to everything which Mr. Arnold said. The philosophers, Mr. Bradley from one side and Professor Sidgwick from another, fell upon him, with somewhat misplaced asperity; and the battle, I think, in his last days went certainly against him to the going down of the sun. Like many other great teachers, like Emerson, for example, Mr. Arnold had no very complete or logical system. But it will be found on inquiry that his greatness consists less in any one aspect of his work, than in the whole of it taken together;—in his influence. It will have to be remembered with regard to these unsystematic men,—Carlyle also, on whom everybody now is so severe,—what Goethe says about Diderot, that after all the highest office of mind is to call out mind. Mr. Arnold was in England what Renan and Taine were until thirteen years ago in France, a guarantee that the things of the mind also would have hearing. We can now see the intellectual condition of France, despite her academy and her brilliant men. We can now read in the last great English contribution to European letters—and it is an important and valuable contribution—judgments, about Renan and

Goethe for example, which any one of us might be ashamed to repeat here. Now, while Mr. Arnold was alive, writers were afraid, whatever they might think, to publish such foolish things, not because they cared for the ridicule of Europe, but because Mr. Arnold's gentle irony was enough of itself to freeze these caprices in the bud. However, unfortunately, Mr. Arnold is now dead. The awkward squad of biographers keeps firing over his grave; but it nevertheless remains a place of pilgrimage in England to very many in our generation who care for the things of the mind. Biographers will not soon desecrate his grave as they have Sainte-Beuve's and Carlyle's. You will no doubt suppose that Mr. Arnold is buried in Westminster Abbey, beside Tennyson and Browning. But it is not so. We now bury the interpreters of thought in Westminster Abbey; but not always the thinkers of the thought themselves,—George Eliot, Carlyle, Ruskin. We can read in a great French poet, "I do not desire *your* kind of fame.—Why should I go down to posterity with your magnates, and your actors, and your politicians?" But deans and chapters do not prevent Mr. Arnold's grave by the Thames at Laleham from being, as I have said, a place of pilgrimage in our generation. Yet who will undertake to point out to us the materialism in Arnold? And if there is no materialism in Arnold, and none in the men who have made the best thought of England as it to-day is—then what does this charge of materialism against English literature mean?

The only other matter concerning this list to which I shall now refer is that Indian booksellers seem to offer to the Indian public a certain quantity of contemporary fiction. Now as a general rule the fiction of our day—certainly the fiction we see offered in India,—is worthless. The writers mean well, but they cannot help it. "In morality the good will is everything; but in Art it is nothing." Nearly all bad poetry, for example, is the outcome of

genuine emotion. We have only 60 or 70 years to live. We shall never have time to read even the best. We are only, as the Greek poet Menander says, out for a walk, so to speak, in the universe. Life was formerly long enough: but it is not long enough now. What are three score years and ten? even Plato had already cried out near the end of his *Republic*. "Faust" in our day complains that life is too short, and art is too long. Life is disproportioned. The breadth of it is too great for the length of it. The breadth of days which is the aim of our culture can only just be attained in the given time, and we seem to leave the stage like Fontenelle, just when we were beginning to know about the world. So the public says to the minor poet, whom Wordsworth allowed, whom Goethe tolerated, "We have nothing against you, your work is meritorious; it is simply that we have no time. When the biologists or the chemists, can give us 600 or 700 years to live, then bring your work again." The public from a sure and just instinct will not read the works of the minor poet, and it rightly will not buy the pictures of the minor painter. But for some reason for which I am still inquiring, it does read, encourages and even buys, the minor novelist. At the beginning of our modern time, Napoleon, lord of the world of action, read and re-read the "*Sorrows of Werther*" seven times. Kant, who was equally supreme in the world of thought, was only once known to fail in taking his after-dinner walk. What was the cause? He was absorbed in the great romance of Rousseau. Fiction it is which brings together those four master-spirits and sources of our time. But when one sees this fiction, this dull, opaque screen set up between us and literature, one agrees heartily for the moment with every one of the hard things said of novels by thinkers like Thomas Hill Green: and if one happens also to be in bilious mood, one is almost ready, moreover, to maintain that the great novelists of the

middle of the century, by exciting this horde of imitators, have done more harm to us than good.

Now let us inquire more closely what it is that is offered to thoughtful men in India, under the guise of the modern spirit in our imaginative and historical literature—general literature. First of all, let us refuse to draw an impassable line between the critical account of pure literature or *bélles lettres* and the account of past ideas and actions which we call history. Whoever has followed the widening of the boundaries in both these subjects during the last generation probably feels that now more than ever before their territories overlap. Both history and ordinary literature are a record of the human mind; as distinguished from physical science, which is the description and record of the outer world; and again from Philosophy, Art, and the higher poetry, which aim higher, and are, like Religion, efforts to interpret these two records; and to reconcile us to our place in the order. When we think of the story of man's mind as shown in his groups, and in his collective culture, thought, action, we speak of *History*. When we observe it in more self-conscious moments; as reflected in the mirror of a representative mind, which is therefore called *great*, we speak of *Literature*.]

For what is a great writer? And in this connection let me refer you in passing to Sainte-Beuve's essay, "What is a classic?" which has been translated by Mr. Butler, and is happily quoted by Mr. Morley in his address on literature. (You should buy the things which have been addressed to popular audiences about reading, in English; the best I know are by Cardinal Newman, John Stuart Mill, Matthew Arnold, John Morley, Henry Nettleship, Professors Sidgwick, Tyrrell, Butcher, Jebb, and Mr. Frederic Harrison). But from another point of view, from which we are now considering the matter, the greatest writer is simply he who

most perfectly voices the emotion and the reason of the majority, who shows us to its inner depths the common mind, the time-spirit of a civilisation. Probably you will say that is deeply untrue. But by majority I do not mean the majority of his contemporaries. I do not mean that the great writer shouts with the largest crowd, otherwise Mr. Kipling would be a great writer, and to-morrow's "Daily Mail" the greatest piece of English literature which has yet appeared. Not the majority of to-day, nor of yesterday, nor of to-morrow, nor of any one land or time, but a majority of discerning minds, the *phronimoi*, those who know, in all the times taken together. There is a sentence from one of the great writers of the world, who lived about the year 400 of the Christian era. His name was Augustine, and his sentence is now become famous in Europe, and memorable to students of our literature, because of its place in the autobiography of Cardinal Newman. In the battle of life that sentence called him from one great regiment to serve in the more crowded ranks and under the more splendid and imposing banner of another. The sentence is, "Only one thing is conclusive, and that is the final verdict of the whole round world." And this applies not only to councils of religions, but we may apply it to the councils of the intellect also, to intellectual ideas, and to the writers who are the voices of those ideas, who are their trumpeters in our ears and awaken us to them.

A writer cannot become *great*, however distinguished his thought, and however perfect his form, if he expresses nothing more than a secluded personality, like your Joubert for example, or only a small minority of minds. He is a great writer only if he voices what you and I feel also. A writer, it is true, may express his most intimate and intricate moods, as Shakespeare does in his sonnets, and pass with that personal

baggage unchallenged or only challenged by Mr. Hallam. But what is the reason? It is that he also wrote Hamlet, the appeal of which is so wide and lasting that the other day in Paris a Frenchman who heard it in a bad translation and who saw a Hamlet which I confess I thought ridiculous, a Frenchman who knows nothing, probably, of the Teutonic mind, whose culture is exclusively Southern-European or Latin, has now written what seems to me at least a more profound interpretation of it than anything you will find in Mr. Furness's collection, or in Goethe, or even in Coleridge.

I have mentioned Cardinal Newman's autobiography. It always seems to me that you will never get nearer the heart of an age than in its autobiographies and letters,—not necessarily of the great men, but of the men of the centre, the men who *were* their age, and who helped to make it. But in this period most of the autobiographers are great men, and thus doubly interesting. They are Rousseau, Alfieri, Goethe, and nearer our own time, Mill, Renan, Newman, Pattison, Ruskin, George Sand. As a general rule, I would say, always listen carefully to every great man when he talks about himself. He is talking about what he knows; and all his sympathies are inflamed. You may then get to hear something. In the great generation of the 19th Century, they talked incessantly about themselves, Wordsworth, Byron, Shelley, Chateaubriand, Senancour de Musset, Leopardi. People are more reserved now. But I will venture to say that in the notable 19th Century books from *Sartor Resartus* down to Amiel and Madame Eckermann and Marius the Epicurean, you will find most of what is called egoism. And who has ever put more of himself and of his experiences into his works than Goethe? yet we all call him universal.

To read the biographies also would be one of the best, perhaps the very best way for an

Indian to attack modern literature. The works of Mr. Morely for France and the French mind, and for Germany one should begin with that old, out of date, discursive volume, Lewes's Life of Goethe. In Lewes you will follow from the rising to the setting of its star one of the noblest and most serious lives ever lived by any man, the life of "him who sings to one clear harp in divers tones." You will see the ideas of this age taking form, and you will see Napoleon with his armies marching through its pages, and you will hear the cannon of the battle of Jena, and you will see Schiller, and Scott and Manzoni and Madame de Staël,—not a great writer, but a great influence, and though a woman, one of the makers of our time. But it does not matter how you begin. There are 1,000 gateways to the city of Literature. It does not matter so long as you do not begin with that radical error of the 100 best books. There are no 100 best books. Books are good relatively to the reader also. The best 100 books for one man or for one country are not the same 100 books as for another man and another country. The very idea of 100 best books is a misconception. Goethe, as Sainte-Beuve says, was the greatest critic who ever lived. A man once asked him a question of this kind. He replied "*That is best which stimulates you to activity.*" When such lists appear you may notice they are generally drawn up by specialists, like Lord Acton, for a special purpose really, or by men eminent in some other pursuit than literature. The man who is really concerned with literature knows these lists are impossible. Besides Lord Acton was a historian; and, though I mention him with reverence, like most historians, had and pretended to have no feeling for literature. There are lists by men renowned in the worlds of science and of commerce. When they appear I always think of a story that I once heard a great judge tell at Lincoln's Inn. Lord Chancellor Ellenborough was told that

Samuel Rogers, the banker-poet, had written another poem. But his answer was: "If my banker even said *one witty thing*, much more if he published a poem, I should at once withdraw my banking account." The beginning and end of this matter really is that if you are one of those fortunate persons to whom literature happens to appeal, you will handle *all* books, or all that you can obtain, and from them you will choose your own.

Literature, then, whether history, or pure literature, we may perhaps consider as one record, the record of the human mind. The acceleration of intellectual movement is the striking feature of modern times. In nothing perhaps, are we moving faster than in the writing of history. The kind of history we are most familiar with, the narrative of political events, has now less importance. It is sometimes little more than a sort of chronology or framework to assist us in tracing the story of institutions, and religions, and ideas. Voltaire had begun this new method of history long ago; but the earliest writer I happen to know who has clear remarks on the diminishing importance of politics in history is Renan. It is somewhere in his book on the Future of Science. This book, "*L'avenir de la Science*" appeared just in the middle of the 19th Century, and should be read by any one really interested in our time. It is one of those books indeed which may be said in itself to mark an age; in this case the age of which Comte had already said "It will be the historical age." So many third-rate French books are now translated that there must surely be a translation of it obtainable. I am sorry to say your copy here in the Public Library is the original. If Indians can read the Philosophy of Joubert, surely they can read a work like this. Now, of course, Helmholtz, Ratzel, and many other writers have enforced the same thing. We readers of history are very sensitive now to this newer and wider conception of the way in

which it should be written. The ideal is perhaps almost impossible to attain. The great general history published in France, we say, shows too much of the old merely national, or so-called patriotic, bias. Then there is our great English work designed by Lord Acton. Whoever pays attention to these things will see, as each volume appears, severe criticism of that great work, not in England, but in France, Germany, Italy, because it is said that important parts of the history of culture are neglected; and, as each nation complains of every other, that our national bias deflects the aim. So far as I can see, these criticisms are generally mistaken. No history can be written, so to speak, in the air, or entirely for cosmopolitan citizens of the world, because as a matter of fact, they do not yet exist in large numbers. We have not yet moved out finally of the old patriotic, national, age. No one laid more stress than Lord Acton on the conception of history as the history of ideas. I happen myself to have some great histories read and marked by him, and it is always the sequence of ideas, and not the concatenation of political events, which chiefly draws his attention. And again, Universal Histories like that of Ranke—though written only five and twenty years ago—are severely criticised because of an inadequate conception of the civilisations previous to Greece and Rome.

As with the critical view of "history," so with the critical view of "pure literature": its valuation and arrangement. The sense of relativity and succession, what Edmond Scherer so well calls the "defeat of the absolute," the comparative view, governs the whole. You may have heard that former ages pronounced on literature by appealing to the authority of certain fixed laws, from which inflexible judgments and correct formulas for the different kinds of literature were deduced. Whatever corresponded with these models was good: the rest according to the degree of variation, bad. As the rules of this game

were purely speculative, so the work also was considered absolutely in itself, and isolated from its real connection with the time, the writer, and the society in which it appeared. Such a view of literature was purely dogmatic. But the French have re-created literary criticism during the century which has passed, so that we now for the first time understand literature and its representation of society. As Germany is the land from which Europe has learnt historical criticism, so France not only is at the present moment, but always has been the land *par excellence* of the criticism of literature. As this criticism and method now lie before us, as they have left the hands of Sainte-Beuve, they aim at giving us nothing less than the general march of ideas of the human mind. It is now less the idiosyncrasy of the genius himself which is the centre of interest than his representation of his age. Hence also the great space occupied in the new criticism by writers of the second and third rank hardly noticed before. It is a mistake to suppose that Sainte-Beuve was the founder of this school; but it is only in him that we fully realise its meaning. Too little of his criticism, I fear, is translated. It is a deep, sinuous and placid river, which winds in and out, and then around the whole kingdom of ideas, and calmly reflects and gives us back the whole.

Now, the modern view of things is that from which most knowledge takes the historical form. We have now acquired an entirely new focus and perspective, from which we see that things are only viewed in their true relations when viewed in succession. If we ask the great men of the modern time, they will all in different words express the same central idea, that so far as literature is concerned, all knowledge assumes the form of sequence in time, the historical form. Now, whether in the West or East, ordinary men cannot aspire to learning, but every man can learn historical *thinking*; and this kind of thinking is the

essence of the modern spirit. The sense of succession and relativity concerning all past developments gives us a tolerant comparative standard. Our view becomes inclusive; whereas there have been other civilisations and other views which are exclusive, and which say to all outside them and beyond them: "You are bad; we will not know nor inquire into you." But the modern spirit is curious about *all* of men's past: it desires to know and accept and get the place in the scale of all. Even in the tribes of the hill and the jungle we see ourselves. The philosopher would not lay hands upon his father Parmenides, and the modern man observes in the savage his own past out of which he came. He does not condemn, nor say to this race or that period "you are bad," that is not acceptable to the spirit of our time. The contemporary Time-spirit yesterday did not exist, and again to-morrow it will not be. When we want to know, then it is not the time for our preferences and exclusions and pitting the spirit of contemporaries against the whole past. We say of all phases and stages of culture: "It is now ascertained that this was produced by such causes. It fulfilled such a function, and in such succeeding circumstances we see it passing away." We have at last, and after a long struggle, learned to accept humanity as a whole, and not only one or two shreds and patches of him which happen to be pleasing here and now. For the first time the world understands its past. When Voltaire laughs at the beginnings, we do not any longer say, "you are an amusing person"; we say, "you are stupid, and dull, you have not the historic sense, no insight, no feeling for the early world". We hear that archæology has thrown her ray into "the dark backward and abysm" of time, and we behold men even as ourselves. Eight or nine thousand years ago we can see them, in the "noonday of a late civilisation." The prehistoric has become historic under our eyes. Now when we speak of the

Renaissance, we remember also the ten Renaissances of Egyptian civilisation.

Let an Indian read only *one* contemporary history, conceived in the modern spirit. Let him read Helmholtz's History of the World. There he will see the earliest records. Their archives are the caves in the ground, and their leaves are the layers of the rocks. He will see 100 civilisations passing before his eyes; each one with its 1,000 customs and usages. He will see that every country believes itself the chosen people, and all others barbarians. He will see every age, even the most transitory, deeming itself eternal, and every age ultimately transformed.

This is the culture of history: this is the modern spirit, this extended and comparative view of things. No one has so luminously expounded it for the ordinary man as Renan in his Future of Science; no one has summed it up so well as Sainte-Beuve, with his "sense of relativity" or as Scherer with his "defeat of the absolute." This it is which marks off our time from all others. "Belief yields to opinion, and opinion itself yields to knowledge." The transparent merit of the 19th century is that it is one long return upon itself. Not one, I suppose, of the great 19th Century historians survives the battery of criticism directed against them within the last few years. The romantic historians with their so-called "resurrection" of the Past—even the greatest of them, even Michelet, even his IXth vol.—all are gone. It is the same with the Philosophies of History: the "defeat of the absolute" is everywhere seen. In our time the European states opened their archives, and the first explorers of those archives happened to be disciples of Hegel. The great men of the 19th century, like Ranke, Michelet, Lord Acton, died in the faith that history might be summed up in formulas such as the "development of the spirit whose nature is freedom." But development of freedom, historic missions of certain races, teleologies, solidarity of progress

and so on, all these conceptions have disappeared. Out of the general wreck of the Philosophy of History, perhaps only one plank is saved, namely, *development*. The biologists took it in tow, and now the historians rescue themselves upon it and call it also evolution. To the 20th Century historian progress is "change in the direction of our preferences," happiness of the race is an "utterance from the world of emotion," the migration of peoples a struggle for food, and history a path from the unknown into the unknown.

These changing conceptions remind us of the chief defect of history, already pointed out by Faust to Wagner on the threshold of the historic age.

"The Past is a book sealed with seven seals. What we call the spirit of past times is at bottom only our own spirit, in which those past times are reflected."

This exaggerates what we cannot deny, that it is impossible to acquire that absolutely certain objective view of the past which is the aim. There is always an undulation and refraction in the atmosphere of the present, which distort the image. There is a Time-spirit in every age which masters all contemporaries, and of that Time-spirit the great man, even more than any ordinary man, is the slave. But we need not go to Faust or to Schopenhauer or to Nietzsche for a criticism of history; for we had already learnt from Aristotle that there is another truth of a higher kind.

Nevertheless, history is an essential element in our culture, and never at any former time has the world been so interesting as the Indian student of history would find it now. He looks out upon it and sees that the process by which he has come into contact with a European race is only part of a world-process by which the inhabitants of its smallest district have almost suddenly spread their type of civilisation over the whole globe. Suddenly—because the acceleration of movement is the most striking fact of our time. He sees that



THE LATE Mr. W. KNOX JOHNSON.

the very first fact in history is the continual drift and migration of races. The races of men are driven like the leaves in Vallombrosa; since the dawn of history they are like the winds and the clouds and the tides flowing round the globe. Everything is in motion, as Heraclitus said, and from this it follows that we are in one of the most interesting of all possible worlds. The Past of course is still more interesting than the Present, because it is more understood. But to the man who has learnt through education and culture to take advantage of the world, everything is interesting. This is the only man, as the author of *Marius* so truly says, who has succeeded in life. Ask all the great men what one gets by culture, which is the aim of our education, and what do they say? Condorcet's "grasp of things as they are," Arnold's "seeing things as they are," Newman's "judgment," Renan's "critical sense," Goethe's "dwelling among permanent relations," Schopenhauer's "saving oneself from the dominion of the hour," Dante's "true point of comparison," the Greek's "common reason of the world"—we shall find they all amount to *insight*, knowledge of the world as it really is. This alone gives us what Goethe in his works would be found to give, a certain internal freedom. This inner harmony, leading us to action, is the aim of all our culture of the mind. Literature, strenuously pursued, holds this inner freedom for us; and in the literature of no times or lands will you find a more noble detachment than in our European literature

of the 19th Century. From one point of view it seems an ineffectual age in Europe. The last of the great philosophers, indeed, brands it as the most despicable age yet known. It has sought, but in spite of the British Association we cannot as yet see very much that it has found. One might perhaps characterize it as the age of increasing certainty as to the past, and of increasing uncertainty as to the future. No one great idea masters it: it is not like some of the former great ages we have known in the West, centuries such as we shall never see again, which seemed to lift man from the earth and to make him eternal. But in no age of the world will you find a deeper inner sincerity. The whole literature is a witness to Pascal's saying, that it is only in the truth that we shall set up our rest; and it is this noble spirit of search animating it which constitutes its true greatness. There are two utterances, ever memorable, which might sum it all up. The first is Goethe's, who tells us in one of the immortal lyrics of the world, that man only of all beings realises himself in attempting the impossible. The second is Lessing's, who at the opening of this age, said that the search for truth is a higher good even than the truth itself. In this quest at least we Indian or European shall find our own souls, and, we can leave behind us, as Goethe says Schiller left behind him, the common, and the false, and the everyday.

NOTE.—This paper, with the exception of a few passages, was read at the Muir Central College, Allahabad, after a Convocation of the University of Allahabad.—ED., M. R.

WORK AND WAGES

"Work and wages: the two prime necessities of man."—*Carlyle*.

TO one who looks beneath the surface, there is nothing little in the universe. There is no thing which does not participate in the greatness of the whole. Every rill has its share in the majesty of broad streams; every wreath of smoke has its part in the stately motion of floating clouds. Where the senses cannot discover utility or connection of any kind, the intellect comes to our aid. The mind that has had a glimpse of the secrets of nature knows there is not a pebble on the sea-shore which does not help to determine the position of the earth in relation to the heavenly bodies. The more we study nature, the more we understand the purposes of things apparently aimless. For the universe is the expression of a Perfect Mind; and if there are many things in it which we cannot understand, the fault is not in it, but in ourselves. Science has its faith as well as religion. Belief in a universal order is the very soul of science. This is the belief which sustains those who search for harmony amidst apparent disunion through long years of seemingly fruitless investigation. Science is thus enabled to persist, though it takes ages to explain a single fact. And universal order means universal obedience. The beauty of the whole depends upon the fidelity of every part. There is not an atom in the wide world but has its service to render.

Science has been charged with hostility to religion. Where such hostility exists, either the science is false, or the religion is false,

or both are false. True science can never be hostile to true religion, for all truths must agree. The indifference to religion which is unhappily so often met with among men devoted to scientific studies, is the result, not of any essential antagonism between them, but of narrow-mindedness. Most men are incapable of preserving an open, receptive frame of mind towards things lying beyond their daily pursuits. And this indifference hardens into hostility in those little-minded persons who dislike whatever does not fall within their particular sphere of knowledge. Science has its faith; it has also its fanatics, who hold everything else in contempt: to them the discoveries of science are the greatest achievements of the human intellect, the study of the material world is the noblest occupation of the human mind. Besides, the accusation of hostility to religion is largely due to the fact that science has persistently assailed, as it was bound to do, false doctrines regarding the physical world, the acceptance of which has been demanded in the name of religion. When theology undertakes to determine the age of the world or the order of creation, it steps beyond its legitimate province and lays itself open to attack from those whose special work it is to interpret the facts of the outer world. Let human ignorance cease to assume the sacred name of religion; let human littleness forbear to wear the mask of wisdom; and science and religion will live in eternal amity, as both

aspire to interpret and to commune with the Infinite Mind which has imposed the law of its being upon every particle of matter as well as every feeling of the heart, which has alike determined the destiny of every physical organism and every soul.

To large-souled men, to those whose minds show an equal growth on every side, science is the handmaid of faith. He alone reads the heavens aright who reads in them the thoughts of God. We explore them to no purpose if we do not see in the law that marks out the path of every planet an outer expression of the Moral Law. The sentiment of wonder is of the very essence of religion; and in a well-constituted mind this sentiment is deepened instead of being enfeebled by the revelation of an order pervading the universe. "I had rather believe," says even so unsentimental a man as Bacon, "all the fables in the Legend, and the Talmud, and the Alcoran, than that this universal frame is without a mind." Science and religion are bound to each other by many affinities. Their right relation is not one of armed neutrality, which some people conceive to be the most tolerant attitude they can assume towards each other, but one of alliance and mutual service; or rather, I should say, faith is the queen to whom every faculty and function of life owes loyal homage, and in the service of whom lies the true glory of all knowledge, all culture. A realisation of the reign of law in the world without helps us—provided, of course, we are in the right mood—to grasp the truth that law also reigns in the world within. Science invests the least of things with dignity by assigning to it its place and work in the system of the universe. The moral sentiment invests every little act, every fleeting wish or impulse with significance. Faith fills every hour of life with solemn meaning. The recognition of law helps to elevate our estimate of things; and it is only those who believe in a Moral Law and

the moral destiny of man that are able to form a right estimate of the greatness of life. The moral sentiment is the interpreter of the inner world. Through its labyrinths it is our guide. It reveals order amidst its seeming chaos, and teaches us that not a thought can be beyond the province of law. We are thus taught the value of time and energy, which are precious above estimation. There cannot be a man in the world who has not his work to do, his account to render to the Author of his being. There cannot be a life without its purpose, its duties. Life is not wealth to be dissipated at pleasure, but, as Jevons said, a capital to be always invested at the highest interest. Wisdom lies in the power to recognise the value of little things; and it is the first principle of right living that every moment of time, every bit of energy, is to be well used. Men justly extol thrift as a most useful virtue; but the economy which saves the moments from waste belongs to a far higher plane than that which saves the pennies.

On the night on which Louis XVI fled from Paris, the Queen, while on her way to the coach waiting for the royal family, saw Lafayette's carriage proceeding towards the palace; she stood aside to let it pass, and had the whim to touch a wheel-spoke of it with the little stick she held in her hand. Who knows what woman's caprice prompted this little freak at such an awful moment? Could she have wished to fix carriage and rider on the spot by a touch of her rod as by the power of a magician's wand? Whether such was her impulse or not, we often wish, as we watch the mighty wheel of Time roll, roll noiselessly and relentlessly on, we could stop its revolutions and fix it for ever. O for a pause in the course of time! What would we not give to stop its career, bringing infirmities in the place of vigour not dreaming of death, deformities in the place of beauty, blank despair in the place of visions of hope, making

desolation where love and joy reigned as in a realm all their own! What would we not give to bestow permanence on some fleeting moment when all was fair and peaceful around us! It is a longing to which Charles Lamb gives expression with his charming simplicity of manner:

"That last game I had with my sweet cousin—I wished it might have lasted for ever, though we gained nothing, and lost nothing, though it was a mere shade of play: I would be content to go on in that idle folly for ever. The pipkin should be ever boiling, that was to prepare the gentle lenitive to my foot, which Bridget was doomed to apply after the game was over. ——— Bridget and I should be ever playing."

The same feeling finds most beautiful expression in the lines of Keats:—

"Heard melodies are sweet, but those unheard
Are sweeter; therefore, ye soft pipes, play on:
Not to the sensual ear, but more endear'd,
Pipe to the spirit ditties of no tone:
Fair youth, beneath the trees, thou canst not leave
Thy song, nor ever can those trees be bare;
Bold Lover, never, never canst thou kiss,
Though winning near the goal—yet, do not grieve,
She cannot fade, though thou hast not thy bliss,
For ever wilt thou love, and she be fair!"

Living in this vale of tears, where to love is to mourn, our fondest yearnings turn into dreams of immutability. But no rational soul can be contented with dreaming lovely dreams. We need a truer solace for the afflictions of life, a stronger support against the depressing effect of sorrow, than fair imaginings. And among the manifold resources of a righteous life against the vicissitudes of this world, not the least valuable is earnest devotion to useful work. The thought of the years we have left behind goes like iron into the soul, only when it is a retrospect of indolence, of frivolities, of wasted energy, of unused opportunities of doing good. An unspeakable forlornness comes over us,

"on the shore
Of the wide world we stand alone,"
when we look back but to see that we

have sown no good seeds in the days gone by, and find that not a single sheaf will fall to our share when life's harvest-time comes. The thought of death is dreary indeed when it awakens the fear that we may pass away from the earth without having made a wise use of life here. But righteous activity confers upon us the high prerogative of turning our thoughts to the past with a cheering consciousness that we have not lived in vain. As the years speed by, they leave a faithful worker richer in wholesome vitality. While he is robbed of the strength that is of the flesh, he grows in the powers that are of the spirit, in elements of life that are of eternity, in the wisdom born of loyal service, in dignity of character and impressiveness of personality. The most profitable way in which we can spend life is to use it for furthering the purposes of God, so far as they can be seen in the dim light that lights our path. To live thus is to triumph over mortality by allying ourselves to the eternal will of God. Faithful work is a means of realising that life is too sacred a gift to pass away like a dream.

Amidst the uncertainties of life, every thoughtful mind longs for a consistent scheme of living based on a rational view of man's destiny. Most men, it must be admitted, get through life without having any scheme at all. They are absolutely the creatures of circumstance. Their plans of life are determined by their moods, which vary with every little change in their earthly surroundings and prospects. But reason revolts against a way of living which reduces life to a game of chance. The frivolous may be contented with it. But it is not the frivolous to whom we are to turn for studying the moral aspirations of the race. In spite of the thoughtlessness of the multitude, it is true that man has brooded over the mysteries of life. And in spite of the fact that most people take life in practice, whatever their theories may be, as a series of accidents, it is true that man has aspired

to triumph above circumstance, and to discover laws to which he may trust for guidance and support through all variations of fortune. And it is the spiritual side of our nature which alone can give us such laws. Our relation to an infinite, immutable Being, and the loyalty that we owe to His will as revealed in conscience, are the only stable elements of existence. Whatever else may be taken away from us, these remain. Of them we cannot be dispossessed by any bereavements. If life is too sad for optimism, it is too sacred for pessimism. It is always serious, ever under the sway of the Moral Law. The vicissitudes of life can no more affect the law of Duty than the convulsions of nature can liberate an atom from the law of gravitation. The only sane view of life is to interpret it neither as joy, nor as sorrow, but as Obedience. And the conviction dawns upon us in our best moments that when we have learnt perfect obedience, we shall know the peace which passeth understanding. A practical recognition of the Moral Law as the guiding principle of life makes it reasonable and consistent in the best sense. A life guided by a steady sense of duty is as much more reasonable than one devoted to the pursuit of pleasure or worldly gain as the latter is than the life of an idiot. It is duty that brings harmony into the seeming incongruities of life and leaves us a ground of hope in its darkest moments; for where there is law, there is a Lawgiver and a definite purpose to be worked out. And it is in proportion as we surrender ourselves to the Moral Law, that we are enabled to grasp the truth that life, notwithstanding all appearances, is not an affair of chances; that, somehow or other, there is recompense for every moment of anguish endured for the sake of righteousness, there is provision for the final triumph of every high resolve. The man who loves duty is thus rewarded by the power to hope when there is nothing but despair for the pleasure-seeker. And work is duty in its

active, positive aspect. They have but a poor conception of duty who imagine it to consist of mere negations. Our moral obligations are but partially fulfilled when we only avoid what is wrong. A genuine sense of duty is inseparable from an aspiration to make the right prevail within and without ourselves. The truly dutiful man cannot be a passive spectator of the scene of life.

A man who aspires to live reasonably must be an earnest worker. Sometimes, however, work is made the plea for neglecting the highest obligations of life. Among those who speak disparagingly of religious duties, there are some who declare that they interfere with active pursuits and make people indolent. Man is born to work, say they, not to pray and meditate. It might be said with equal truth,—Man is born to work, not to love and think. Man is not born to work like a machine. The activities of a rational being are the embodiment of his ideas and affections. In order that a person may do his work well, his mind and heart must be well-cultivated. That must be a false view of activity which assumes that, in order to live an active life, we must ignore the highest relationships of life. There can be no conflict between a rational faith and work of the right sort. The work that we do must be judged by the aims from which it springs; and it is faith—not a faith of forms, but a faith of living communion with God—that inspires us with the noblest aims, that rebukes every selfish impulse, makes every low motive hide its head in shame. The best work is what springs from love and beneficence; and it is faith that has inspired man with the deepest, the most catholic love. It has given man the power to feel for the most unlovable of his fellow-men with a tenderness which seems amazing to us. Nay, it has made human kindness flow over to the very stocks and stones. If the language of St. Francis of Assisi, whose affections extend to the sun and

moon, to fire and water, as to dear relations, is incomprehensible to us, it is because we stand on a far lower plane of being. Devout and contemplative men are charged with idleness as they spend days and hours in solitude. It is assumed that in order to serve society we must always live in the presence of others. We must render an account to our fellow-men of what we have been doing, and our work must be judged by popular standards of utility. But the conscientious worker can patiently bear the reproaches of others.

Prayer and communion are meaningless words to those who regard them as waste of time and energy. But we know what sources of strength and comfort they are. How often we are refreshed and soothed by an hour of converse with God, and return to our duties with a renewed vigour and hopefulness the secret of which is known only to ourselves! As the river draws from rugged and lonely heights the supply with which it spreads verdure and fertility over well-peopled plains, so must we seek in solitude the inspiration and guidance needed to do our work in society with wisdom and power.

The wider our sphere of work, the larger our aims, the greater our need of such support as faith alone can give, for the obstacles we meet with, the perplexities that beset our path, increase with the greatness of the ends we have in view. Amidst difficulties, what can give us such courage as an assurance of the approval of God? If the co-operation of an earthly comrade helps to sustain our energies, if a cheering word from a friend as powerless as ourselves breathes heart and hope into us when we are contending against vast odds, how infinitely more helpful is a sense of the Divine companionship when we have to engage in long and apparently fruitless conflicts with human ignorance or perversity! At the battle of Waterloo, as the red squares of British infantry became every mo-

ment thinner and thinner before the onsets of the French cuirassiers, the Duke of Wellington longed in his inmost heart that either night or Blücher would come. The Prussians were late in coming; it was four o'clock in the afternoon before the distant roar of their cannon was heard. How it sounded in the ears of every English soldier as a message of hope and deliverance! Even so it is in the battle of life. In moments of utter bewilderment, if but one accent of the Divine voice is heard, if but one faint gleam of hope breaks forth from above, all is changed in an instant. Our path is straight, and we step firmly onward.

We too often hear it said that men of ideas are unpractical; and it is a common thing to hear righteous men denounced as fanatics. Such accusations are best answered by facts. The fanatics of one age are the trusted guides of another. The ideals sneered at in the past are the accepted principles, nay, the truisms of the present. If by being practical is meant a good-natured acquiescence in things as they are, or the having an eye to worldly profit above everything else, every noble teacher, every courageous worker must indeed be condemned as unpractical. But all that is best in history, all that gives to the march of events the dignity and significance of moral progress, is the outcome of the thought and work of such men. The death of Socrates was the most notable event in the history of Greece. It taught the Greeks something infinitely greater than anything they had learnt. It taught them that uprightness is worth dying for. There was a time when people could not think it possible that society should get on without slavery. Even in the eighteenth century, men who hated slavery thought it waste of energy to plead for its abolition. It is no longer the fashion to denounce Cromwell as a fanatic. The world has not known a more sturdy, a more successful worker than

George Washington, who would not permit an immoral man to belong to his staff, who from his camp wrote home to his steward,—“Suffer no man to go hungry away from my doors.” William Penn’s remarkable treaty with the American Indians reads more like a sermon than like the record of a political transaction. But it would be well for the nations if their negotiations could be transacted on such lines. Noble thought is the very soul of art. It is true that the inferior works which appeal to vulgar passions are applauded by large multitudes. But the master-pieces of architecture, poetry and painting, which always find fit admirers though few, remain before the eyes and the minds of men as remembrancers of the Ideal Beauty which the eye seeth not and yet the soul ever thirsteth after.

We cannot be true to others unless we are true to ourselves. There must be a large amount of earnest thought and righteous aspiration behind every great effort towards the uplifting of humanity. There must be a good deal of silence behind the right kind of speech. The days that Socrates spent in silent meditation made him the wise teacher he was. To do our work well, we must gather up our strength and lay our plans in solitude.

And now as to the wages of work. No lawful work can go without its reward. From the labourer toiling for his livelihood to the philanthropist endeavouring to wipe out some great wrong, every one who makes an honest use of his energies is assured of his remuneration by the divinely appointed order of the world. But it may not come in those forms of earthly happiness which people generally seek. The great benefactors of humanity have generally been requited with poverty and persecution; and we feel as if these were indispensable to a noble life. We feel as if worldly prosperity were incompatible with the austere dignity of true greatness. Moral grandeur, like physical beauty, has its own

laws of light and shade: the glare of rank and wealth is felt to impair the impressiveness of a great personality. It has been said of Goethe that it was his misfortune to live a life of worldly ease: “What incongruity for genius, whose fit ornaments and reliefs are poverty and hatred, to repose fifty years on chairs of state!” When Tennyson was raised to the peerage, the announcement was received with regret by some of his admirers, who said he lost rather than gained by the addition of a title to his name, for the greatness of a poet, like that of a saint, is spiritual. The men who have most enriched the world with their thought and work have patiently borne hatred and persecution. But if the tale of the ill-will and hostility which they have endured is sad in the extreme, it is yet most edifying. It tells us what hidden energy there is in the divine impulses of human nature. Those who love truth and righteousness with a passionate love have the power to despise the prizes of this life. They have the power to renounce the hope of wealth and power, and even—when loyalty to a cherished ideal or the hatred of a great wrong demands the sacrifice—the pleasures of culture, the *éclat* of intellectual eminence or the bent of genius: men endowed with high gifts bear the burden of lowly duties; and noble talents are yoked to the drudgery of uncongenial tasks. How inexorable was the sense of duty that made Milton tear himself away from poetry to champion the cause of civil freedom! What a self-denial was it to those lips to withhold their melodies in order to utter impassioned appeals and diatribes!

But whatever sacrifices the worker may have to make for the sake of the cause he loves, the moral laws of the universe will bring him sure recompense. First and foremost among the rewards of work is, that work is *life*. Healthy activity brings with it a consciousness of vitality which nothing else

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can give. Every kind of work from physical exertion to the exercise of our higher faculties is attended with a quickened sense of existence which is unspeakably exhilarating. The swimmer finds it delightful to cut across a sheet of water, the speaker enjoys the uttering of every noble sentence, the thinker rejoices in the putting forth of his intellectual powers in searching after the truth. The higher our aims and the more sustained our efforts, the purer and deeper the joy we experience. Work calls forth our latent powers and reveals gifts the existence of which we did not suspect. We do not know what we are capable of until we endeavour to achieve something. And our resources are not only brought out, they are developed and augmented by use. The sum total of life is increased by investment. The persistent worker who begins with a modest stock of talents will beat an abler man who lacks steadiness, not only by the larger volume of his work, but also because he is enriched by fresh accessions of power. Genius does not avail without persevering industry; and with it humble talents will often come up to the level of genius. Sir Joshua Reynolds insists on patient toil as indispensable to success in art. Most great orators began as bad speakers. The possibilities of life are realised, and its limits widened, by work. The worker is incalculably richer than the idler in that most precious of possessions,—life.

Secondly, work is an efficient moral discipline. This is true, not only of work voluntarily undertaken with a noble object, but of the humblest duties which we are compelled to perform to satisfy our wants. The hard toil exacted from us by the necessities of life has, like sorrow, a high purpose. That man should eat bread in the sweat of his brow is a Divine ordinance designed for his moral education. It is not the punishment of sin, it is a preventive of sin. Experience teaches us the wisdom of this law. We all know the demoralising effect of indolence. An idle brain is indeed the devil's workshop. "At no time be entirely idle," says Thomas à Kempis. "No disease," says Dr. Johnson, "is more to be dreaded or avoided" than leisure. Unlawful impulses or vain desires have their opportunity when there is no engrossing task to keep us intently occupied. Wild passions are tamed into obedience, energies that would break forth into revolt are reduced to order, by constant activity. The lawyer working for his fee and the labourer toiling for his wages alike work towards the fulfilment of a higher end than they have immediately in view. These tasks help them to attain a nobler manhood. But though we are compelled to work for our livelihood, it is only a strong sense of duty that can make us do our work to the best of our abilities; and a surplusage of energy is left to be spent in whatever way we choose, which should be so disposed of as to leave us no vacant hours, except when we need rest. It is a great safeguard against frivolity or vice to have no time for it.

Thirdly, work invests life with a certain dignity. The man who lives a useful life is entitled to the respect of society; and whether others recognise his worth or not, he is able to respect himself and to regard other men's opinions with comparative indifference. The humblest worker feels an inward exaltation when he has used his time well. A well-spent day is an invisible wreath on one's brow. Men vie with one another in seeking artificial honours which have no real value; but the true dignity which belongs to the earnest worker is within the reach of every sincere aspirant.

Fourthly, the sweetness of repose—one of the purest joys of earthly life—belongs to the worker alone. It is not given to the idler to know what rest is. Inaction is not rest, except when it is felt to be needful after a period of activity. There is bitterness in the heart and complaint on the lips of the

Fourthly, the sweetness of repose—one of the purest joys of earthly life—belongs to the worker alone. It is not given to the idler to know what rest is. Inaction is not rest, except when it is felt to be needful after a period of activity. There is bitterness in the heart and complaint on the lips of the

indolent pleasure-seeker, while the poorest labourer wends his way home cheerful and happy after his day's work: he feels that his simple meal and night's sleep are his by lawful right. What peace of mind, what genuine happiness inspires the rude strains of peasants and artisans and boatmen at the close of day!

Lastly, work is of the highest value as a source of consolation. It is a solace to us even when life is saddest. Strange as it may seem, the very toils imposed upon us as we journey along the rugged path of life beguile its wearisomeness. Life is more burdensome to the idler than it is to the grief-sticken heart; for the idler is an anomaly in the universe, and all its laws are in a compact against him. Even when all outward circumstances are favourable, there is misery in his soul, a consciousness of weakness in the sinews of his arms. So long as there is something left to do, there is something left to live for, however great our destitution may be; and who is there among us that escapes the sense of destitution? Who is there to whom unalloyed, whole-hearted joy is anything more than a dream? Sorrow is so essential a fact of life that it forms the most notable and impressive element of our poetry and our works of art. The genius of Shakespeare reaches its highest point, not in Falstaff, but in Lear. The most remarkable facts in the history of the race are not the coronation festivities of monarchs, or the triumphs of generals, or the bridals of princesses, but the renunciation of Śākya-muni, the martyrdom of Socrates, the Passion of Jesus. It is not the description of the banquet that Cleopatra gave to Antony, but the story of the Last Supper, over which the thoughts of men linger; for that was a repast consecrated by the mournfulness of a memorable parting: the coming event of the Cross had cast a shadow over it. A sense of sadness, a feeling of want, follows one about like one's own shadow. When a great affliction befalls us, it is but a deepen-

ing of the shade which enters more or less into our everyday experiences. When sorrow comes, we at once recognise the old familiar face; and we come to love sorrow in a certain way from being in constant fellowship with it. We learn to speak to it in the language of blandishment, in accents of tenderness. "O Sorrow," we say,

"O Sorrow, wilt thou live with me
No casual mistress, but a wife,
My bosom friend and half of life;
As I confess it needs must be;
"O Sorrow, wilt thou rule my blood,
Be sometimes lovely like a bride,
And put thy harsher moods aside,
If thou wilt have me wise and good."

That is the utmost we can hope for in this world—to make sorrow lay aside its harsher moods, to make it live with us in a quiet, gentle way. Such being life, what do we need so much as means to lighten the burden, to make life endurable in spite of all its sadness? And God in His wisdom has ordained work as a means to soothe and sustain us amidst the disappointments of life. The active use of our faculties largely counteracts the depressing influence of suffering and disappointment. Life is most dreary when we are so prostrated by a blow as to be incapable of exerting ourselves for any useful end. The keenness of anguish that attends the repression of our energies is a measure of the joy we feel when they find free play. And the value of lawful, useful activity as a source of strength and consolation, it is impossible to overstate. We are happiest when our energies find an unrestricted outlet. It is so sweet to love others, because love is the strongest principle of life. Separation from those we love is so sad, because love is denied the means of pouring itself forth freely. From the moment that activity becomes possible, we are enabled to rob anguish of much of its bitterness. So pure and refreshing is the joy we experience in using the gifts with which God has endowed us, that it can to some extent divert our minds

from the saddest bereavements. Whatever else may be taken away, duty is always left to us; and there can be no truer wisdom than to draw freely upon that resource to support ourselves against all that tends to enervate and paralyse us. John Bright would have lived and died in obscurity if his happy home had not been darkened by sorrow. Cobden applied a balm to his wound by inviting him to work for his country, and he emerged into fame. He is the wise man who accepts the duties imposed upon him, not as burdens to be borne, but as the mercies and blessings of God, as the means whereby he may be drawn out of his little self and linked to the great purposes of the Divine Worker. Alas! how far are we from such a conception of Duty! Viewed in the light of such an ideal, is not all our vaunted culture but gilded folly?

But is the solace of work always within our reach? Are there not afflictions which take away all possibility of active exertion, which paralyse our strength? The lips of the speaker are locked in a mournful silence, the imagination of the artist is benumbed, the patriot's aspirations stifled. Among the tragic situations of life, not the least notable is that arising from the pitiless pressure of adverse circumstances on noble aspirations. George Eliot gives us a striking picture of this form of adversity in the character of Mordecai in *Daniel Deronda*. How the glorious dream of a united Jewish nation flutters like a caged eagle in the bosom of the patriotic Jew, whose physical infirmities conspire with the want of favourable opportunities to overpower him! And what a pathetic instance of the saddest discrepancy between aspiration and circumstance is Milton in the days when a gloom fell round his path! How that mighty spirit beat against the bars of adversity! How were his fondest hopes dashed to the ground! How that trumpet voice was charged with the pathos of despair! At such times, when

even the consolation of work is denied to us, faith is our one resource. If only we had more faith, it would transmute even suffering in its most passive and helpless forms into loyal service. Faith gave Milton the power to say:—

“Who best

Bear his mild yoke, they serve him best: His
state

Is kingly: thousands at his bidding speed

And post o'er land and ocean without rest:

They also serve who only stand and wait.”

May God give us the power to be content to stand and wait when He bids!

It need hardly be said that the kind of work to be chosen by a man must be determined by his character, his gifts, and the circumstances amidst which he is placed. But there are certain general principles which hold good of all true workers. In order to use life well, we must start with a deep conviction of the seriousness of life. A man who takes life as a pleasure-trip cannot be an earnest worker. The moral sentiment alone can impress us adequately with a sense of the value and the responsibilities of life, and the ideal worker must be a man of a high type of character. It cannot be denied that in particular spheres of work there may be distinguished and eminently serviceable workers, nay, there may be courageous and self-sacrificing workers who are not righteous men. But however great they may be by their talents and their courage, they are not impressive in the highest degree. We may admire their achievements, but we cannot venerate them as men. Theirs are not symmetrical, well-proportioned personalities. They do not possess that element of a worker's life which gives to it its highest dignity—that absolute loyalty to a high ideal which imposes a restraint upon the most private acts of a man's life, which makes a man strive to curb and conquer himself at the same time that he is striving to curb and conquer evil outside of himself. If ever there was a

talented and courageous worker in the field of politics, Charles James Fox was one. His speech on the Westminster Scrutiny has been pronounced the finest oration ever delivered within the walls of Parliament. From the emotion which the gray page kindles in us, we may judge of the power of the living word as it fell from the speaker's lips. The tenacity with which he held to the principles of liberal rule all through the dark days of repression and persecution which closed the history of England during the eighteenth century, must ever command the admiration of all lovers of justice and freedom. But we admire Fox as a magnificent fragment and not as an impressive whole. We admire him as we should admire a splendid edifice with some capital defects. We feel that things in him are not in their right places, are not in right relations to one another and to the world. No splendour of genius can atone for the want of self-mastery. But how different are the sentiments with which we regard the career of Burke! We admire Fox. We revere Burke. We feel that, through the union in him of moral earnestness and the most brilliant gifts, he must ever remain one of the most impressive figures of history. Righteousness is the basis on which the fabric of a worker's life must be reared.

The true worker must be above the temptation to join the winning side. He must not be swayed by the love of applause, the prospect of earthly gain. His ruling impulse in the choice of work must be a sense of duty, a desire to make the best use of his powers and opportunities, or a disposition to render help where help is most needed. When there is a festive gathering in a house where some one is ill, most persons are anxious to join in the festivity. Being by the sick-bed is felt to be irksome. But the true worker is of the type that would prefer tending the sick to joining the mirthful throng. People are generally eager to spend their energies in a way

which may be most profitable to them from a worldly point of view. But the ideal worker sets usefulness and duty above all inferior advantages. His sympathies are with the just and neglected cause. He is not restrained by the fear of being doomed to obscurity, he is not tempted by rich prizes. He would not desert the right cause for the sake of wealth or fame or power. When Theodore Parker's writings were translated into German, his heart was filled with joy at the thought that his ideas were circulating over the world. But he had not sought fame. He would have worked on all the same if he had remained the obscurest of men. When Benjamin Lundy, whose name is known only to those who have read the history of the anti-slavery movement in America, denounced slavery, he was alone in the field. He wrote his paper, *The Genius of Universal Emancipation*, printed it himself, and walked long distances to distribute it. That man was a hero, if ever there was one. It is the noblest courage to fight alone, or with a few, in the right cause. The ideal worker is one

"Who, whether praise of him must walk the earth
For ever, and to noble deeds give birth,
Or he must go to dust without his fame,
And leave a dead unprofitable name,
Finds comfort in himself and in his cause."

He has the faith that "if we weave a yard of tape in all humility, and as well as we can, long hereafter we shall see it was no cotton tape at all but some galaxy which we braided, and that the threads were Time and Nature."

Such devotion to a cause is impossible without absolute sincerity of purpose. But what is sincerity? It is more easily illustrated than defined. The ocean is sincere in its grandeur. The birds are sincere in their warblings. A thing is sincere when it is *the thing itself*, and not a copy of it. A thing is sincere when it is true to the law of its being. And the sincere worker is one of whom it may be said that work is the law of his being. He finds in work itself

its own exceeding great reward. To him the sacrifice of self for the sake of the work of his choice is natural and easy.

Method and concentration are indispensable conditions of vigorous work. No great object can be accomplished by spasmodic effort. The difference between systematic work and desultory activity is the difference between an undisciplined horde scattered over a wide area and a solid phalanx. Great talents are

rendered impotent by the want of system and the absence of a steady aim. Method is economy, concentration is strength. There is always such a disparity between our powers and the forces we have to contend against that we should improve our resources to the utmost; and we cannot improve them better than by arranging our duties properly and working persistently towards the fulfilment of some cherished aims.

HERAMBACHANDRA MAITRA.

BEHULA : A MYTH OF THE SNAKE-GODDESS

THE story of Manasa Devi*—the goddess of snakes, and her great opponent, Chand Sadagar—the merchant-king of Champaknagar, forms one of the earliest and most popular themes of old Bengali literature. The poet Brindaban Das referred to the worshippers of Manasa Devi and their songs in his *Chaitanya-Bhagavat* 400 years ago. His contemporary writer, Bijay Gupta, says in the preface to his *Manasa-mangal*, a work of great poetical merit, that the earliest poet who sang the glories of Manasa Devi was one Hari Datta, blind of one eye. His ballads, which were once very popular, grew obsolete in course of time, so that very few people during Bijay Gupta's time remembered them. Hari Datta must have flourished at least two centuries previous to the time of Bijay Gupta. His age should thus be the earlier portion of the twelfth century when the Mohamedans had not yet conquered Bengal. Hari Datta is thus the earliest of all Bengali poets yet known, and some portions of his poem have of late been recovered from the vicinity of Gaur, the old capital of Bengal.

Not only do these ballads on Manasa possess a historical interest as specimens of early Bengali composition, but they are still a living fountain from which

thousands of men and women in Bengal draw religious inspiration. During the rainy season, the people of Lower Bengal shew an animation and a spirit of activity in the recitation of these songs, accompanied with boat-races, which, even in this twentieth century when old ideas are said to have greatly yielded to the influence of English education, cannot but strike us with an overwhelming idea of their vast influence on the masses of our province. How extensively popular these songs are in Bengal may be conceived from the circumstance that the birth-place of Chand Sadagar is shewn in no less than eight districts of Bengal, each priding over the supposed privilege and good fortune of being able to claim the hero of *Manasa-mangal* as its own. It reminds us of the seven cities which disputed the honour of Homer's birth-place. The ruins of Chand's dwelling-house are pointed out in Burdwan, Dinajpur, Tippera, Chittagong, Assam and even near Darjeeling.

It is a pity that many educated Bengali countrymen of ours do not know the subject of these ballads, which have for ages inspired the people of Bengal, though many of them can recite the ballads of Robin Hood and other Western worthies.

* About 40 works on Manasa Devi, written by different writers at various times, all before the 17th century, have been brought to light by the researches of scholars within the last 10 years. Bijay Gupta's ballads have been published. They exceed 400 pages of royal octavo size and many of the other works referred to above are equally bulky. Some of them contain graphic accounts of the

sea-voyage of Chand Sadagar and descriptions of the manner in which commercial enterprises were undertaken by the Bengalis in those times, with incidental references to the flourishing condition of Bengal and her industries. The story of Behula in many of the above works is full of an exquisitely pathetic interest for the readers, very few of whom will be able to read it with dry eyes.

The story of *Manasa-mangal* is given below. Myths often represent occurrences in human history as the actions of individual living beings. So probably the story of Behula is a poetical version of a real struggle between the worshippers of Siva and Manasa in Bengal in ages long past. It gives us glimpses, too, of the manners and customs of the Bengali race in days gone by. But whatever its historical value, there can be no doubt that it vividly portrays the ideals of manhood and womanhood which in days of yore the heart of Bengal admired and worshipped, and the heart of rural Bengal at any rate still admires and adores.

It was ordained by the great god Mahadeva that until and unless Chand Sadagar, the merchant-king of Champaknagar, worshipped Manasa Devi, her claims to obtain *pūja* amongst mortals would not be recognised.

She at first tried by gentle persuasion to prevail upon Chand Sadagar to worship her, but the hero of our ballads lent a deaf ear to her words. He carried a huge stick made of *hintal* wood in his hand and with that he tried to assault the goddess several times. The god whom Chand worshipped was the great Siva. Could he brook the idea of offering flowers at the feet of the deity who presided over snakes? He hated her from the bottom of his heart and called her ill names.

The wrath of the goddess of snakes knew no bounds at this defiant attitude of Chand Sadagar. She determined to revenge herself by means fair or foul.

Chand had built a nice garden outside his city, which was called "Guabari". He had spent many lakhs of rupees in making it an earthly paradise. Manasa Devi appointed her retinue of serpents to destroy this fair garden by their venomous bites. They did so and lo! this Elysium of Chand, so rich in vegetable productions, was reduced to a volume of smoke. The guards in great consternation went to Chand and acquainted him with the fate of his far-famed Guabari. Chand came to the spot and smiled over the matter.

To the wonder of all present there, he uttered some *mantras* and the garden revived wearing the fresh hues of their original verdure.

Manasa Devi's plot was thus foiled by Chand, who possessed *Maha Jnan*—a power bestowed by Mahadeva upon his devoted worshipper, by which he could give life to the dead and revive all that was destroyed.

It was useless for the goddess to try other experiments. She felt that so long as Chand possessed this power he was practically invincible.

She appeared before the merchant in the guise of a youthful maiden. The poets who composed the songs have vied with one another in describing the beauty of the celestial maiden. All earthly paragons of beauty were nothing as compared to her, even the moon sank behind the clouds in shame, being smitten by the superior light that emanated from the face of this exquisite creature. Chand fell in love with her at first sight, but the fair maiden would not listen to any proposal of love from him unless he dispensed with his *Maha Jnan* and bestowed the power on her. The infatuated merchant, not suspecting that she was Manasa Devi in disguise, agreed to her condition; when lo! like a shooting star she vanished from the place and appearing in the sky in her own form related the story of her triumph.

But though deprived of his great power, Chand was not a whit daunted.

The next step of Manasa Devi was to again destroy the beautiful garden upon which once her curse had fallen, but fallen ineffectually.

Chand Sadagar had an intimate friend in the city of Sankoor. He was called Sankoor Gaduria. He possessed *Maha Jnan* and Chand forthwith sent a messenger to fetch him to his palace. The great physician, for such was his calling, came to Champaknagar and in a moment restored the garden to its original form.

Manasa Devi's attempts were thus a second time foiled, but her resources were inexhaustible. By a contrivance which for its ingenuity and diplomatic qualities could be called a superb intellectual feat, she succeeded in killing Sankoor Gaduria, the great physician and friend of Chand.

The latter was now friendless and helpless. Manasa Devi now not only destroyed the Guabari, but the serpents appointed by her killed one by one all his six sons.

Sanaka, the queen of the merchant-king, fell on her knees and implored her husband to put an end to this unequal quarrel; for after all Manasa Devi was a goddess and he was a man!

The six wives of the deceased sons of Chand wore the widow's white *sari*, wiped away the beautiful marks of vermilion from their foreheads, broke their shell bracelets and filled the house with their wild lamentations. But Chand would not listen to prayers or importunities, with a firmness which was more than human. He was the more confirmed in his resolution not to worship Manasa Devi. He was, however, greatly troubled by the constant bewailings of the women of his house and also by the unsolicited advice of friends, who came from distant countries to offer him consolation in his distress. He resolved to undertake a sea-voyage with the intention of keeping away from his uncongenial surroundings for some time. Seven great ships headed by "Madhukar," the royal vessel, started one fine morning for the great sea, and Chand had a very successful voyage; he went as far as Ceylon, and, loading his ships with valuable treasures and feeling once more fresh and lively by the change, was on his way back home, when upon the dark waters of the lake Kalidaha, a great storm overtook his ships. This storm was raised by Manasa Devi. The ship "Sea-foam" sank first, next the "King's darling" and then the "Royal fish" and so on, till the six ships all had a watery grave in the

bosom of the lake Kalidaha. But the stately "Madhukar", on board of which Chand was, defied all storms and as often as the winds inspired by Manasa Devi tried to overthrow it, it struggled and rose to the surface of the waters like a playful fish.

Manasa Devi sought the aid of Hanuman, the great monkey, immortal through all ages, and with his aid at last succeeded in upsetting the ship. Chand fell into the great lake and was about to be drowned. Manasa Devi would not, however, allow the victim of her wrath to perish; as, without being worshipped by him, she could not be recognised amongst men. She threw the great lotus which formed her seat down into the lake and it floated near Chand. He was struggling to save himself and at the sight of the *padma* flower, stretched his arms to catch hold of it as a support; but one of the names of Manasa Devi was Padmá and the flower also bore the same name. So he contemptuously turned back, preferring the idea of death. Manasa Devi appeared at this time and asked Chand to submit to her. She would in that case pardon him and reward him with all that he had lost, including the lives of his sons. But Chand said he could not defile his hand, reserved for the worship of Mahadeva, by offering flowers to the one-eyed goddess of snakes.

Somehow or other Chand escaped death, and after three days of struggle and extreme danger he reached the shore. It was the beautiful city of his old friend Chandraketu where he touched land. Completely stripped of clothes, as he found himself, he picked up some rags from the cremation-ground, which he wrapped round his waist and straightway went to his friend's palace. Chandraketu gave him a warm reception, and as the merchant had not tasted any food for three days, he at once ordered a rich repast to be served out to him; he also presented him with valuable attire becoming his position. When the hungry merchant sat for dinner, Chandraketu

incidentally remarked that it was not well for him to quarrel with Manasa Devi, and in the course of an animated discussion on the point, Chand came to learn that Manasa Devi was the household deity of Chandraketu, and that there was a temple adjoining the palace dedicated to her. Chand Sadagar did not touch any food and in a fit of rage threw away the clothes presented to him by his friend; and, wearing the rags, again left Chandraketu's palace, remarking that it was a pity that he had entered that cursed abode, but that he did not like to disturb anymore a fool in his supposed paradise. He then begged alms from door to door, and when a sufficient quantity of rice and vegetables had been collected, went to the river to bathe after having carefully kept his little store in a secure place. Manasa Devi sent a big mouse in the meantime, which ate up the grains and vegetables and Chand on coming back had to appease his hunger by swallowing some raw plantains which some children had left on the river-side. He next got admittance into a Brahmin's house in the capacity of a servant, and his master appointed him to reap the harvest of his fields and to pile the grains; but Manasa Devi created a bewilderment in his brain so that he could not distinguish the grains from the chaff, and threw away the former and piled the latter. So when the Brahmin, his master, saw this, he was very angry and dismissed him at once. He next went with the woodmen to collect wood from the neighbouring hill. He knew the quality of wood better than the woodmen. So he collected a large quantity of valuable Sandal wood and was on his way to the market with it. At Manasa Devi's order, Hanuman put one of his toes on the load which was being carried by Chand, without being seen by him. The load became so heavy that Chand had to throw it down and go empty-handed. In this plight when he was moving about the forest like a disconsol-

ate mad man, he could not help uttering curses on Manasa Devi. Now, at this moment some birds had come near the traps placed there by the fowlers for catching them. Having been startled by the sound of the merchant's careless foot-steps, the birds flew away. The fowlers in great disappointment came up before Chand and, taking him for a mischievous knave, assaulted him.

After suffering all imaginable ills at the hands of the infuriated Manasa Devi, Chand was able to return to Champaknagar, to his own great relief and to the great delight of his queen Sanaka.

Soon after another son was born to him; it was a remarkably handsome child, and they called him Lakshmindra or the favoured of the goddess of wealth. Chand consulted astrologers and they were unanimous in declaring to him privately that the boy was destined to die on the night of his marriage-day by snake-bite.

Chand had given up all hopes of worldly happiness. Night and day he worshipped the great Mahadeva and prayed for strength to keep up his determination. Now Lakshmindra, who grew to be a most handsome and accomplished prince, came of that age when youths of his caste generally married and the queen Sanaka sought for a suitable bride for her son. The family priest, Janardan, brought the information that in the whole world there was not the creature in female form so lovely and beautiful as Behula—the accomplished daughter of Saha, the merchant of Nichhaninagar. Behula's face was like a full-blown lotus, her eyes were soft and playful like those of a wild gazelle, her hair wore the tints of summer clouds and when dishevelled they fell down behind her back touching the ankles. She sang like a cuckoo and danced better than any dancing-girl of the city of Champaknagar.

Chand knew that he would lose his dear son on the marriage-day, yet could not resist

the wishes of his poor queen. He built a house of steel on mount Santali, taking precaution that there was no crevice left in it for even a pin to pass. The steel-house was guarded by armed sentinels, and weasels and peacocks were let loose all around the house for killing snakes, should they obtain access to the neighbourhood. All kinds of medicinal herbs which were known as antidotes to snake-poison and the strong scent of which made reptiles and snakes shudder and shrink into a corner, were strewn around the house, and snake-charmers and physicians assembled therefrom all parts of the world to guard the place against all species of creeping animals.

Manasa Devi paid a visit to the engineer who had built the steel-house and asked him to keep an opening in it through which a hair might pass. The engineer said that the building was then complete and that he had received wages and rewards from the merchant-king. How could he again go there to make the opening? The goddess threatened to kill him and all members of his family on the spot. So he obeyed. He went back to mount Santali on the pretext of inspecting the buildings in a more thorough manner, and with a few strokes of his chisel made a small opening which he filled up with powdered coal.

When Lakshmindra was about to set out with the nuptial party for marriage, the bridegroom's crown that he wore, bedecked with jewels and flowers, fell from his head; and this was the first inauspicious sign.

When the marriage ceremony was being celebrated in the great pavilion which had been built for the occasion, the golden umbrella over the bridegroom's head gave way—the silver rod which supported it, having suddenly broken from some mysterious cause; and this was the second inauspicious sign.

When Behula, the bride, was being carried near Lakshmindra, she carelessly wiped away from her forehead with her own hand the

sacred vermilion-mark, the sign of a married woman whose husband is living. This was the third inauspicious sign.

Just after the marriage was over, Chand took Lakshmindra and Behula to the steel-house on mount Santali.

This was the terrible night when the question of life and death for Lakshmindra would be solved; the astrologers had said if Lakshmindra's life could be saved that night, he would live a hundred years.

There Behula and Lakshmindra were left to themselves. The coy maiden beheld her husband: the garland of *rangan* flowers which he wore hung loosely round his neck touching his right arm and breast—his silk attire of deep scarlet half covered his well-formed handsome person, and Behula looked upon her husband with that feeling of adoration which a Brahmin feels when he approaches his household-god. Lakshmindra's eyes also drank deep of the beauty of the maiden, and he asked her to come closer to him so that he might embrace her. The bashful maiden would not listen to any such thing—she hid her face with her tender hands and turned away. Fatigued by the labours and fasting required for the marriage ceremony, Lakshmindra fell asleep. But Behula, though equally fatigued, sat near him on the bed and watched him—for he appeared to her as a priceless treasure and she must not trust too much to her good fortune. After a while, Lakshmindra awoke and said to Behula, "my darling, I am very hungry; can you prepare some rice for me?" Saying this he again fell asleep. Behula did not know what to do. How could she prepare rice there? But her resources never failed her. The plate required for the sacred ceremony contained some cocoanuts; there were also rice and some coloured earthen cups there. She took three cocoanuts and made a hearth with them. One earthen cup was filled with the sweet milk of a cocoanut and rice was placed in it. She took a silken robe

and with that kindled fire for preparing the rice. There she sat like Annapurna cooking rice for her husband.

At this moment Manasa Devi called all her snakes, big reptiles and venomous adders, and asked who would undertake to bite Lakshmindra. The difficulties were great, many hesitated, but the snake Bankaraj, whose poison was as drops of liquid fire, came forward, and obeying the command of the goddess, marched towards mount Santali.

Behula saw all on a sudden that an opening was mysteriously made in the steel wall and a snake entered the room. She took a cup of milk with a ripe plantain in it and offered it to the venomous intruder. The snake stooped low to drink the milk and Behula with a golden hook caught it fast and made it a prisoner. While again watching the cup on which rice was boiling, she saw another snake coming through the same passage. It was the great Udaynag with fiery eyes. Behula made it a prisoner also, following the same device; and after a while the snake Kaladanta shared in the same way the fate of its predecessors. Then for some time nothing more was seen; the rice was ready and she called out to her husband to rise and partake of the meal. But Lakshmindra was fast asleep and did not respond.

Fatigued with labour, fast and vigil, Behula at this moment felt an irresistible inclination to sleep. She sat near her husband with her eyes still fixed on the mysterious crevice in the wall. The three serpents lay under the cover of a big cup and could not stir. Behula's eyes became closed in sleep but at times opened wide gazing at the small opening. Towards the last watch of the night when everything was still and when even the rustling sound of leaves was not heard in the mountainous region, Behula yielded to the fatal influence of sleep and reclining on a pillow near the feet of her husband lay like a flower innocent and beautiful.

Now came Kalnagini, the snake which had destroyed the Guabari of Chand and killed his eldest son Sridhar, with the speed of lightning and approached the bed of Lakshmindra. At this time one of the feet of the sleeping prince touched the snake and it at once darted and bit him in his toe. Lakshmindra cried out. "Ho, daughter of the merchant Saha, are ye sleeping? I die of snake-bite." Behula rose from the bed and perceived the snake passing out swiftly through the opening.

Lakshmindra died. Just then the morning sun had shed its golden hues over the mountain-forests and birds were singing blithely on the wild trees. Queen Sanaka with her maids of honour came to the house and saw a most heart-rending sight. Prince Lakshmindra lay dead there, and the widowed girl was sobbing and shedding tears over him. Her dishevelled hair hung round her shoulders, her body bent in a graceful curve over the departed prince. Sanaka swooned, and the maids said, "Oh unfortunate and miserable wretch, it is to thine evil luck that we owe this most crushing bereavement. The vermilion-marks on thy forehead have not lost their lustre,—they have still a deep scarlet hue, the tint of *alakta** on thy feet is yet unsoiled by dust, thy marriage attire of beautiful silk is as fresh as new, and yet thou art a widow! The snake could not do that, it is thy breath that has destroyed the life of the prince, wretch as thou art." Behula did not hear this reproach, her mind was working on far other themes. The prince had asked her to embrace him, he had asked her to prepare rice for him: the first and the last request of one who was all in all to her! She was so unfortunate that she could not fulfil these wishes. At the recollection of this, tears flowed from her eyes unceasingly.

The body of Lakshmindra was taken to the burning ghât. But Behula insisted that her

* Red lac used by Hindu women to dye the soles of their feet.

husband's body should not be burnt. The custom in the country in cases of snake-bite was to place the corpse on a raft made of plantain trees called a *bhela* and leave it on the river, that perchance the skill of a snake-charmer or a physician might bring it back to life. Behula's arguments were appreciated and a raft of plantain trees was prepared. The corpse of the prince was placed on it, and it was floated on the river Gangoor. At this moment, to the wonder of all assembled there, Behula got on the raft and there sat by the corpse expressing her intention to accompany her husband's body over the waters and not leave it until and unless it was restored to life.

They called her a mad woman who had lost her senses under the great shock received immediately after marriage and entreated her to come back home. The maidens who had so bitterly reproached her, were sorry at her misfortune and tenderly said how very foolish it would be for a woman of her youthful age to go to unknown regions with a corpse, and that a dead body could not be restored to life. But she sat like a fairy or an angel watching over the dead prince with eyes full of infinite affection and infinite sorrow. The queen maddened by grief lamented bitterly and asked the beautiful girl to desist from her foolish intention. Behula only said, "adored mother, you will find the rice I prepared in the golden plate in the steel-house on mount Sautali, and there the lamp is still burning. Go mother, cease weeping and close the door of that room. So long as the rice will remain fresh and the lamp will burn, know that my hopes to restore my husband to life will not be abandoned." The people of Champaknagar, who had all assembled there, shed tears and cried, "Revered lady, do not adopt this mad course." Behula only said, "bless me, sirs, that I may have my husband once more."

The raft passed swiftly over the stream and Champaknagar soon vanished out of sight. The news reached her father's house, and her

five brothers, of whom Hari Sadhu was the eldest, came to take her back to their home. The brothers wept bitterly as they saw the forlorn girl with the corpse, and said, "we will burn the corpse of the prince with sandal wood; alight on shore.—Though you will not be permitted to wear shell-bracelets, we will give golden ones; though sacred vermilion will be refused, we will adorn your forehead with the red powder of *fag*; though you will not be permitted to take fish and meat, we will give you all kinds of dainties to eat. You are our only sister, you will be adored in the house; come up to the bank! How heartless these people of Champaknagar are; they felt no compunction in allowing you to accompany the corpse on the bosom of the deep waters alone in this condition." Behula could not speak for some time, as tears choked her voice, but when she spoke, she was resolute and firm. She asked them to return and offer her respects to her poor parents. She could not bear the idea of living in the world without her husband. Even the dead body of the prince had attractions for her which nothing else possessed in her eyes. She was determined to restore it to life.

The brothers went away overwhelmed with grief, and poor Behula fasting all along and sorrowing over her lot went on in her watery course, where she knew not. Several people, amongst whom Goda, Dhana and Mana were the most forward, got enamoured of the extraordinary beauty of the devoted creature and tried by force to carry her away, but God, who preserves a baby, also preserved her, who was equally helpless, and resigned. They could not touch her person.

When she came near a place called Bagher Bak, the corpse began to decompose. Decay set in and the body of the beautiful bridegroom became swollen and rotten; an intolerable stench came out of it and swarms of flies and maggots gathered round the putrid body. Behula saw before her eyes

the workings of the immutable law of Nature—the end reserved for all human beings in their usual course, and seeing this, she grew indifferent to all sense of bodily pain. She washed and cleaned the corpse, she ate nothing, and when her grief was great, she wept alone in that forlorn condition. She passed the ghât of Noada and Srigalghata. People came to see her from the neighbouring villages and called her a mad woman who had lost her senses owing to grief.

Where were her strength and hope that sustained her in this distress? She chanted the name of Manasa Devi a lakh of times every day and remained absorbed in prayer, till her body became inert and motionless. Emaciated and pale, with the dear relics of the prince's body by her side, she suffered intensely. In dark nights the winds rose and crocodiles gathered round her raft eager to devour the decomposed body. Jackals came to carry it off when the raft came near the bank, but she was preserved by Providence from their attacks.

Being completely resigned to Manasa Devi in her extraordinary devotion and passing through unheard-of sufferings, she felt that a power was growing in her, which she could not define, but felt all the same that it was more than human. Sometimes she saw the evil spirits of the air who assumed horrid shapes and dissuaded her with threatenings from her extraordinary course, at others angelic faces peeping through the sky tried to win her to a life of ease and luxury, but she sat like a marble statue, unmoved alike by fear or temptation—reduced to a skeleton by her sufferings and praying in a completely resigned state of mind for the life of her dear husband.

Six months passed in this way, the boat touched the ghât of Neta, the heavenly washer-woman, and Behula saw in the fine morning when she came up there, Neta washing clothes on the bank of the river

Gangoor. Behula felt that she was no human being, a halo of light emanated from her head, which indicated that she was not an inhabitant of these sublunary regions of ours. A child of remarkable beauty was vexing her while occupied in washing clothes, and to the wonder of Behula, Neta strangled the child to death and kept it close by.

Behula said nothing but sat on her raft by the skeleton of her husband silently watching this mysterious woman.

When, however, the last rays of the sun faded from the western sky, Neta sprinkled a few drops of water over the face of the child, and lo! it smiled as if just awakened from sleep.

Neta was about to ascend the airy regions with the clothes and the child, when Behula fell at her feet and wept over them; she said nothing, but shed tears, which flowed unceasingly from both her eyes.

Neta raised her from the ground and assured the unfortunate girl that she would take her to the heavenly regions where the gods might be moved to grant her prayer.

There in the high heaven Behula was ordered to dance before the assembled gods, and Behula did her part so well that the gods were mightily pleased with her, and Manasa Devi was requested by them to restore Lakshmindra to life. Manasa Devi complied with this request after having extorted a promise from Behula that she would induce her father-in-law to worship her. Manasa Devi was pleased with her devotion and wished to know if she had any other boon to ask. With clasped hands and tearful eyes, she said, "The sight of my widowed sisters-in-law will pain me, revered mother. Kindly restore my husband's brothers to life." This Manasa Devi did and further rewarded her by granting the seven ships loaded with treasure which Chand had lost in the waters of Kalidaha. The Guabari of Chand was also restored to its original condition.

Behula embarked with her husband and his brothers on board the ships and started homewards. She related to her husband the story of her sufferings, pointing to the places of their occurrence as they marched back through the noble river Gangoor, and her beautiful eyes swam in tears at their recollection. The heart of Lakshmindra broke with pain when he heard them.

When the ships came near Nichhaninagar, Behula besought her husband to allow her to pay a flying visit to her poor parents stricken with grief. This Lakshmindra readily agreed to and said, "Let us both go there under the guise of a Yogi and Yogini." Behula gladly consented, and she wore rings in her ear, put on ochre-coloured clothes and tied her hair in a knot after the manner of a Yogini. Lakshmindra took a *kamandali* in his hand and covered his beautiful body with ashes like a Yogi.

The false Yogi and Yogini passed through Baruipara and other places and came to the house of Saha, the merchant of Nichhaninagar. They entered the house by the back-door and came direct to the inner apartments. At that moment, Amala, the mother of Behula, was coming out of the kitchen with a golden plate full of rice in her hand for the dinner of Hari Sadhu, her eldest son, when the sight of the Yogi and Yogini made her tremble in a fit of grief, the golden plate fell from her hand and she wailed aloud.—"The Yogini is just as my Behula was;" she could utter this and no more. She ran and clasped the false Yogini to her bosom and swooned on the spot. Behula took her mother's head on her lap and tenderly carressed her, weeping profusely. When Amala came to her senses, Behula softly said, "we are come, mother, once more to your arms. Yonder Yogi is your son-in-law restored to life".

The people of the whole village came to see them, but Behula would not stop there even

for a day. She was eager to go back to Champaknagar, and in spite of all affectionate remonstrances, embarked on board the ship "Madhukar" and started for Champaknagar that very day.

When they reached the last-named place, Behula played another dodge. She disguised herself as a sweeper-girl. While on her way back from heaven she had employed an artist to prepare a fan bedecked with precious stones in which the pictures of all the members of Chand's family were painted in living colours represented by the natural hues of valuable stones.

With that fan in hand, Behula landed on the bank of the river Gangoor. Just at that moment her widowed sisters-in-law came to carry water, and were attracted there by the fan, no less than by the beauty of the sweeper-girl. When examining the fan closely they were struck with wonder at the sight of the likenesses of all the members of their family painted upon the fan. They wanted to know who the sweeper-girl was and what she meant to do with the fan. Behula said that she was called Behula, the sweeper-girl, her husband's name was Lakshmindra, the sweeper, and his father's name was Chand, the sweeper, and her own father's name was Saha, the sweeper. The fan was for sale, its price one lakh of rupees.

At this strange story the widows wept and went speedily home and acquainted queen Sanaka with what they had seen and heard. Sanaka ran to the house of steel and to her surprise found the lamp still burning and the rice still fresh in the golden plate. She came to the bank of the river and seeing the pictures on the fan and the face of the sweeper-girl, which reminded her of Behula, she fell on the ground and began to rend the air with loud bewailings. Behula then said, "Mother, do not weep. Look at your sons. Manasa Devi has restored them to life, but we cannot enter Champaknagar until my father-in-law

worships Manasa Devi. So I have brought all of you here by a device."

The seven sons stood once more near their sorrow-stricken parents, and the tears that were shed there were holy, because Behula's wonderful devotion caused them to flow, more than anything else.

Chand could not resist all these. They were too much for him. He saw in the sweet and resigned countenance of Behula that Manasa Devi's victory was complete, and that it would be impossible for him to resist the appeal silently expressed in the eyes of his dear daughter-in-law.

Chand worshipped Manasa in the month of Sravan on the 11th day of the waning moon. Some say that he offered flowers to Manasa Devi with his left hand, turning his face away from her all the while. But whatever it be, Manasa Devi was pleased and granted him wealth and prosperity. His friend, Sankoor Garudia, was restored to life.

Behula and Lakshmindra, who were Usha and Aniruddha in Heaven, and had been obliged to take a mortal frame under a curse, went back to their celestial home after a while.

Manasa Devi's claims to obtain *pūja* among mortals has since been an established fact.

DINESH CHANDRA SEN.

THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME, POONA

IF there is one thing more urgently calling for amelioration than another, in the present fallen condition of India, it is the miserable lot of her womankind. The Indian woman has long lost her Vedic dignity and status, and has lain meek and dumb in the impenetrable gloom of Indian harems. For long ages past, she has been allowed only to vegetate, never to live in the fullest sense of the term. Miserable as is the lot of Indian women in general, that of the Hindu widow is immensely more so. Friendless and homeless, she has often to drag on from day to day, a dreary and cheerless existence. Nothing, therefore, more urgently calls for help, for active work, for substantial sympathy and earnest endeavour, than the sufferings of the Hindu widow. It is, therefore, a matter of gratification that some of us have realised the situation. We have learned to miss the genial sympathy and helpful co-operation of our sisters in every one of our endeavours towards the realisation of newer and nobler ideals. It is a healthy sign of better days

coming that earnest attempts are being made here and there, though few and far between, to improve the condition of Indian women. The education of women has been seriously taken in hand in all parts of India. Only a glance at the figures in the official educational reports is enough to reassure those who are given to despair of the future of India. Schools and colleges with special facilities for women have been established, home classes opened, and private lectures arranged for; and thus are women being led into the temple of knowledge. Noble as all these attempts are, the noblest of them perhaps are those that are directed towards the uplifting of the Hindu widow. For they mean the relief of actual conscious suffering. Alleviation of misery is in itself noble. But in this case it is doubly blessed. It blesses the widow in that it brings relief to her suffering, and it also blesses those who bring the relief, in that it is like the sowing of a seed which rises out of the soil and returns to them a hundredfold. Indian widows are a dormant force which if roused

and utilised would work like a powerful lever in the elevation of the people. Bring out all that is latent in the Indian widow—the will to do, the power to suffer, the quickness to see and the tenacity to hold on—and employ it to good purpose, and there would be no room for complaint on the score of apathy and want of enthusiasm in our public activities. Educate the widow and there will no longer be a lack of workers in the field. Let her be resuscitated and she will put new life into the dead half of India, and a natural life will soon enable it to shake off its paralysis.

It was Babu Sasipada Bannerji of Bengal and Pandita Ramabai of the Deccan who first proved successfully that the idea of founding Homes for high-caste Hindu widows was practicable. The former opened his Home at Baranagar near Calcutta in 1887 and the latter hers at Bombay in 1889. Both these institutions were worked successfully for some time and attracted an appreciably large number of high-caste widows. The idea was, however, repugnant to the Indian public generally, and these institutions had mainly to look for support to foreign people. The former of these institutions had, after a useful existence of about ten years, to be closed owing to old age of the founder and the lack of workers; and the latter too, soon ceased to be taken advantage of by high-caste Hindu society, whose confidence in the institution was shaken by the religious persuasions of the founder.

It was thus left for the Poona Widows' Home to further develop the idea so nobly conceived and boldly, though partially, carried out by these pioneer workers. The institutions they conducted produced, besides the positive good that they did, a negative result. They pointed to the two rocks on which such institutions in India come to grief. Lack of successors to the first workers and religious differences often prove the curse of all public activity in this land. The promoters of the Poona Hindu Widows' Home laid their plans

wisely. They profited by the lesson taught by its predecessors and paid more attention, from the outset, to stability than to immediate success. The Hindu Widows' Home Association, Poona, was started on 14th June, 1896. They did not, however, think of opening a Home at once, but began in the first place to collect the sinews of war and availed themselves of the Government Girls' High School and the Female Training College for lodging, boarding and educating a few widows who applied for help. At the end of two years and a half they had a balance of nearly Rs. 10,000 in their hands, and there were hopeful promises of annual subscriptions in addition. It was time now to place the Association on a legal footing and to advance a step further. Accordingly the institution was registered as the "Hindu Widows' Home Association, Poona", according to Act XXI of 1860, and in January, 1899, a house in the city was rented. Thus was a humble beginning made of a separate independent Home with two widows as its first inmates, and Mr. and Mrs. Karve as its first conductors. There were ten other widows supported at the two government institutions by the Association, who, however, did not think it advisable to interfere with their course and progress. Even after the opening of the Home, they continued where they were and the Home proper commenced its work only with two inmates. It was all along thought desirable to locate the Home somewhere outside the city where the inmates would be protected from the foul infections of modern city life. About a year elapsed and the ravages of the plague emphasized this desirability. Thanks to the generosity of the late Rao Bahadur G. G. Gokhale, who placed a plot of land at the disposal of the Association, a temporary shed was put up and the Home was removed to it as a tentative measure. Two years' experience proved the convenience of the place, and *pukka* buildings were gradually constructed

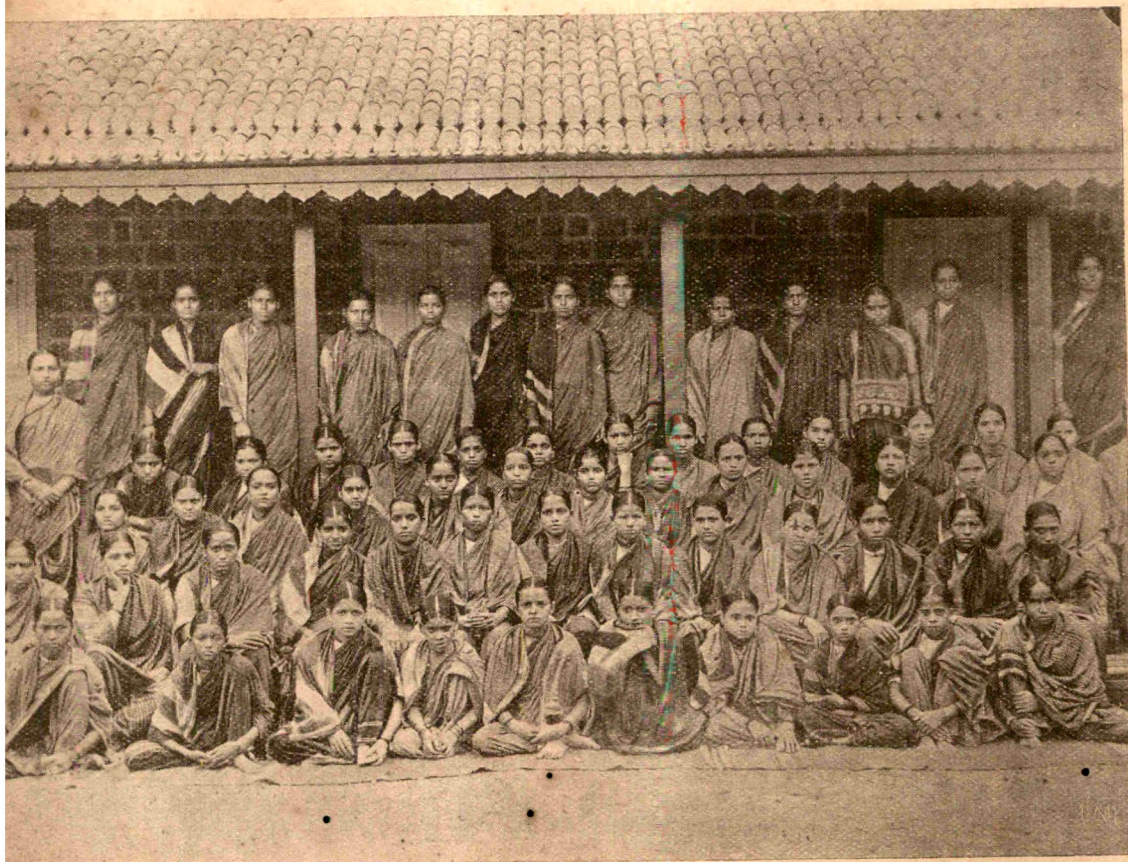


THE HINDU WIDOWS' HOME.





PROF. D. K. KARVE,
 MISS DWARAKABAI CHAVREKAR, MRS. VENUBAI NAMJOSHI, MRS. PARBATIBAI
 ATHAVALE, MRS. KASHIBAI DEVDHAR AND MRS. BANUBAI DESHPANDE.



one after another. The present buildings are thus a growth of about four years. The Association could not undertake to construct all the buildings at once for want of funds. Funds, however, came in almost a happy proportion to the growing needs of the institution, and the Home has now, for its own, buildings worth Rs. 35,000.

The period of eleven years that has elapsed since the inception of the Association has

been one of steady and continuous growth on all sides. The number of inmates, the course of studies, the arrangements for instruction, the strength of the staff, and, last but not the least, the pecuniary resources, all have developed and expanded with the growing sympathy of the public and the substantial appreciation of the Home's work on all hands. The following table will give an idea of the progress of the Home:—

Statement showing the progress of the institution during the last eleven years.

YEAR.	Number of inmates at the end of the year.	INCOME.						EXPENDITURE.						BALANCE.					
		Current fund.			Other funds.			Total.			Ordinary.			Extraordinary.			Total.		
		Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.	Rs.	a.	p.
1896	...	630	6	3	2785	2	3	3415	8	6	194	9	7	...	...	...	194	9	7
1897	...	857	13	9	2014	15	0	2872	12	9	460	0	4	...	...	...	460	0	4
1898	...	1370	2	11	3349	11	0	4719	13	11	482	0	6	...	...	...	482	0	6
1899	4	1210	9	0	2893	6	6	4103	15	6	757	7	7	...	...	...	757	7	7
1900	10	1449	14	4	2323	3	9	3773	2	1	1787	11	10	...	...	...	1787	11	10
1901	14	2183	10	7	731	8	9	2915	3	4	1843	7	4	...	...	...	1843	7	4
1902	18	2107	1	9	5264	10	4	7371	12	1	1621	14	8	7957	8	6	9579	7	2
1903	30	2812	7	4	11162	3	5	13974	10	9	2435	6	7	6633	6	11	9068	13	6
1904	38	4722	8	3	16133	6	10	20855	15	1	14061	5	1	5126	9	3	9187	14	4
1905	60	5613	14	7	12433	12	3	18047	10	10	5959	0	8	17493	15	4	23453	0	0
1906	80	6264	9	7	10502	0	11	16766	10	6	6724	4	6	3509	1	1	10233	12	7

* These figures are for the first 9 months of 1906.

The Hindu Widows' Home Association consists of patrons, sympathisers and well-wishers. Those who contribute Rs. 500 or upwards in one gift or make an annual contribution of Rs. 50 are the patrons, while those who contribute Rs. 100 or upwards in a lump sum or Rs. 10 annually are the sympathisers of the Association. Persons belonging to these two classes are members of the Association and the ultimate control of the institutions con-

ducted by the Association rests with the general body of members. Those who pay rupee one annually or Rs. 10 once for all are enrolled as well-wishers.

The affairs of the Association are supervised by a Managing Committee of twelve members, six of whom are elected by patrons, four by sympathisers and two by well-wishers. There is also a Ladies' Committee to supervise the internal affairs. Dr. Bhandarkar is the

chairman of the present Managing Committee and Mrs. Ramabai Ranade that of the Ladies' Committee. There is also an auditor who examines the accounts and two trustees who hold the property of the Association in trust.

The principal object of the Association is to educate young widows belonging to castes among whom their remarriage is not tolerated, so as to enable them to earn an honourable living and to cultivate their minds. Thus no widow can depend upon the Home for more than a certain number of years, during which she goes through a course of instruction, after which she must shift for herself unless she wishes to devote her life to the Home. To create and maintain a class of Hindu sisters of charity and mercy is another of the objects.

Most of the inmates of the Home are poor, and the entire responsibility of maintaining them falls upon the institution. There are several of them, however, whose guardians pay for their expenses wholly or partially. In special cases little daughters of young widows are allowed to accompany them. On account of the educational facilities afforded by the institution, several people solicit the admission of their non-widow wards to the institution even on payment of expenses. Provision has now been made for the admission of such students under certain restrictions. Thus, out of the 80 present inmates of the Home, 60 are widows and 20 non-widows. The promoters of the Home would do a signal service to the cause of female education, if they could throw their Widows' Home School open to all women who sought education. The Home might thus develop into a first-class educational institution.

During the first two years after a student's admission, reading, writing and a little arithmetic only are taught. It is when the girls can read the fourth Marathi book, that they are given lessons in grammar, poetry, history, geography and English. History and geography lessons are oral and are given with the aid

of maps. English is optional. In the Marathi fourth standard, stories from Indian history and the general geography of India are taught. Towards the completion of the Marathi fourth standard, Sanscrit, which is also optional, is introduced. It is only after the completion of the English fourth standard, that High School standards, as in the Educational Department, are followed in all subjects. Till then only languages and arithmetic are principally taught. History and geography are nominally touched. The Committee propose to start a training college to train up school mistresses. It is their object to get the institution recognized by Government, so that the students may be examined by Government officers and certificates of qualification granted them. Holders of such certificates would have scope for work in Government, Municipal and Native States' schools. It is also intended to bring the English course up to the level of the matriculation standard. Both these developments are, if things progress as they have been doing, expected to be complete in the next five years. In the present state of our society, when the progress of female education is marked only by one woman being capable of reading and writing out of every hundred, the intellectual education of women has to be mainly cared for. But for those who might find it difficult to earn their living by intellectual work, other vocations must be provided for. The Committee intend to provide for some industrial occupations, such as sewing, knitting, &c., and a very small beginning has been made in this direction.

Every inmate of the Home, high or low, has to bear her share in the active manual work connected with the domestic arrangements. The plan provides that grinding, pounding and such other hard work should not extend over more than from a quarter of an hour to half an hour, according to the physical capacities of individuals, and that, in all, domestic occupations should not, in any case, take

more than an hour and a half a day. It is desirable that girls coming from middle-class families should be accustomed to household work of all kinds, and all such work is at the Home divided among all the inmates, each having her turn and share in doing it. It often happens that girls from well-to-do families take to such work in a spirit of imitation, and when the teachers themselves are seen doing the work, the taught are no longer loth to do it. Instruction in cooking also has been provided for and care is taken that every inmate is able to cook for about half a dozen people and serve them at their meals.

The older inmates generally get up between 5-30 and 6 A.M. and the younger ones between 6 and 6-30 A.M. They have then to do some household work and to bathe and wash their clothes. The washing over, each inmate spends a few minutes in private worship or prayer. In the time that is left to themselves thereafter, they prepare their lessons till the dinner bell rings at about 10 A.M. The younger ones have a slight breakfast in the morning or a cup of milk. About two hours are available for study in the morning. The school work begins at 11 A.M. It commences with a quarter of an hour given to religious teaching which consists, in the case of the more advanced girls, of reciting verses from the *Gita* followed by explanation. The less advanced have verses from modern *Sadhus* in the vernacular. Half an hour in the afternoon is allowed as recess, during which the girls take their tiffin or milk. The school closes at 4-15 P.M. After an interval of household work and evening ramble, the bell is given for the evening meal, after which the girls set to their lessons at 7-30 P.M. The younger girls go to bed at 9 P.M., before which they sing some devotional and moral songs. The other inmates gather in the *Gita-mandir* at 9 P.M. and sing together *padas* or *abhangas* from modern *Sadhus*. This prepares the way for reading philosophical, theological or ethi-

cal extracts or some old works. The bell at 9-30 P.M. brings the reading to a close and by 10 all are in bed.

The stability and permanence of an institution like this depend upon life-workers. Indian institutions are mostly short-lived because they have to depend upon people who can give them only their spare time. Let there be forthcoming the required quality and number of workers identifying themselves completely with public institutions with their life-interests involved in them, so that the whole of their time is at their service, then in nine cases out of ten the institutions must be successful. The Hindu Widows' Home, Poona, too, would have had to share the fate of other institutions or to drag on a lingering existence, if lady life-workers had not come forward to take the responsibility upon themselves. Till January, 1903, the Home was entirely managed by Mr. and Mrs. Karve, the teaching work being entrusted to one or two male teachers. Then came Mrs. Parvatibai Athavale—holder of a first-class certificate from the Female Training College, Poona, with the special permission of Government, to join the Home on the principle of self-sacrifice, devoting herself entirely to the furtherance of its aims and progress. Mrs. Athavale was followed, a year later, by Mrs. Banubai Deshpande, who similarly came to help her in her work, and a few months after came two more ladies, Mrs. Namjoshi and Mrs. Devdhar, under-graduates of the local and Madras Universities respectively. There are two or three other ladies less educated but equally useful in teaching lower classes and supervising household affairs. The Home is thus fortunate in possessing a small band of lady-workers who have no other attractions in the world than the Home, and who, their wants being few, cost the Home less than one-third of what they would have if payment according to qualifications had to be made. This little band of lady-workers is now the life

and soul of the institution and on them responsibilities of all kind have now devolved. Mrs. Devdhar is in charge of the superintendence of the Home, unless when, relieved for a month or so, she goes on a missionary tour to inform the public about the institution and to collect funds. Mrs. Namjoshi also occasionally goes on similar errands, while Mrs. Athavale works as a missionary all the year round. Over and above the money value of these missionary tours, they have an indirect importance. Wherever the ladies go they create a sort of awakening and men are set athinking on questions connected with Hindu widows in particular and women in general.

The lady-workers are assisted in the teaching work by half a dozen male teachers who live on the premises with their families. As long as educated ladies are rare, the help of their brethren on the teaching staff would be indispensable and the Home does not fight shy of facing the question in a practical spirit.

During the early years of its existence the institution was little known and worked its way in obscurity. During the last four years, however, the institution has emerged into public notice, and people of all classes, high and low, rich and poor, prince and peasant, young and old, have come to find it worth their while to favour it with their visits. No less than two thousand people have seen it till now. They come from all parts of India, carrying back reminiscences and some positive knowledge of what they see. This is a fruitful means of creating an awakening in different parts of the country.

In these days of transition when religious thought is being awakened, all varieties of religious opinions are found to be held by educated people. However, the Widows' Home being intended for high-caste Hindu society in general, the institution is conducted on Hindu lines. Whatever the religious persuasions of the members of the Managing Committee, there is no interference with the religious

observances and practices of the inmates. Care is, however, taken to acquaint the inmates with ideas of liberal Hinduism culled from Hindu religious books, to educate and to awaken thought being the aim and not the teaching of any particular set of opinions.

The funds of the Association are divided into three classes:— The Permanent Fund, Endowment Fund and Current Fund. There is occasionally also a Building Fund, which is raised whenever there is need. The Permanent Fund is kept intact, only the interest thereon being at the disposal of the Managing Committee. The Endowment Fund is made up of gifts, the interest on which is to be spent on specific purposes, such as scholarships, prizes, &c. Out of the Current Fund daily expenses are defrayed. So far Rs. 35,000 have been spent on buildings, while another building for male teachers' quarters will have to be erected next year at a cost of Rs. 6,000 nearly. This sum has to be raised by special contributions. All donations and larger contributions go to the Permanent Fund, while the annual subscriptions and smaller contributions go to form the Current Fund. The Permanent and Endowment Funds together now amount to Rs. 30,000 nearly. The present ordinary annual expenditure is Rs. 9,000. This is likely to increase with the growth of the institution. Thus, though the institution may at present be said to have got strength enough to stand on its own legs, it is far from having acquired undoubted permanence. An institution like this containing one hundred inmates, to be placed on a permanent footing would require an annual expenditure of over Rs. 10,000, which means a consolidated capital of three lakhs. It would be utopian to expect such a fund to accumulate in the near future. And the present funds are not enough to make the institution stable. There is, therefore, no saying when it may totter to its fall unless the public continue to be as generous in their help as they have been in the past.

What distinguishes the Home from other educational institutions is that, while the latter have only to instruct, the Home has both to instruct and to feed its inmates, many of whom neither do, nor can pay their way. The Home has, therefore, entirely to depend upon public support, which, till now, it must be gratefully admitted, has been liberally extended to it by all classes of the community. The Home has received large donations from philanthropic members of the community, the foremost among whom stands Mr. S. N. Pandit of Rajkot, whose contributions amount to Rs. 6,000 nearly. Next stand Mrs. Yogi of Nasik and Mr. Deval of Sangli with a donation of Rs. 3,000 each. Then come the late Dr. Kane of Bombay and Mr. Patvardhan of Nagpur with Rs. 2,000 each. There have been a number of contributors of Rs. 500 and above. Nor have the generality of people, with their limited means, lagged behind in substantially proving their sympathy with the institution. The smallest contributions are accepted with thanks and there have been up till now not less than 10,000 people who have contributed their humble quota to the institution.

Six years ago the Home consisted of only ten inmates and a teacher. Taking into account, therefore, the period that is required even for a moderate course of education, it will be seen that it is impossible for the institution to point to any considerable number of ladies educated by it. The institution is still an experiment and has had yet no time to bear any positive fruit. During the short period of its existence, however, it has done something, though not much. The Home, before it had a separate independent existence, supported some widows at other schools and can point to seven of them as its own products who are now earning an independent living and doing some useful work in society. Five of them are teachers and two have set up as mid-wives and nurses. Of those who have

directly benefited by the instruction of the Home, four are teachers, four are prosecuting their studies in the higher English standards at the Female High School and six are qualifying themselves at the Female Training College. About 25 of the present inmates of the Home would be able, if need be, to maintain themselves by working as assistant teachers in girls' schools. Fortunately, however, they aspire to further progress, and in five or six years more they would all be doing some useful work in society.

The problem of the Hindu widow is very complex. It has a positive side and also a negative one. To bring relief to existing widows and to make them useful to themselves and to society may be said to be its positive side; while to try to lessen their number by helping to increase the marriageable age of girls is the negative side of the problem. A *tapa* (twelve years) of *brahmacharya* is as essential to girls as to boys. The proper age of marriage for girls, therefore, would be 20 and not under. This will leave ample time for their education. The fact of their education would be an addition to the charm of their healthy growth and perfect development, and would ensure to them a successful married life. Even if in some exceptional cases maturity of years and fullness of age prove a disadvantage, so far as matrimonial chances are concerned, they would find themselves in no helpless plight, as armed with a respectable education, they would be able to lead a life useful to themselves and also to society. The Widows' Home is a place affording the best facilities for such experiments in social reform. It is generally the poor members of a community that have the courage to go in for healthy innovations. They possess the moral wherewithal but lack the material one. Already a few people of the type have expressed a wish to take advantage of the educational benefits the Home affords and keep their daughters unmarried up to the age

of twenty. But the Home is a Widows' Home and cannot divert its funds towards a cause other than the betterment of the condition of the widows proper. Unless, therefore, philanthropic men with means came forward to help these poor reformers, a golden opportunity would be lost. If, on the other hand, special contributions are made to support such girls at the Home, the Home would prove an ideal place for the experiment. A very small beginning has been already made in this direc-

tion and a few girls are being educated at the Home. A venerable old gentleman not belonging to the Deccani community, which is most likely to derive benefit from the gift, has kindly commenced to contribute Rs. 25 per month towards this object. If more gentlemen come forward with similar help, the experiment may be carried on on a larger scale and before long show a substantial result which may prominently stand as an object-lesson to society.

V. B. PATVARDHAN.

MR. MORLEY AND INDIA'S INDUSTRIAL FUTURE

IN the concluding portion of his remarkable presidential address at the last Session of the Indian National Congress, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale spoke with high hopes of the results of the sympathetic attitude of the new Prime Minister and the new Secretary of State for India. The Prime Minister, he said, "was a tried and trusted friend of freedom." And as regards the new Secretary of State for India, he observed that

"large numbers of educated men in this country feel towards Mr. Morley as towards a master, and the heart hopes and yet it trembles as it had never hoped or trembled before. He, the reverent student of Burke, the disciple of Mill, the friend and biographer of Mr. Gladstone,—will he courageously apply their principles and his own to the Government of this country, or will he, too, succumb to the influence of the India Office around him and cast a cruel blight on hopes which his own writings have done so much to foster? We shall see."

Yes, we shall see. Nothing has happened to justify a definite forecast or to strengthen our hopes. Mainly through the assurances of Mr. Gokhale and our friends in England, the educated classes in India cherish hopes of Mr. Morley's reforms. They believe he will confer on the people of this country fresh political liberties and a more substantial

share in the control over Government and in the conduct of the administration. I have no doubt that he will make some move.

In the last debate on the Indian financial statement in the House of Commons he spoke with a measure of earnestness and sympathy which seldom characterise the utterances of officials. He recognised the changes that were taking place in the condition of India. "There was a new spirit abroad in India" he said, "and that this new spirit was the necessary result of British rule."

"You could not go on narrowly on old lines. We should be untrue to all the traditions of this Parliament and to those who, from time to time and from generation to generation, have been the leaders of the Liberal Party, if we were to show ourselves afraid of facing and recognising the new spirit with candour and consideration."

Not only he and his Liberal Party, but the Government of India also, he said, was in full sympathy with the new spirit.

"I am authorised," he told the House of Commons, "to announce on my full responsibility that the Government of India is in thorough sympathy with the necessities of the day and the hour. I only want the house to know that we are in earnest in the direction that I have indicated."

As a proof of this earnestness, what has Mr. John Morley done? He admitted that "the very limited amount of time given to the discussion of the Budget in Calcutta has hitherto been rather a scandal. Then there is also the question of the moving of amendments to the proposals of the Viceroy and his advisers. Then there is the extension of the representative element in the Legislative Council—not the Executive Council, but the Legislative."

To consider these three points and to make recommendations on them, Mr. Morley instructed the Governor-General to appoint a small committee of his Executive Council. The committee has since been appointed, has considered the various points referred to it for consideration, and has made recommendations which are said to be far-reaching in their character and to be in full accord with the spirit of Mr. Morley's speech. The public are not aware of the exact scope of the committee's recommendations; but though our Anglo-Indian friends speak of their importance and some of them are even alarmed, still the people of this country, who have ample experience of the so-called sympathy and progressive spirit of the Bureaucracy, are prepared for disappointment. To begin with, the number of representative members in the Council is not to be increased and the promised reforms are not to touch the Provincial Councils. How far these reforms, when given effect to, will place the representative members in a position to safeguard the interests of the people against the policy and the measures of the Executive Government remains to be seen. But we may be sure that no reform will be deemed satisfactory which is not calculated to give to the opinion of the representative members an effective control over the legislation and expenditure of the Government.

But what are the limitations, in Mr. Morley's idea, on the reforms which "could be expediently carried forward" may be judged from certain significant passages in his speech.

"I do not know if there is any case in history of an autocratic, personal, or absolute Government

co-existing with free speech and free right of meeting. For as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through, for so long a time our Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element." "In all that I have said I shall not be taken to indicate for a moment that I dream that you can transplant British institutions wholesale into India. You have got to adopt your institutions to the conditions of the country where you are planting them. You cannot transplant bodily the venerable oak of our constitution into India; but you can transplant the spirit of our institutions, the spirit, the temper, the principles, and the maxims of British institutions. All these you can transplant and act upon and abide by."

So, in the opinion of Mr. John Morley, in whom we feel we are justified in placing great confidence, the form and constitution of the Government of India must remain "personal and absolute," that is, under the unchecked ascendancy of English officials, and her people must be content with only the spirit of British freedom and British institutions transferred to India. He provides no guarantees to ensure uniform obedience to the British temper, principles and maxims. Anglo-Indians persist in saying that their government of India have always been in obedience to these, and the Indian administrators have always acted upon and abided by them. Have they not said, in reference to this very speech of Mr. Morley's, that he has enumerated no new principles, nor laid down new policies, and that he has merely restated those principles and maxims familiar to students of British Indian history, which have been the golden rule for the guidance of British Indian statesmen and administrators? Indeed, the excessive caution—shall we say the timidity—of Mr. Morley's liberalism has been so obvious that it has met with the approbation of some of the most pronounced reactionaries in India and England. Could Lord Curzon be persuaded to admit that in his seven years' absolute and reactionary rule, he swerved from the

spirit, principles or maxims which Mr. Morley proposes to import into the Government of this country? In fact, these expressions are mere platitudes which serve the reactionary as well as the really progressive ruler.

Nor is Mr. Morley's assurance regarding the larger employment of Indians in the higher branches of the public service likely to be followed by results in accord with a due fulfilment of our legitimate aspirations. Hardly did the echo of his words in Parliament die out in the minds of our people—words which committed Mr. Morley “to a definite and deliberate move”—when he sanctioned the supersession of Mr. C. Sankaran Nair's established claims to a seat on the bench of the Madras High Court. Nor has the stream of foreign importation into these higher branches which flowed in such broad and copious currents in Lord Curzon's time, ceased to flow under the present Liberal regime. Not one important appointment of an Indian has been made since the present minister's accession to office. British rule has lasted in India for nearly a century and a half, and the Indian people have been fully influenced by all the moral and educative attributes of British rule. Yet, to-day we are declared to be as unfit for responsible posts in the administration as we were in the time of Lord Cornwallis. It has taken a century and a half for our rulers to make up their minds to make a definite and deliberate *move*. Since the battle of Plassey, 73 years had elapsed when the first promise was made by Parliament to give the people a treatment equal to that of British subjects; another 73 years have elapsed before the determination to make a definite and deliberate move is promised. What further period of time will elapse before the determination turns into an accomplished fact, we do not know. Appointments continue to be made to posts which can be quite satisfactorily filled by Indians. Nor is any attempt made to train Indians to fill up posts which at present English experts are

alone deemed competent to fill. Again, let us consider Mr. Morley's reply to a question put to him in Parliament regarding the Simultaneous Examinations question. He adhered to the decision of 1894—a decision arrived at by the Government of India and upheld by Sir Henry Fowler—the worst Secretary of State that we ever had—after an one-sided and unfair examination of our claims. If Mr. John Morley were to adhere to decisions of bygone times, how is he going to meet “the new spirit abroad in India?” Have not the conditions of the country changed within the intervening years so that the same question may be subjected to a fresh consideration? The philosopher-statesman that now wields the destinies of India has held his exalted office for nearly twelve months, and in spite of all the hopes and expectations that his accession to office has roused in the minds of the Indian people, he has done little to warrant an optimistic forecast of our immediate political future.

Mr. Morley's views on our economic condition are much more disappointing. In his Budget speech in August last, he did not express himself in emphatic language about the “robust prosperity” of India, as Lord Curzon did. But he was certainly inclined to believe that the people of this country were slowly and steadily emerging into a condition of prosperity. As evidences of the ground justifying such a belief, he referred to the growth of Indian foreign trade. Among the signs of improvements among the diverse populations of India he referred to the opinion which an experienced Indian officer of Scinde expressed in the course of a review of his own work in that Province, the opinion, namely, that the people were becoming prosperous because “of their possession in greater quantity of articles of copper and brass, fine garments, and silver and gold, as well as of houses being built of brick tiles in place of mud.” “You find among the natives,” he went on to say as a certain proof of their material prosperity

"such a newfangled invention as the sewing machine, a machine for crushing the sugarcane instead of the old rude implement and the growing use of mineral oil." "One sign of the change, has been," in his opinion, "the growth of cotton factories."

Now, is it not a wonder that such a statesman as Mr. Morley, accustomed to examine questions exhaustively from all points of view, should form an opinion on such trivial grounds and exploded fallacies as the above, regarding a most difficult and complicated question? He admitted that, pessimist or optimist, one may make out an equally good case if one does not go into particular parts of India. Still he refused to entertain professor Beesley's suggestion of an enquiry by a Parliamentary Committee. The professor is a thoroughly impartial person and, from an outsider's point of view, he suggested that in the face of the contradictory assertions between the officials and non-officials on the subject, the only way of properly testing them is such an enquiry. Whether it reported unanimously or not would not much matter. There would be a Blue book containing a body of evidence thoroughly tested by the examination and cross-examination of those that tendered it, "and this would form the best material for independent judgment." The need for an exhaustive inquiry into the economic results of British rule in India has been repeatedly pressed by the unanimous voice of the Indian people and also by eminent Anglo-Indian authorities, on His Majesty's Government, on Mr. Morley as well as his predecessors; but Mr. Morley has rejected the suggestion every time that it has been made. The fact of the matter is, that like all British statesmen in office, Mr. Morley has not shown himself proof against the continuation of the Bureaucracy which is unwilling to pronounce its own doom. Even more than those of our political subjection, we have to dread the consequences of our industrial subjection. The latter is even

more complete than the former, and its work is more insidious and far-reaching. Mr. Morley will perhaps give us some valuable political privileges, but will he ever be convinced that India is being bled to death by foreign exploitation? He is prepared to admit that the extinction of our old industries is a serious evil. But like all British statesmen he lays stress on the inevitability of such a result following on India's emersion from her old isolation and her contact with the civilised world. He has no doubt that by the foreign exploitation to which India is subject, nothing but good has followed. There was not a word of sympathy from his lips with the distress, privation and disease that the Indian people suffer in consequence of their poverty due to foreign drain. Among the Indians themselves there is hardly a difference of opinion as to alien exploitation being the huge Jagannath under whose ponderous wheels India is being crushed. By the side of this destructive work, the good that a few and unimportant political concessions that Mr. Morley may grant to us, perhaps to be followed by re-action on a Tory Government succeeding the present Liberal one, might do us, would be insignificant and make but feeble impression on the material and moral life of the people. Political privileges carefully circumscribed by a jealous and unwilling foreign rule can do but little to elevate a nation when that nation is crushed in spirit and body by general ignorance and by privation and disease.

It is some consolation, however, to observe that our people are rising to a true consciousness of the relative importance of industrial and political elevation. It is impossible to separate the two altogether. Political liberties have in western countries led to the material elevation of the bulk of the people. The condition of the working classes in England, in fact all over Europe and in the United States, has risen since they acquired control over the Government. In fact, the material

as well as the moral elevation of the working classes is the most important lesson in social history taught by the growth of democracy. India cannot be politically free without being free industrially also. Industrial subjection is inconsistent with political freedom. In proportion as the Indian people are vested with a power of control over Government, their protest against their industrial dependence on foreign skill, foreign capital and foreign enterprise would become stronger and more general. It is to be feared, however, that India's struggle for her industrial freedom would be keener and more protracted than her struggle for emancipation from her political disabilities. But while in regard to the latter India can count to a certain extent on the sympathy and support of English statesmen, she will meet with stout opposition from them in throwing off the industrial yoke of the foreigner. Is it possible to persuade Mr. Morley to believe that India's present exploitation by foreigners for the chief benefit of foreigners is proving ruinous to her? His speech on the Budget debate to which we have referred in the beginning of this paper, encourages no such hope. Even Mr. Samuel Smith, free from official contamination, thinks nothing of this exploitation, of India's tribute to England by means of the enormous drain due entirely to foreign domination.

It is true that many countries in the world have had to borrow from foreign countries the money required for their material progress. The United States have done this, and the British Colonies do this. But to quote these countries as analogous to India only proves the bias of our English critics. There is obvious difference between *foreign* exploitation with *foreign* money and *foreign* skill, and *indigenous* exploitation with *indigenous* skill though with foreign money. The latter describes the cases of the United States, the British colonies and even Japan. These countries borrowed foreign capital and paid interest

on it, and that was all. Moreover, they resorted to foreign capital only as a temporary arrangement. While temporarily depending on foreign capital, they went on accumulating and helping in every possible way in the accumulation of indigenous capital, and steadily tried to free themselves from foreign indebtedness. These countries did not allow foreigners to initiate, manage and manipulate industrial enterprises while borrowing their capital. Foreign money was required only at the initial stage. In India it is different. We do not object to merely borrowing foreign capital and paying the moderate interest to which the foreign capitalist may be entitled. Between India on the one hand and other countries like the United States, the British colonies and Japan on the other, there is no analogy whatever in this respect. The foreigner does not lend his money to the Government or to the people of India. He brings the money here with him, establishes industries, manages them, and appropriates the profits including interest on his capital. If India paid the interest alone, it would not matter much. But she has no share in the profits; and what is worse, the direction and the management of the industries being in the hands of the foreigner, the Indian people have no opportunities of training in large enterprises. The knowledge and experience and the character acquired in the direction, management and working of large enterprises are invaluable to a nation. But the present economical conditions of India are so abnormal that her people are woefully backward in those qualities of co-operative enterprise which have given to the Western people the foremost place in the world's community of nations. Our export and import trade, much of our transport trade, our Railways, our banks, our mining industries, our chief manufactures,—not to speak of the planting industry—are all more or less in the hands of foreigners. This foreign exploitation is carried

on, not with the aid of foreign capital alone—but to a great extent with the aid of indigenous capital. There are large deposits of Indian money in the Banks of India which finance the foreign trade and European enterprises within the country. Take the case of the late Messrs. Arbutnot & Co., Madras. Their liabilities are estimated at three crores. Of this, the largest portion is indigenous money; and with this money, the late firm used to make large advances to the British planters in Southern India. It also speculated recklessly in Europe through its London Agency. There must be scores of British Banks in India which similarly have large Indian deposits, and with their help carry on business on a large scale appropriating to themselves all the profits realised.

Mr. Morely has given no indication of his sympathy with us in the matter of this most serious evil, our industrial subjection. The Swadeshi movement that has struck root everywhere in the country will, to a great extent, solve this problem. But the spontaneous and unaided efforts of the people would take a more considerable time to solve it than if these efforts received the sympathy and aid of the State. In his presidential address at the last Congress Session in Benares, the Hon'ble Mr. G. K. Gokhale quoted a most thoughtful remark of the late Mr. Ranade. 'Thirteen years ago, that great master of modern India remarked:—

"The political domination of one country by another attracts far more attention than the more formidable, though unfelt domination, which the capital, enterprise, and skill of one country exercises over the trade and manufactures of another. This latter domination has an invidious influence, which paralyses the springs of all the varied activities which together make up the life of a nation."

We do not know if Mr. John Morely has studied Indian History, especially her modern history. If he has, he must know how woefully India has suffered in her industrial and political condition from the dominance of interests

representing the money-making and money-lending classes of Great Britain. If India had not been looked upon by that country from the earliest years of its supremacy as a rich field of exploitation for the benefit of these classes, she would have reached during more than a century-and-a-half of orderly and civilised Government a much higher social and industrial condition. She would have retained her old industries, and developed economically on her old indigenous lines without a sudden rupture from her past by the violent interference of an alien power. She would have retained her old village communal system under which her simple people led a happy, contented and prosperous life. Her arts would have flourished, and her people would have reached a higher state of intelligence and education in return for the heavy taxes that are wrung out of them by an expensive Government.

The social and industrial changes that have taken place as the result of British rule are manifest only in the decadence of our old institutions, customs and arts. The industrial and the consequent social revolution that has taken place in Europe during the last century has partaken of the nature of a natural growth proceeding from inner forces, and has been coincident with a liberation of great popular forces finding expression in scientific education and in political democracy; it has been an important phase of the great movement of popular liberty and self-government. In India, however, this revolution has led to no such compensating results. India's industrial prostration, political subjection and a settled policy of exploitation of all her industrial resources for the benefit of the commercial and industrial classes of Great Britain, have produced a state of things which calls for the active interference of British statesmen of Mr. Morley's type. But will salvation come from Mr. Morley?

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.

THE FUNCTION OF ART IN SHAPING NATIONALITY

I

IT is in the endeavour to take spiritual possession of its own, in struggling to carry out the tasks before it, that the national idea is shaping itself in India. Readjustments are necessary in all directions, and in making those very readjustments, it may be, we shall become, we are actually becoming, a nation. For it is not change that is destructive, but *aimless or wrongly-purposed change*. And precisely from such it is that the ideal of nationality, with its overwhelming impulse of moral direction and ethical stability, is to deliver us. Wherever we look, on the sea of struggle, we see this thought "That we be a nation," shining as their pole-star above the tossing voyagers.

We may turn, for instance, to the culture and position of Indian womanhood. Shall there be new developments here? And in what direction? The immediate need at all costs to save ourselves from the present ever-hastening process of despair and ruin, and the further need to bind ourselves together, in a firm and coherent whole, self-conscious, self-directed, self-controlled, in other words, the will towards nationality, gives us at once an answer to our question and a guide. Change there must be. Shall India alone, in the streaming destinies of the *Jagat*, refuse to flow on from form to form? But what changes we make shall be made freely, deliberately, of our own will and judgment, deliberately designed towards an end chosen by ourselves. Shall we, after centuries of an Indian womanhood, fashioned on the pattern of Sita, of Savitri, of Rani Ahalya Bai or of Janhabai of Tipperah, descend to the creation of coquettes and *divor-*

cees? Shall the Indian Padmini be succeeded by the Greek Helen? Change it is that there must be, or India goes down in the shipwreck of her past achievements. Change there must be. But new learning shall add to the old gravity and wisdom, without taking from the ancient holiness. Wider responsibilities shall make the pure more pure. Deeper knowledge shall be the source of a new and grander tenderness. This generation may well cherish the hope that they shall yet see the hand of the great mother shaping a womanhood of the future so fair and noble that the candle-light of the ancient dreams shall grow dim in the dawn of that modern realisation.

The Education of Woman is, however, only one of many questions. In Science, in Education as a whole, in commercial and industrial organisation, it is a truism to say that we are now on the road to fresh developments. In the case of social questions, for example, we have long been agitated by disputes as to the desirability or undesirability of certain immediate transformations. But perhaps the actual fact is that we have never yet been fully competent to discuss such matters. We have perhaps had neither the necessary knowledge [and this kind of knowledge, it may be pointed out, is the rarest and most difficult to obtain, in the whole world, or in life], nor the necessary responsibility, nor, above all, the necessary leisure from foreign criticism and advice, all of which we must have, if we are ever to arrive at opinions which are really our own, on these important matters. In fact the growth of a sense of nationality involves, amongst other things, something like the

spontaneous appearance of a sovereign faculty amongst us. It is like the perception of their own unity and inter-relation, amongst the different parts of a single organism. Related to each other in the bonds of this idea, we become able to sit in national commission, as it were, on the problems of our own society and our own future.

And about nothing, perhaps, is this more necessary than with regard to Indian Art. Let us suppose then that the national intellect has placed itself in an attitude to consider and pre-determine this question of the past and future of art in India. What is it to find? What is it to decide?

Hinduism, in one of its aspects, is neither more nor less than a great school of symbolism. Every peasant, every humblest bazaar-dweller, understands and loves a picture, a pot, a statue, a decorative emblem of any sort. The culture of the eye is perfect in this land, as it is said to be in Italy; and the ancient habit of image-worship has made straight and short and much-travelled the road from eye to heart. The appeal of this symbolism, moreover, is universal. It matters not what be the language spoken, nor whether the reader be literate or illiterate, the picture tells its own story, and tells it unmistakably. The lamp left lighted on the threshold that the housewife, returning from the river before dawn, may know her own door; the bunch of grain made fast with mud to the lintel; the light beneath the *tulsi* plant, or the wending of the cows to the village at sundown, these scenes and such as these will carry a single message to every Indian heart alike. Hence art offers us the opportunity of a great common speech, and its rebirth is essential to the upbuilding of the motherland. Its re-awakening rather. For India has known many great art-epochs which cannot yet have died. The age that sculptured Elephanta was deeply impressed with the synthesis of Hinduism. The power that painted Ajanta was as free and living in

its enjoyment and delineation of nature as any modern school of realists. The builders and carvers of Sanchi, of Amraoti and of Gandhara enjoyed a continuous evolution of art, marked by great periodic waves of enthusiasm, through several successive centuries. Even a Mohamedan Empire, apart from its own architectural undertakings, only changed the form, it never attempted to suppress the process of creative art in India, as those who have seen the illuminated manuscripts in the Library at Bankipore can bear witness.

An age of nationality, then, must resume into its own hands the power of each and all of these epochs. The key to new conquests lies always in taking up rightly our connection with the past. The man who has no inheritance has no future. The modern student needs to know and understand this. For he has suffered the ordeal of being made suddenly to survey the world as a whole. He is by no means confined, as were his fathers, to the imagination of the things that his own people have done. He is in a position to compare the art of Egypt with that of Greece, that of mediaeval Italy or Holland with that of modern France. And if he knows where he himself stands, in relation to it all, this may prove an emancipation. But if he do not know, it is merely like taking away the protecting hedge from the plant that is too young to grow alone.

For India is not, in matters of art, to hark back to old ways, and refuse to consider or adopt anything that is new. But at the same time, the Indian people have been trained in Indian art-conventions and cultured through Indian associations, and it is worse than useless to desire to speak to them through the conventions and associations of Italy or Greece. An Indian painting, if it is to be really Indian and really great, must appeal to the Indian heart in an Indian way; must convey some feeling or idea that is either familiar or immediately comprehensible; and must

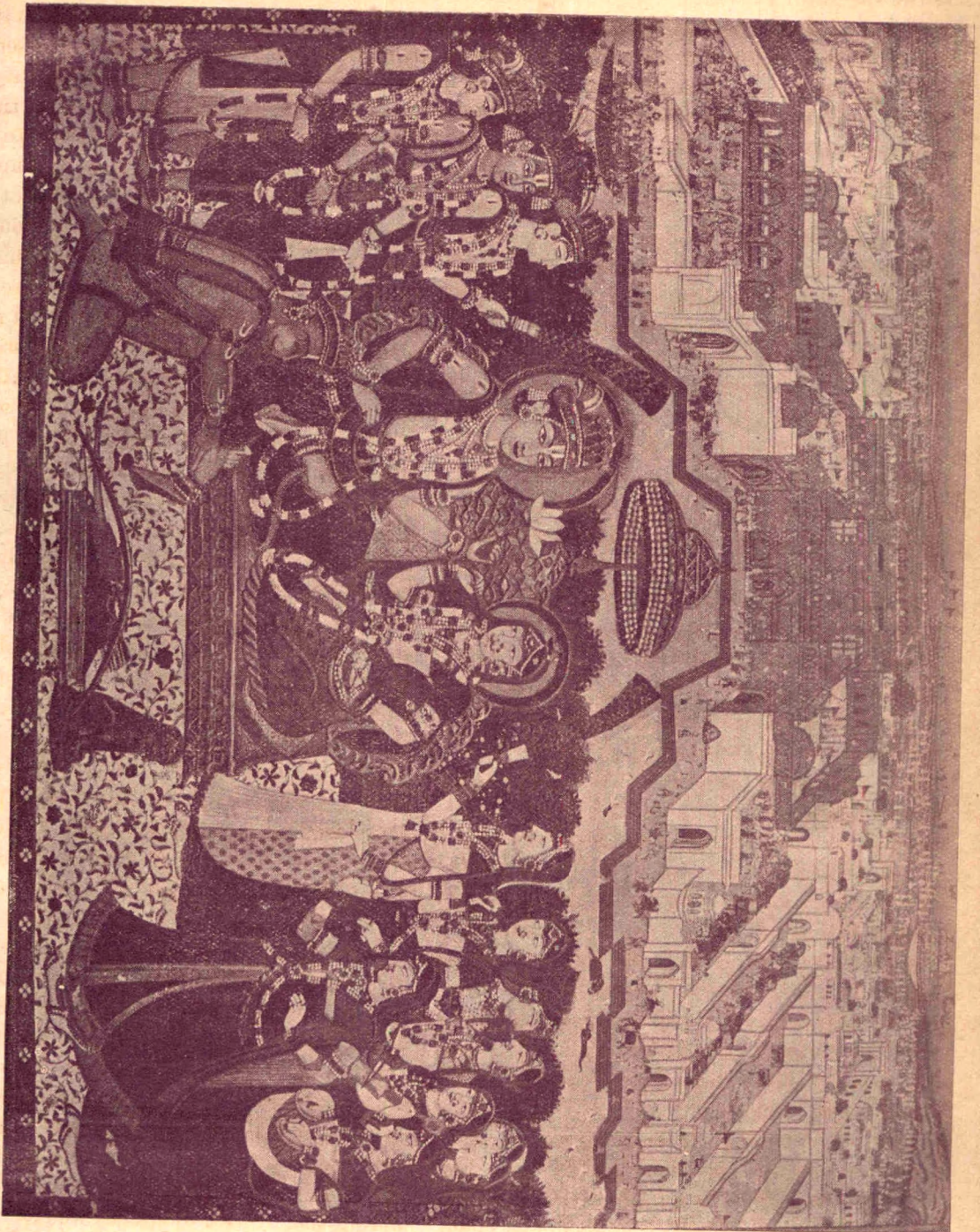
further, to be of the very highest mark, arouse in the spectator a certain sense of a revelation for which he is the nobler. But to do this, it is clear that it must be made up of elements which in themselves are already approved of by the communal taste. Thus an Indian man who has studied the carved stone doorways of Orissa, or the beaten silver of Southern temples has already possessed himself of a great language of the beautiful, and when he speaks in that language, in India, he will be understood by all, and outside India by those who are sufficiently trained, or sufficiently gifted. Now this language he will speak to perfection, because he himself will understand every line and curve of it. But will he be as competent to represent, say a Gothic window, as he is to draw an Orissan exterior? Obviously not. In the foreign case, fine artist and learned student as he is on his own ground, he will be liable to perpetrate faults and even vulgarities of style which may altogether spoil his work in the eyes of those brought up in a world of Gothic architecture. At the very best, the foreign imitator will produce only would-be Gothic, just as the English or German manufacturer can produce only a would-be Indian pattern in his cloth. We see thus that even the elements of which a picture is made up, are like a language, and just as no true poet could willingly choose to write all his poems in a foreign tongue, so no artist can do work which is eternal in its quality, unless his pictures are couched in terms "understood of the people." All great expression, whether by writing or drawing or sculpture or what not, is to some extent the outcry of a human heart for human sympathy, and men do not so cry in an unknown tongue.

But the fact that the elements of our style are peculiar to our own country does not preclude their reaching the heights of the universal appeal. The Orissan doorway could not be produced by a foreigner, but it can be enjoyed by him. The absolutely beautiful is

understood by all humanity. None of us could reproduce an ancient Egyptian temple, but all of us must admire one when we see it. It came out of its own order. It expressed that order--and its greater and more general qualities speak to us all. At the same time it must be remembered that in order to make another like it, we should have to feel and live and hope and pray and be, in all respects, like the men who built it. And this fact doubtless prevents our understanding or enjoying it, as was done in its own time. For in spite of all the false theories of sentimentalists, a ruin is *never* so beautiful as the building in use. Nothing endears like the familiarity of daily life.

As an example, however, of the way in which the universal element in a picture may triumph over that which is local and limited in it, we might take the position which is gradually being assumed in the Hindu pantheon by pictures of the Madonna and Child. One can hardly go down the Chitpore Road without catching sight of one of these. Now it is clear that in this case it is the intimate humanity of the motive, with the bright and simple colour, that appeals to the humble owner. A barrier to his sympathy lies in the foreignness of the subject. He knows the names of the two characters, it is true, but very little more about them. He cannot imagine their daily life together. He knows no stories of *that* Divine Childhood! Yet, it is after all, a mother and her child, and the whole world understands. A thousand incidents of every day are common to these and their like everywhere. So the human in the great work redeems the local. But let us suppose an equally great masterpiece, equally simple and direct and full of the mingling of stateliness and tender intimacy, to have for its subject an *Indian* mother and her babe. Will it be more loved, or less, by its devotee?

Whoever chose the pictures that are painted on the walls of the Jeypore Museum,



THE CORONATION OF SITA AND RAMA.



A WOMAN CLASPING THE FEET OF AN IMAGE.

From the Ajanta Cave-paintings.

understood the greatness of the past of Indian art, and understood, too, the direction in which to expect for it a mighty future. There is one of these pictures—taken from an illuminated manuscript, but enlarged by the copyists to some fifty or a hundred times the original size—which represents the great scene of Yudhisṭhira's Gambling. This picture is a blaze of scarlet and gold, full of portraits, full of movement, a marvel of beauty. It is true that no modern artist could have painted in such unawareness of what we call perspective. But it is also true that no modern artist who has yet appeared, and indeed no one since the age of the missal-painters themselves, would have been able so to fill the same space with splendour of life and pattern. And it is certain that India does not want to lose these greater qualities, in gaining what is, from an artistic point of view, the less.

It is, however, a characteristic of great styles that they can assimilate new knowledge without self-degradation. The creator of this gambling scene would have known quite well what to do with a little added science about vanishing points and the centre of vision! Such knowledge would have left its impress on all he did, but it would never have led him to sacrifice his beauty and purity of colour, nor his love of sumptuousness and magnificence, nor his knack of hitting off vividly a likeness or a mood, nor his power of making of a picture a piece of decoration. There is such a thing as a national *manner* in art, and India needs only to add the technical knowledge of Europe to this manner of her own. Not that it is to be supposed that correct perspective is exclusively characteristic of the West. A small picture known as the Coronation of Sita and Rama was bought recently for the Calcutta Art Gallery. Behind the throne, in this beautiful little painting, is the palace of Ajodhya, and behind the palace, the river, with its ships, and fields, with armies under review, and what not.

And in all this work of the date of 1700 or thereabouts, and of what may for convenience be known as the Lucknow School, the perspective is quite perfect, while at the same time, for harmony of tints and quality of design, it is equal to the best of its forerunners. Never was anything in a mediaeval Dutch picture more detailed than this palace of Ajodhya by some unknown master. It is built of white marble and open, much of it, to the sky; and here, with a magnifying glass, we may see the cows feeding, the horses ready saddled in their stalls, every camel and elephant and banner in its place, and all the long courts and apartments converging in most admirable order towards the horizon, like some fair City of Heaven even in a dream.

But if so many and such noble characteristics had already been attained by Indian art, what, it may be asked, is the quality in European painting which has so fascinated the Indian Art student, as to lead him out of his own path into endeavours which have hitherto been for the most part as ill-conceived as their execution was futile and disastrous?

In nine out of ten cases the student will answer that their truth to nature is the great charm and attraction of European pictures. This is very flattering to the art of the West, but alas, he who knows more of that art sees deeper and shakes his head. This 'truth to nature' of which the young disciple prates is usually mere hardness and coarseness. Nature's greatest beauties, like those of the soul, are spiritual and elusive. Quite the loveliest thing I ever saw in Greek art was not she whom Heine calls 'Our dear Lady of Milo,' but a drawing taken from a vase and painted out by Miss Jane Harrison, of a maiden riding on a swan. Her hair is tightly braided, somewhat like a coif, and everything about her dainty person is suggestive of the Puritan rather than the classic, some sweet Elaine or Gretchen or

Ushabala, may be, of a people who really understood the beautiful, not in bare flesh and protrusive muscles, merely, but in all its phases, wherever it was to be found. Similarly, difficult as the present generation of art-students may find it to believe, the worn face of a Hindu widow with its fugitive smile and deep abiding sorrow, may be better worth drawing, as well as more difficult to draw, than the admired and boasted charms of wealth and youth and health. The experienced critic of European art itself knows well how true this is, and even in the Sistine Madonna will see less of a beautiful Roman woman than of the temperament and mind of the man Raphael. A picture is not a photograph. Art is not science. Creation is not mere imitation. The clay figures of Lucknow and Krishnagar do not, charming as they are, represent a high type of sculpture. But even if fidelity to nature were the highest criterion of painting, what about the portraits of the Nawabs of Oudh that hang in the gallery at Lucknow? It is true that these great canvases have been copied from tiny miniatures. But has any one ever seen more splendid portraits? From that first Viceroy despatched from Delhi and gazing out over time and space, with sense of the infinitude of hope, to the very last, through all the list, each man stands before us living. Perhaps the least interesting of the portraits is that of the greatest of these kings, Asaf-ud-Daulah, the Well-Beloved. But they are all there, even that ancestor, second or third from the last sovereign, who was so renowned for his beauty that in the bazaar to this day there are men who cherish other portraits of him as their most prized possession.

Truth to nature, then, is not uniquely characteristic of western art, but in some degree or other must needs distinguish all its developments everywhere. Much of the joy of a great picture, indeed, is that in it we see nature as the painter saw it, often in an

aspect vastly more beautiful than any we could have caught ourselves. There is a fragment in Griffith's book on Ajanta, of a woman clasping the feet of an image, taken from the frescoes in those caves. Here we have the work of an artist who combined two different qualities in a marvellous degree. He saw the human body as the Greeks saw it, round, strong, and nobly vigorous. And he saw the soul as the mediaeval Catholic saw it, in an agony of prayer. It may be that along some such line of reconciling and revealing power lies the future of art in India. For certainly these are the two great opportunities offered by this country,—to know the human form, and to recognise the expression of overwhelming emotion, especially in worship.

But what is it, then, in European art, that tempts the Indian artist into emulation? The attraction lies, I take it, in *the opportunity which the European conception of art offers to the individual artist*. Art in the West is not merely the hereditary occupation of a craftsman. It has become, in modern times at least, a language through which great minds can express their outlook on the world. It is, in fact, one of the modes of poetry, and as such is open perforce to all inspiration, wherever and however it may be born. In India on the contrary, it has always been, or tended to be, treated as a craft, and more or less restricted, therefore, to a caste.

Now caste-education has the advantage of causing accumulation of skill from generation to generation. In the case of the goldsmiths, for example, we should quickly detect a degradation of knowledge and taste, due to the sudden advent of workers from without. A similar deterioration may be witnessed any day in Calcutta, as having befallen the art of dyeing. For undoubtedly it has been by the setting aside of the taste and judgment of hereditary craftsmen, in favour of new and untried tints, that the feeling of those who, in

matters of colour, are the uneducated, has become dominant in the community. So that, in spite of brightness and daring, the former beauty of Indian dyeing has given place to a state of things more fit for tears than laughter.

On the other hand, in all such cases, we must remember that doubtless the monotony of the older style paved the way in each instance for its sudden and universal abandonment. For an art that is followed by a hereditary guild tends to an unendurable sameness, tends to become ridden by conventions, till at last the mind of the community revolts, and seeks new ideals. This is unquestionably true of painting. The miniatures of Delhi and Lucknow might be skilful portraits, growing in cleverness from generation to generation. But they lacked elements of newness, lacked indeed the power and the opportunity to create such elements. The desirability of striking out some great new style could not occur to the minds of these painters. For caste produces habit, and habit, though it heightens skill, tends to limit imagination.

In a guild of painters, then, drawn not from any single caste, but from the nation as a whole, the first characteristic that we have a right to expect is vastness and freedom of imagination. These artists are not limited by any rule in their choice of a subject, nor in their treatment of it. They are workmen, it is true, even as their fathers were, for all painters are primarily workmen. But they are also poets, dreamers and prophets of the future. Art, socially considered, therefore, has in our time gone through a great transition in India. And just as in the Europe of the thirteenth century, Giotto, the master-painter of a similar transition, left us the highest culture of his period in his works,—giving to the Florence that lay thrilled under the shadow of Dante, as Lubkë so beautifully says, “a *Divina Commedia* carved in stone,”—so

now and always the artist becomes freed from the conventions of the caste, only that he may submit himself to a greater convention which is the mind and heart of his age. The highest art is always charged with spiritual intensity, with intellectual and emotional revelation. It follows that it requires the deepest and finest kind of education. The man who has not entered into the whole culture of his epoch can hardly create a supreme expression of that culture. The man whose own life is not tense with the communal struggle cannot utter to those about him the inner meaning of their secret hope.

In the great ages of a society, one thought permeates all classes alike. One mind, one spirit is everywhere. And this unity of ideal carries up on its high tides even the hidden craftsman in his secluded corner, till he becomes the mouthpiece of a national impulse. This fact it was that gave their greatness to the carvings at Elephanta, and the paintings at Ajanta. For speech is noteworthy, not in itself, but by dint of the power behind, that presses forward through the words. And so with Art. Its rebirth in India to-day can only take place, if it be consciously made the servant and poet of the mighty dream of an Indian Nationality. For the same reason, there is little or nothing in England now that can be called Art. An imperialised people have nothing to struggle for, and without the struggle upwards there can be no great genius, no great poetry. Therefore, in periods of empire Art must always undergo decay. But the reverse is the case with ourselves. We have to struggle for everything,—struggle to make our thought clear and definite; struggle to carry and scatter it broadcast, that we may all be made one in its name; struggle again, when this is done, to make it a reality to others as well as ourselves.

While this is the case, let no one dream that the rendering of a blue pot, or a flame-

coloured flower, of a pretty scene, or an interesting group, is the work of the painter. Far better were crudeness of colour with agony of thought behind. Far better were the rudest drawing with the weight of symbolism

heavy on the drooping eyelids of the humanity portrayed. For Art, like science, like education, like industry, like trade itself, must now be followed "For the remaking of the Motherland" and for no other aim.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

THE STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

I

THE term "Natural Science," as now understood, implies the study of organized bodies and their development. It is in this sense that I shall use the term in the course of the following observations. At one time the Bombay University, under the term "Natural Sciences"—(mark the plural), included two great and distinct branches of knowledge, namely, (a) the "Biological Group," that is to say, the science which investigates the phenomena of things or objects *with life*, otherwise termed "organised bodies"; and (b) the "Physical Group," that is to say, the science which investigates the phenomena of things or objects *without life*. This division is made on a very broad basis; the reason is obvious; because the natural laws that govern the objects or things which are without life, or which had no life at all, are known to govern organized things or bodies, living or dead. The late Professor J. Clerk Maxwell observes that "according to the original meaning of the word, physical science would be that knowledge which is conversant with the order of nature—that is, with the regular succession of events whether mechanical or vital—in so far as it has been reduced to scientific form." The Greek word '*physical*' would thus be the exact equivalent of the

Latin word '*natural*.' Under the head "Physical Group," as given in the latest Bombay University Calendar, we find that we have such terms as *exosmosis* and *endosmosis* in "Experimental Physics." In the "Biological Group" which deals with living objects, and objects which were once alive and which died sometime afterwards, we find the same terms expressive of various phenomena of living objects, namely, *exosmosis* and *endosmosis*. Where would life be if these phenomena were not occurring or should cease to be in organized living bodies? These remarks are but a preliminary note to what I have to say further on.

When in the ever-memorable year 1857, the social and political atmosphere was under a thick and heavy, dark and dismal cloud, when the heartless spirit of the murder of the innocent, the unprotected and the helpless, and rapine cold-blooded and ravenous, raged rampant from one end of unhappy India to the other, and when the revolt of the Indian Sepoy set at defiance the Ruling Power of the day, whose very salt he ate, the benignity and the magnanimity of the British officials then in power gave Calcutta, Madras and Bombay each, an "Act" to establish and incorporate a University. In

Bombay the Act of Incorporation is No. XXII of 1857. It received the assent of the Governor-General of India in Council on the 18th July, 1857. To the Indian student of Indian History the day is worth remembering.

In due course, in pursuance of the aforesaid Act XXII of 1857, the University of Bombay was established. Thus there was the "Dawn of Light Western." It bore the promise of an organized system of Western culture; nay there was more. The "Preamble" held forth the hope that "for the better encouragement of Her Majesty's subjects of all classes and denominations within the Presidency of Bombay and other parts of India in the pursuit of a regular and liberal course of education," a University was to be established. And accordingly established the University *was*. But established for what? The "Preamble" says only this:—"for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination, the persons who have acquired proficiency in different branches of Literature, Science, and Art, and of rewarding them by Academical Degrees as evidence of their respective attainments, and marks of honour proportioned thereunto." The question that naturally suggests itself unto me is this:—"Where is this or where was this proficiency in the different branches of Literature, Science and Art to be acquired?" Perhaps the following answer in 1858 would have been appropriate. I put it thus:—"Well, for Literature there was Elphinstone College in Bombay, on the squalid Babula Tank, with Dr. John Harkness as Principal, whence Mahadeo Govind Ranade, Bal Mangesh Wagle, Ramkrishna Gopal Bhandarkar, and Waman Abaji Modak won their laurels; then, there was the Free General Assembly's Institution, where the erudite Rev. Dr. John Wilson was 'Convener,' and where studied Mahadeo Moreshwar Kunte and Vithal Narayan Pathak, who distinguished themselves no less than Ranade, Wagle, Bhandarkar and Modak from Elphinstone

College; then again there was the Poona College (which is now entitled the Dekkan College) under Edwin Arnold, M. A., of poetic fame, who afterwards was created a Knight of the Order of the Indian Empire and who was succeeded by Dr. William Wordsworth, M. A., as Principal of the said College, two years after William Russell, M. A., where Govindrao Ramchandra Bhagwut, R. A. Mankar, Jaysing Rao Esji Angre, Mahadeo Chamuaji Apte, Gangadhar Anant Bhat and Balwant Bhikaji Vakharkar were amongst the distinguished graduates and scholars.

At the Foundation of the University of Bombay, if one asked the question as to what provision there was for the study of Law, the reply would have been:—"There is the Government Law school under Dr. Richard T. Reid, and James Fraser Hore, M. A." To the question "what provision is there for the study of Medicine?" the reply would have been:—"Grant Medical College under Dr. Charles Morehead, with the then Dr. G. C. M. Birdwood (now Sir George Birdwood) as Professor of *Materia Medica* only." Botany at that time had no separate or special teacher. Nor was there any teacher for Zoology. For the study of Engineering in 1857 there was the Poona Engineering College, now known as the College of Science, Poona. In 1857, when the University of Bombay was started, Henry Coke, M. A., was the Principal. My remembrance of him is that he was a terrible examiner at the University in Mathematics. His delight was to *pluck* students.

These were the only Colleges then imparting knowledge in Literature and Science. But what the "Preamble" of Act No. XXII of 1857 meant by "Art" I am at a loss to understand. The word *Art*, as given in the *Century Dictionary* (Vol. I, page 323, date 1889) means, among other things, the *Black Art*, i.e., necromancy, the *Decorative Art* which has for its primary object merely the pleasure of the eye; then again there is the meaning of *Art*

as 'Esthetics', the science and theory of beauty in perception and expression." Then again there is the "art which consists in concealing Art." (Campbell).

Our University Bachelors and Masters in the Arts Faculty would blush to be called Bachelors and Masters of *Art*, for they would be in doubt as to which of the aforesaid *Arts* they rightly belonged to. What between the confusion of the term *Art* in the *Preamble* and the two degrees in *Arts* given by the Bombay University, one might indulge in some interesting remarks of a very readable and enjoyable kind with regard to the connotation or denotation of the terms "Art" and "Arts." I shall not, however, pursue this line of thinking further.

I therefore pass on to the consideration of the most important point connected with this paper. It is my purpose to inquire as to whether the object of the original starters of the Bombay University has been supported and carried out by such requisite subsequent action on the part of the Educational Department, and on the equally responsible part of the authorities, *i.e.*, the Executive Council of His Excellency the Governor of Bombay from time to time, since the foundation of the Bombay University. We cannot forget the fact that the Governor of Bombay (not his Executive Council) is *ex-officio* the Chancellor of the University. It was his prerogative, no less than his solemn duty, to have fostered the cherished idea of imparting knowledge in Literature, Science and Art, as time after time each Chancellor presided at the University during the last 49 years—almost half a century since the dawn of the promised "Western knowledge."

It may sound harsh, but I must say it, because I cannot bring myself to be silent any more, that while the University wishes to merely examine students for "Academic" distinctions, the authorities in Bombay controlling Indian Education have signally failed

to provide our schools and colleges with the requisite staff for training our Indian students in the higher branches of "Natural Science." The "Arts" Colleges are handsomely provided with able Professors, to teach Literature, History, Philosophy, Law, Agriculture, Engineering, but Natural Science is absolutely starved. Imagine Grant Medical College without a Professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy!

A quondam Vice-chancellor of the Bombay University, who will be nameless here, but whose honoured name I am prepared to disclose at any time required, had the temerity to say to me more than once that he "hated" Sir Richard Temple "most cordially," as Sir Richard Temple, in the solemn exercise of his right as Chancellor of the Bombay University, enlisted the sympathy of the Senate of the Bombay University and instituted the degree of Bachelor of Science. Nay, he established the chair of the Professor of Biology in Elphinstone College with a view to encourage the study of Natural Science in the Bombay University. In establishing the degree of B. Sc. in the Bombay University, Sir Richard Temple exercised a very wise and far-seeing discretion. For this noble act of Sir Richard Temple's the Indian student of the natural sciences can never be adequately grateful. It is one of the very best and most sensible things Sir Richard Temple did as the Governor of Bombay in Council, and as the Chancellor of the Bombay University, out of Council, for the advance of the study of the natural sciences *till then* most deplorably discouraged, at any rate not supported in the curriculum of studies originally intended when the University of Bombay was started in the year of grace 1857. Sir Richard Temple was Chancellor from 1877 to 1880. He suddenly left for England to find a seat in the British Parliament. After him came the Right Honourable Sir James Fergusson, Bart. as Chancellor and held office from 1880 to 1885.

After Sir James Fergusson, the Right Honourable Donald James Mackay, Lord Reay, LL.D., became Chancellor of the Bombay University. Lord Reay came to India with the reputation of a great educationist in England and particularly in London. He was a prominent figure in all questions regarding the University College of London, which was started on the most catholic principles of secular education. But I am forced to say that for the Bombay University he failed to do what he might have done had he been a far-sighted educationist. His action amounts almost to harm to the future progress or study of Natural Science. In his desire to further the study of advanced Physiology in Grant Medical College, he unwittingly gave a decided blow to the study of Zoology, which his predecessor, Sir Richard Temple, had so much at heart and for which Sir Richard had most strenuously fought in order to give a decent and a prominent place to Biology in Elphinstone College. In his zeal for the foundation of a well-paid chair of Physiology in Grant College, Lord Reay abolished the chair of Comparative Anatomy in that college on the retirement of Brigade-Surgeon Lieut.-Col. G. A. Maconachie, M.D., in 1897.

The object of the abolition of the chair of Comparative Anatomy was to fatten the pay of the Professor of Physiology by rupees two hundred. It was a case of robbing Peter to pay Paul. The Peter in this instance was the student of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy; and the Paul is the *full-time Professor* created by Lord Reay, for teaching Human Physiology.

Lord Reay has much to answer for the subsequent developments of this unfortunate mistake of his as Chancellor of the Bombay University during his gubernatorial existence in the Bombay Presidency.

The result of Lord Reay's strange arrangement is that now if a Bombay graduate in medicine, after becoming a Licentiate of

Medicine and Surgery, wishes in due time to submit himself for the highest degree in medicine in the Bombay University, namely, that of Doctor of Medicine, he has absolutely no place and no professor of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy where or from whom to learn Zoology and Comparative Anatomy with a view to qualify himself for being examined in those sciences, before he can get his M. D. Degree. The same difficulty comes in the way of students of the Arts Faculty selecting Zoology as one of the subjects in the Natural Science group for the Degree of Master of Arts. There are the same drawbacks in the case of students selecting Zoology for the Degree of B.Sc. Alas! such is the deplorable state of the study of "Natural Science" in the University of Bombay, and especially in Grant Medical College.

Time was when, in years gone by in the seventies of the past century, in Grant Medical College there was in the person of Dr. John Henry Sylvester a very learned and eloquent lecturer on Zoology and Comparative Anatomy. His text-book was Rymer Jones's "General outline of the organization of the Animal Kingdom." The work is also a Manual of Comparative Anatomy written in a charming and attractive style. Rymer Jones published the 4th edition of this work in 1871. He was a Professor of Comparative Anatomy in King's College, London. Professor John Henry Sylvester was a distinguished alumnus of King's College, London, of which he was also an Associate—a distinction which is bestowed on scholars of rare and exceptional merit. It was a distinction Professor Sylvester was always very proud of. He has adorned the Anatomical and Pathological Museum of Grant Medical College with well-dissected Zoological specimens, mostly made by himself, which I am sure will serve any student or even a teacher of Indian Zoology as patterns of anatomical dissections, most

elaborately and accurately executed. I was in charge of them in 1886-1887. They were then in excellent condition. But that was full twenty years ago. I do not know in what state they are at the present day.

The Science of Zoology is an objective Science and not a theoretical one. The student may read, for instance, the description of a lobster or a crab or a tapeworm. But he must be shown a lobster, a crab and a tapeworm, by a teacher. No book-description of the intricate reproductive organs of the tapeworm can ever give to the student an accurate idea of the real arrangement of the various parts as they exist in nature. Instances might be multiplied, but they are hardly necessary.

There is a vast field for the student of the natural sciences, especially in India. There are innumerable objects to be found on the bare surface of the earth; there are myriads of them buried in the bowels thereof. There are equally countless organisms on the shore and on the surface of the sea, or in the deepest and most dismal 'abysses' of the fathomless ocean where sound cannot enter and where the ray of the sun can never penetrate, and in consequence there is grim darkness and stillness all around, above, within and underneath. For the purposes of the geographer it is customary to speak of the globe of the earth we inhabit as being made up of land and water. Such a division is not sufficient for the purposes of the student of Natural Science. Says Rymer Jones :—

"A slight investigation of the subject is sufficient to convince the Naturalist that a very considerable proportion of the world around us can scarcely be referred to as either one or the other of the geogra-

phical sections alluded to—that there are extensive marshes, for instance, equally ill-adapted to be the habitation of aquatic animals and of creatures organized for a purely terrestrial existence—that some localities may be alternately deluged with water and parched with drought—that the margins of our lakes, the banks of our rivers, and the shallow ponds of our streams and streamlets of warm climates could only be adequately populated by beings of an amphibious character, alike capable of living in an aquatic or in an aerial medium, and combining in their structure the conditions necessary for enabling them to reside in either element."

Then there is for the student of Natural History, the never-ending field, the boundless expanse of the aerial regions where amidst the star-lit or moon-lit or sun-lit ethereal regions the countless lissome winged life has its birth and living and moving. All these serve the ardent student in his college-days as great object-lessons for the training of his mind, for the education of his faculties of observation, and for the development of the power of research. And when once the mind is enriched with knowledge obtained at first hand with the aid of an appropriate teacher, and the power of observation and deduction is well established, then as the result of the deep and systematic study of Nature in every form and shape there is a gradual widening of the students' sympathies, and an ever-increasing interest in the animated world around. The earnest student of Nature can never fail to realize the touching fact that however sad and sorrowful one may be in life—for amidst even the highest joys man's life is at times full of the heaviest sorrows, there is still the refreshing truth, in Longfellow's words :—

"No tears
Dim the sweet looks that Nature wears."

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

THE INDUSTRIAL PROBLEM IN INDIA—STATE AID

AN ECONOMIC COUNCIL FOR INDIA

"Salus populi suprema est lex."

".....It is our earnest desire to stimulate the peaceful industry of India, to promote works of public utility and improvement and to administer the Government for the benefit of all our subjects resident therein. In their prosperity will be our security and in their gratitude our best reward. And may the God of all power grant to us and to those in authority under us, strength to carry out these our wishes for the good of our people."

(Proclamation by the Queen in Council to the Princes, Chiefs and People of India; November 1, 1858).

AMONG the more conspicuous features of Lord Curzon's Administration, a foremost place may justly be assigned to the advance he initiated in the economic policy of the State in India, as the final and definite outcome of the experience and developments of a long antecedent period. It was a most momentous advance—almost amounting to a radical departure,—broad-based upon a close and careful survey of the economic situation in the country and its requirements. The material condition of the people of India—their growing poverty and resourcelessness—suggested a problem as serious and difficult as any a responsible Government in any country had ever to face. The danger of the position lay in the fact that the vast majority of the population depended upon the land for their daily bread; and the late Viceroy agreed with the Famine Commission of 1880 in thinking that, as long as such dependence continued, the root of the evil must remain untouched. The same conclusion was most painfully borne in upon his Lordship's mind by the sad experiences of the year 1899-1900, when a dreadful famine—the most calamitous of the century—afflicted

the land. The development of agricultural industry on European methods was no doubt a most desirable and necessary scheme; and no one would for a moment under-rate the importance of a policy which aimed at such a result and sought to "maintain agricultural operations in the country at the highest attainable standard of agricultural efficiency." But Lord Curzon was convinced with the Famine Commissioners that agricultural improvement—on which official inquiry and efforts had so long been concentrated—could not alone be relied upon as a complete and effective remedy for the evils from which the country suffered. He held the view that economic salvation must be sought in a general movement of industrial upheaval—a thorough re-building, on newer lines, of the entire industrial fabric of the country—embracing every branch of national industry,—agriculture, manufactures, art-industries and trade. And in the conditions existing he considered it was the "supreme duty" of the State to assist to the full extent of its power in such a movement of industrial re-construction.

Lord Curzon evidently cherished no Free-trade illusions. With him apparently as with Prince Bismarck Free-trade and Protection were but categories of time and place. He rejected as inapplicable to India the *doctrine* theory of *laissez-faire* which would restrict the functions of the State to the protection of person and property and the maintenance of peace and order. He thought that the circumstances of the country made it obligatory upon the State in India as representing the collective strength of the

community, to render every legitimate encouragement and aid to the growth and expansion of the industrial life of the people in all its wide and varied range. He was deeply impressed with the boundless richness and variety of the material resources of the country and the vast potentialities of the future. He agreed with the *Times* that "for concerted and scientifically co-ordinated enterprise India offers a field second to none in the world". Vigorous and well-arranged advance was necessary upon a broad front, and he was of opinion that one of India's most urgent economic needs was a large and carefully considered scheme of state-aid in furtherance of such advance. Railways and Canals, the Telegraph and the Post were all no doubt important and helpful steps forward along the line of necessary state-action; but in his view, something more was required to meet the demands of the position,—a comprehensive constructive policy of state-assisted economic progress extending to every field of industrial effort—a policy of direct, deliberate, and systematic promotion of industrial enterprise in every form and shape.

Thus, for the first time in the economic history of British India, we had such a clear and definite recognition on the part of a responsible statesman at the head of the Government of India of the solemn duty that lay upon the State in respect of the industrial progress of the country. Never before had there been such an unreserved acceptance on the part of the authorities of a plain national obligation in a matter of such vital concern. Famine succeeded famine in disastrous succession—each with a sadder story of suffering and distress. The perils of the situation were freely recognised; but the attitude of the Government of India in this regard had for years been one of *non possumus*. Evidently the Free-trade spell had lasted too long to sway the minds and guide the action of Anglo-Indian statesmen and administrators. And

Lord Curzon's Government,—whatever our differences of view in other matters,—deserves well of the country for having had the courage to break through the traditions and lay down for the State in India an economic plan of action of such breadth and wide range. The late Mr. Justice Ranade was a strong advocate of such a policy.

As a *conditio sine qua non*, however, precedent to the inauguration of such a policy of state-aid to national industry, it was evident that Government had need of expert inquiry and competent advice. The resources of the country were inexhaustible, but as yet undeveloped and for the most part unexplored. The people,—left behind in the race and otherwise handicapped by reason of the exhausting policy—military struggles of a chequered historic past—were not in a position to utilize them by their own unaided efforts; their existing industries were but few and crude—survivals of a ship-wrecked past—the tillage of the soil and the simple subsidiary trades and crafts; their industrial organizations, in a rudimentary condition; and their industrial methods, primitive and wasteful. Being drawn prematurely and without the needful training and preparation into the vortex of the world's competitive contest, and opposed to rivals working on an immeasurably higher plane of industrial efficiency, they found themselves year after year less and less able to hold their own in the arena. All over the country, they were sinking—for want of timely help and proper guidance—*starving Midas-like in the midst of untold riches*. Here was a field of boundless extent for effective state-intervention—a field in which the British Government, as representing a higher civilization, was under a moral obligation to extend to the industrial life of the nation committed to its charge the needful aid and support.

To help the people to help themselves—to awaken in them a new industrial spirit—and gradually fit them under a suitable system

of training and stimulus for a higher type of industrial activity to lead them on into newer and broader lines of industrial effort so as to enable them in due course to take upon themselves the systematic development of their country's resources—and thus rescuing them from their present degradation and misery—to raise them to a wider and more elevated platform of economic life—this was the task which lay before the British rulers of India—a task of unprecedented magnitude and difficulty. European science and European experience had to be brought to bear on the situation, and it was clear that careful investigation, deliberation and experiment must precede effective action. It was necessary for Government before it could decide upon a practical course of action—to be in possession, on the one hand, of carefully ascertained facts regarding the economic condition and resources of the country, as well as possible and promising lines of new development, and, on the other, to have competent and responsible advice as to in what departments of the industrial field at what exact points, and in what ways it could effectively and without avoidable risk of failure intervene and assist in the general movement of advance. In other words, it required (1) a strong staff of trained investigators to collect, arrange and systematize the necessary data bearing on the economic problem and formulate reasoned conclusions, and (2) a representative board of qualified and responsible economic advisers to frame a practical programme based on such investigation and with full knowledge of the people, their habits and aptitudes, their wants and wishes. A *scientific staff and a consultative economic council* were thus the preliminary requisites for an economic departure such as Lord Curzon's Government had in view.

In the self-governing countries of the West such a double machinery is usually provided, when under parallel conditions the State

proposes to give assistance to national industrial effort. About a quarter of a century ago all over Western Europe, when there was a severe agricultural depression caused by cheap imports of agricultural produce from North America, Australia, La Plata and other countries, and falling prices, and it was clear that the crisis could only be met by a thorough reorganization of the agricultural industry and the introduction of improved and scientific methods,—state-aid was invoked on behalf of such work of agricultural reconstruction, and the Governments concerned thought it necessary before giving such aid to create a double organization of investigation and advice to guide their action, such as has been indicated above; and the organization so created still exists in these countries in full working order. In most of these countries—in France, Belgium, Denmark, Austria, Hungary, Italy—there is the Ministry of Agriculture as a distinct State Department; or where, as in Italy and the Netherlands, Agriculture is joined on to Industry and Commerce,—a Central Bureau in charge of Agriculture. The Central Administration has under it a numerous corps of specialists for various branches of agricultural research and experiment—agricultural chemists, cryptogamic botanists, economic entomologists, bacteriologists, mycologists, &c.—each section with a strong establishment and liberal grants for the work. But still stronger is the machinery of organized economic and expert advice in these States; and a few details thereof will be of interest.

In *France*, the Central Services of the Agricultural Department are under the control of a Board of Advisers called the "Conseil d'Administration" consisting of the Minister of Agriculture and six members. The Ministry is further assisted by a strong consultative council; designated the Conseil Supérieur de l'Agriculture—composed of men connected with agriculture and members of the Senate and the Chamber of Deputies. There are also

consultative Chambers of Agriculture in most of the larger towns, and through the agency of these and the "Conseil Superieur," the Ministry of Agriculture is kept fully acquainted with the wants and wishes of the agricultural community.

In Germany, the organization is still more perfect. Beginning with the small local unions, there follow branch, district and county unions—all these being united together in the Central and Provincial agricultural corporations of the smaller States and Provinces. These are again united into the highest agricultural corporations of the larger states—which often possess a semi-official character—for instance, in Prussia the Land Economy Council, in Bavaria, the Agricultural Council, in Saxony, the Land Cultivation Council and so forth. The apex of the whole organisation and the highest condensed expression of German agricultural wishes is embodied in the Imperial German Agricultural Council, which assists the Central Department with its advice in agricultural matters.

In Italy, there is the Council of Agriculture to advise the State Department, consisting of (as organised by Royal Decree in 1887).—

24 Presidents of Chambers of Commerce ("Comizi Agrari"); and

6 Presidents of Economic Societies, Agricultural Academies and Veterinary Societies—both these selected every year by the Minister from a list of associations entitled to representation on the Council—and

15 Councillors appointed annually by Royal Decree, selected from among persons versed in Economic Science and *ex-officio* members.

There is besides an extensive net-work of subordinate associations throughout the kingdom.

In Belgium, there is in each Province an Agricultural Commission appointed by the King; delegates from which along with specialists form a Superior Council of Agriculture to advise and assist the State Ministry of Agriculture.

In Sweden, there is the Royal Academy of Agriculture—to assist the Department of Agriculture—composed of 24 members appointed by the king, and 150 working members and 75 foreign members elected by the Academy.

In Norway, there is the Royal Society—"Konglige Selskab for Norges vel" charged with the same advisory function.

In Prussia, there is a Board of Advice in matters economic which may be mentioned in this connection. Its advisory functions are not restricted to Agriculture, but embrace the entire field of national industry. It is designated the Prussian Economic Council, "*Volks-wirtschaftsrath*", established in 1880 to assist the Government in the deliberation of measures affecting Trade, Industry and Agriculture. It consists of 75 members, of whom 45 are recommended to the Government for nomination by representatives of Trade, Industry and Agriculture and Forestry (15 members each), while 30 are called by the Government, 15 at least of these representing the artisan and labor classes. The election is for 5 years.

Here in this kingdom—a few years after the French War—there was a serious economic depression extending to every branch of industry—owing to unrestricted foreign competition; and it was clear that the Free Trade policy of 1865 was a disastrous failure. "National industry must unconditionally be protected." "Hitherto Germany owing to the policy of Free Trade had been a country where the goods of all the world might be deposited, the result being to depress home prices and destroy home trade." "Let us close our doors and erect somewhat higher barriers" said Prince Bismarck, "and let us thus take care to preserve at least the German market to German industry." In 1880, the great Chancellor made up his mind to abandon Free Trade, and decided with the full concurrence of the Reichstag upon a return to the policy of Protection—of 1823-65—a comprehensive policy of

state-aid and protection to national industry—"the policy of the Great Frederick." It was a scheme of large economic change, and the Prince felt the need of responsible advice in framing practical measures. And it was on his recommendation that the "Volkswirthschaftsrath" was constituted to serve as a Standing Board of Advice to the Central Administration. The Economic Council has thus been in existence for a full quarter of a century, and by all accounts, is an eminent success.

In India—where we have no representative institutions—and where the economic situation is infinitely more serious and difficult—the need for a similar double machinery of scientific enquiry and economic advice to assist the Government of the country in chalking out a proper scheme of state effort in aid and furtherance of national industry is all the greater. But, unfortunately, the Government of India ever since 1866, when the Orissa Famine first forced the question of agricultural reform and improvement on their attention, have only applied themselves to one side of the work—the equipment of a staff of expert investigators. The first measures were adopted by Lord Mayo's Government in 1870, when a branch of the Imperial Secretariat was formed to deal with the development of the scheme.

This measure was followed in 1875 by the constitution of a provincial department of agriculture in the N.-W. Provinces. In the field of Economic Geology special attention was directed to minerals of commercial value, and the exploration of the coal-beds of Central India known as the Gondwana series was commenced under the guidance of experts. Further action in the direction was interrupted by the famines of 1876-7-8, and was not again taken up till 1881 when in pursuance of the Famine Commission's advice an Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture was created. Provincial Departments were at

the same time organised—each under the control of an Official Director; and in a Resolution of 1881 the duties of these Departments were summed up by the Government of India as Agricultural Enquiry, Agricultural Improvement and Famine Relief. In the Geological Department, specialists were employed to conduct extended inquiries of a practical nature—coal and other deposits. Since then, the work of organization of expert inquiry had proceeded slowly and haltingly till 1899-1900, at the end of which year it was resumed under Lord Curzon's Administration, and pushed on with great vigor. The official scheme of scientific investigation up till then restricted to agriculture and economic geology was vastly extended and developed so as to cover as far as possible the entire field of Indian industry: and the scientific staff was largely increased and strengthened.

As at present constituted, the expert staffs of inquiry and Boards of advice are as below:—

A. *Agriculture*:—

First.—There is the Imperial Department of Revenue and Agriculture (formed in 1881) and under it, there is the Imperial Bureau of Agriculture presided over by an Inspector-General of Agriculture (appointed in 1901). The Inspector-General is the scientific Adviser in agricultural matters to both the Imperial and Provincial Governments. He has no direct authority over Provincial Departments, but it is his duty to guide and co-ordinate the enquiries and experiments carried out under the orders of Local Governments as well as to respond to the requests of private investigators for assistance or advice. He has under him a numerous staff of experts—for research-work—Chemists, Botanists, Entomologists, Bacteriologists, Mycologists, &c.

Secondly.—There are the Provincial Departments of Agriculture—each assisted by an expert staff of chemists, botanists, &c.

Thirdly.—There is the Board of Agriculture which meets annually in Pusa, consisting of the Inspector-General and the Imperial Staff, the Provincial Directors and their expert staffs, the Inspector-General, Civil Veterinary Department, the Director of the Botanical Survey and the Director of Public Instruction, Bengal. It discusses the programmes of the Imperial and Provincial Departments and advises Government as to the action that should be taken for the reform and improvement of Indian Agriculture.

Fourthly.—There is the Agricultural Research Institute, Pusa, constituted in 1903, with fully equipped laboratories for research-work.

Fifthly.—There are the Provincial Colleges of Agriculture—recently established, affiliated to the higher College at Pusa.

Sixthly.—There is the Civil Veterinary Department presided over by an Inspector-General (appointed in 1892)—assisted by a staff of Superintendents in charge of horse-breeding and other operations. There is a Camel specialist under him (on Rs. 500—660).

Seventhly.—Besides, there are at present 5 experts working under the direction of the Inspector-General of Agriculture—the *Cotton expert*, the *Tobacco expert*, the *Sugar expert*, the *Wheat expert*, and the *Fruit expert*.

B. *Geological Survey*.—Geological inquiry was first systematised and placed under a Departmental Head in 1856. Economic investigations were undertaken in 1876 and extended in 1881, and the Department was re-organised in 1893. Further changes were made in September last (G. R., dated September 7, 1906). As now constituted, the staff consists of 1 Director, 3 Superintendents, 1 Chemist and 15 Assistant Superintendents—including mining specialists.

The re-organization of the Department—including a material increase in the pay of officers—is intended to secure for the work—particularly of economic inquiry—"men possessing a sound scientific education and with practical experience of mining and geological work." "Not only was a material increase," write the Government of India, "in the pay of the various grades required, but also a considerable addition to the strength of the existing establishment. The rapid expansion of the economic side of the work is a new feature, and it is regarded as vitally important that all possible facilities should be given to assist the development upon a sound basis of mining industries in India. The necessity for the rapid completion of the Geological Survey of India has frequently been urged on the Government of India, who fully recognise the immediate scientific, and the ultimate practical, advantages of this work, but it was felt that the Geological Survey Department could not with its existing strength undertake the scientific work for the performance of which it was primarily constituted and at the same time devote that amount of attention which the interests of India now demand to purely economic enquiries. Proposals for the re-organisation of the Department were therefore submitted to the Secretary of State and have now received his approval." Mining experts—formerly only temporarily engaged—have now been placed on the permanent staff.

C. *Forestry*.—This is the Imperial Forest Department, presided over by a Inspector-General of Forests with a staff of Conservators and Deputy Conservators. There are also the Provincial Forest Services. The total strength of the controlling staff is 210 officers.

The Inspector-General and his assistants in collaboration with the Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India do scientific work in connection with the collection, investigation and analysis of forest

products including gums, resins, rubber, oils, dyes, tans, fibres, timbers, &c.

D. Fisheries.—There is yet no special department of inquiry in this connection. Only papers are occasionally published, embodying the results of private research.

The Bengal Government has recently appointed a Commission of inquiry to be assisted by an expert in fishery matters from England: and in their Resolution say :

“ The Government of Bengal has had under consideration the question of the possibility of improving and developing the fisheries of Bengal. It is estimated that the annual production of fish in the United States of America is 1,000,000 tons ; in the British Isles, over that amount ; in Japan over 3 million tons. Bengal has an extensive sea-board and from the result obtained along the coast by small parties of fishermen working on crude lines and with small boats and never venturing out far from shore, there is every promise of an abundant harvest if only the sea were properly exploited with the help of sufficient capital and enterprise. On the other hand in its estuaries, in its inland lakes, and above all in its magnificent system of rivers, Bengal has sources for fish-supply perhaps unrivalled in the world. In a country where famines occur, every measure of augmenting the food stores of the people from other sources must be a matter of supreme importance.”

The Madras Government is also taking action in connection with the development of its West-coast fisheries. The Government of Bombay is understood to have similar inquiries in contemplation.

E. Industry :—There are two sections of work in this connection—*Industrial Survey* and *Scientific Advice*.

(1) The question of instituting a special Industrial Survey of India under expert direction has been repeatedly pressed on the attention of Government. Dr. Forbes Watson of the India Museum urged the desirability of such a survey in a pamphlet entitled “Industrial Survey of India” several years ago on behalf of European capital and European enterprise. “For the last half century”, wrote Dr. Watson, “it has

been on all sides constantly urged, that no radical reform in the agricultural or industrial condition of India can take place without an influx of European capital and European enterprise, and it has often been made a matter of surprise that neither of them has been supplied by England in the amount which could have been utilized by a country of such vast natural resources as India. It has been considered remarkable, that a country under British rule, with full guarantees for the protection of life and property, has not attracted more of the super-abundant capital and enterprise of England, although the means of communication have recently been so much extended. The reason is that, however important all the conditions just enumerated may be, there is a still more indispensable requirement which must be satisfied before private capital and skill will come forward without a Government guarantee. This requirement is such a precise knowledge of the industrial resources and of the conditions of production of the country as will allow of a reasonable forecast of the success of the enterprise:” in other words, a systematic scientific knowledge of the various products of India in their raw and in their manufactured condition. Such a knowledge in Europe is the accumulated result of the efforts of many successive generations, the work of legions of pioneers and experimenters. In most European countries there is a network of private agency for such scientific investigation. In India we have not even the rudiments of such a private organization; and with a view to promote the industrial advancement of the country it behoves Government to lose no time in instituting such a survey.

There is yet no separate Department entrusted with this kind of technical work. But numerous lines of inquiry are being fast opened out by official and other investigators;

and the results as far as scientifically reached and tested are published from time to time by the Reporter on Economic Products to the Government of India.

Dr. Watt's Dictionary of the Economic Products of India compiled in 1885-1894 deserves mention in this connection. It is intended to be a work of reference—accurate in its scientific details—for practical and commercial purposes. A revised edition of the Dictionary is at present under preparation: it contains a trust-worthy and ample *resume* of official and private inquiries regarding the economic products of India—supplying precise and comprehensive information regarding each economic product—its different varieties, the places and methods of its production and commercial and industrial uses—as demanded by Dr. Forbes Watson many years ago on behalf of European manufacturers and merchants.

Some of the Provincial Governments have also carried out partial surveys of this kind in their respective Provinces—notably the Government of Madras; and the results of such surveys are accessible to the public in the local Gazetteers.

(2) Apart, however, from such survey work—we have at present three advisory bodies to assist the Government of India in regard to such an exhaustive scientific examination of the economic products of the country.

(a). First, we have the Board of Scientific Advice for India constituted in 1902. It consists of the heads of the Meteorological, Geological, Botanical, Forest, Survey, Agricultural and Veterinary Departments; and Government from time to time invites to serve upon it other Scientific Officers in the service of the Imperial and Provincial Governments whose special attainments may render their assistance desirable.

The Board is a central authority for the co-ordination of official scientific inquiry, and

advises Government “in prosecuting practical research into those questions of economic or applied science, on the solution of which the progressive prosperity of the country, especially as regards its Agricultural and industrial development so largely depends.” It further advises upon the operations of the Departments with due attention to the economic side of their work, and serves as a Board of reference on all matters connected with the organization of scientific inquiry in India. It submits annually to Government a general programme of research—and at the end of the year, presents a brief review of the results obtained during the year in all lines of scientific investigation controlled by its members.

(b). Secondly, the Government of India has the assistance of the Imperial Institute in England with reference to “such scientific and technical investigations of economic importance as are best pursued in London either on account of their special character and complexity or on account of the desirability of the results being communicated to manufacturers and commercial experts with a view to technical trials and commercial opinions and valuations being obtained, and

(c). Thirdly, there is in England an Advisory Committee appointed by the Royal Society to advise the Government of India on its scientific and economic work. The Director of the Imperial Institute is a member of the Committee. The reports and programmes of the Board of Scientific Advice in India are submitted to the Committee through the Secretary of State for consideration and advice.

The field of inquiry in this respect is of vast extent, and progress must necessarily be slow. With three such Boards of Advice, however, the Government of India will before long be in a position to organize a separate Department for the purpose of carrying out such a comprehensive industrial survey of the country.

It may be added in this connection that articles prepared by the staff of the Scientific and Technical Department of the Imperial Institute, embodying results reached relating to Indian economic products are annually published in the Bulletin of the Imperial Institute, and that the Bulletin circulates in Great Britain and in the Colonies. Last year the bulletin on the production of Manganese ores in India had a wide circulation.

F. Trade:—Railway communication. We have the Railway Board composed of three railway specialists with a Secretary and establishment (constituted in 1905). It is a body outside the Government of India—entrusted with a double set of functions—(1) Administrative and (2) Deliberative. Its administrative functions include the construction of new lines by state agency, the carrying out of new works on open lines, the improvement of railway management with regard both to economy and public convenience, the control and promotion of the staff on state lines, &c., &c. As regards *deliberation*, there are the preparation of the Railway programme and the larger questions of railway policy and economy—affecting both State and Companies' lines. In the exercise of the latter functions, the Board acts as the adviser of Government whose conclusions will not be arrived at without the advice of the Board.

Thus as a deliberative body, the Railway Board is a standing Committee of railway experts to advise the Government of India in regard to this branch of Public Works. It is intended to bring to this side of state policy larger expert knowledge and experience, and examining the question from the wider standpoints of administration, trade and industrial development, submit to Government from time to time a systematic and scientific programme of railway extensions and railway administrative improvements.

2ndly,—We have the Bureau of Commercial Intelligence, under a Director-General of Commercial Intelligence with an Assistant Director and a strong staff of Superintendents. The Bureau is an important department intended to serve "as an intermediary between the Ministry of Commerce and Industry and the mercantile public."

G. Commerce and Industry:—But, above all, there is the new Department of Commerce and Industry formed in 1905 to preside over the entire work and guide the general economic policy of Government. It is invested with extensive functions—embracing Economic Products, Fisheries, Geology and Minerals, internal land trade, merchant-shipping, railway questions, customs, Government coal and iron works, exhibitions, &c. &c.,—matters, generally relating to the commercial and industrial development of the country. The Department also advises Government on questions concerning commercial treaties and conventions.

"The days are gone by," said Lord Curzon, (*vide* Budget speech, 1905) "when Government can dissociate itself from the encouragement of commercial enterprise"—especially at a time "when the whole air is alive with movement, rivalry, and competition; and when we desire to push our products, our manufactures and our industries upon the attention of the world." The new Department realises the long-cherished aspiration of the mercantile community.

Such is briefly the extensive machinery of expert enquiry and technical advice created for the most part during the past few years—from humbler beginnings—to assist the Government of India in matters economic. It touches every point of the industrial compass, and comprises in its wide sweep every branch of national industry—agriculture, mining, forestry, fisheries, industries and commerce—and

communication. The new organization indicates with sufficient clearness the comprehensive policy of state-aid in furtherance of the industrial and commercial development of the country on which the Government of India has embarked under Lord Curzon's lead and guidance.

Scientific inquiry and technical advice, however, only represent one side of the work. Scientific investigation and ascertainment of facts and conditions—collection and collation of all available *data* bearing on the question—this is of course a necessary preliminary condition—preliminary to the proper initiation and prosecution of all practical effort, but nevertheless, forms a factor—essential undoubtedly—but of subordinate importance in the practical problem. How such efforts should and can best be inaugurated—on what lines conducted—and by what means and agency—and with what aims and objects—these and the like are among the most determining considerations in the matter. Further, the limitations of such state-action and its ultimate purpose ought never to be lost sight of. The work is the people's own work; they must take it in hand and carry it on—receiving in the first stages of effort and trial—aid from the State only when necessary and that, too, for a time only till they are able to do without it. "A good Government" says J. S. Mill, "will give all its aid in such a shape as to encourage and nurture any rudiments it may find of a spirit of individual exertion. It will be assiduous in removing obstacles and discouragements to voluntary enterprise and in giving whatever facilities and whatever direction and guidance may be necessary; its pecuniary means will be applied, when practicable, in aid of private efforts—rather than in supersession of them, and it will call into play its machinery of rewards and honors to elicit such efforts. Government aid when given merely in default of private enterprise should be so given as to be as far as possible a course

of education for the people in the art of accomplishing great objects by individual energy and voluntary co-operation." A scheme of state action which aims at any other result in this matter and seeks to concentrate the work in the hands of the State to the exclusion of the people—or to transfer the field of development to other than indigenous enterprise offends against all principles of justice and fair play.

The work Government proposes to itself in this connection, is one of great responsibility; and in order that its action might be planned out on right and helpful lines, it is absolutely necessary—particularly under the peculiar conditions of British rule in India—that it should have—before it decides upon a practical course of action—on the results of scientific investigation and in accordance with the recommendations of the expert Departments—responsible and competent popular advice—the advice of the people on whose behalf all such action is contemplated—men of position and influence who know their countrymen and can speak with authority about their wishes and requirements.

Apparently, however, Government has yet no such machinery of popular advice in contemplation. Perhaps the existing bureaucratic frame of general administration does not easily lend itself to any such arrangement. It places its chief dependence upon its own Departmental officers and official Boards—particularly the new Minister of Commerce and Industry and the Board of Scientific Advice—and accepts all such outside advice and suggestions it may receive from the Press and Associations. It has not yet, however, provided itself with any constitutional means of taking the people into its confidence; and the absence of some such provision appears to us to be a most fundamental defect in the present scheme of state action—leading to results not always in harmony with the just aims of such an economic policy.

As far as British capital and British

enterprise are concerned, the absence of any such non-official representative board of economic advice to the Government of India involves no serious disadvantage. They are always in the closest touch with the authorities both in England and India. In England, they have at their back the support of the powerful British industrial organizations, and have intimate relations with the India Office through them or their representatives in Parliament. In India itself, British Commerce is allowed direct representation on the Legislative Councils under the Indian Councils' Act. Besides, the British mercantile and industrial communities have their Chambers of Commerce and other associations to focus and represent their views, and these Chambers and associations, according to Lord Curzon's view "form an important factor in the body politic, constituted for the formation and representation of expert opinion upon mercantile subjects," and a valuable machinery by which Government can ascertain the views of the business world upon the many matters connected with business and trade with which it is called upon to deal." There is also the English press to give them its support. And finally, there are the numerous and frequent formal and informal Conferences between their representatives and members of Government in regard to matters affecting the trade, industry and commerce of the country. When the question under consideration is one of railway extensions or railway tariffs or of merchant-shipping or customs, of preferential tariff or trade or of currency or banking, these associations are invariably consulted and their views receive careful and sympathetic attention at the hands of Government.

Far different, however, is the case with Indian interests. These interests, though they constitute the central factor in the position and have the first claim on the consideration of the authorities, are nevertheless left to lie and suffer in the cold shade of neglect.

The Indian agricultural and industrial communities have no press to assist them with its advocacy, and but a few feeble organizations to represent their views or urge their claims. They have no representatives of their own in the Legislative Councils ; they are seldom if ever consulted by Government or taken into confidence in reference to these industrial matters and are otherwise denied any determining or consultative voice in any form or at any stage in the final decisions of Government.

We have here certainly a most anomalous position of things. The Indian people are the people primarily and solely concerned in the matter : it is their interests that are affected, and it is their economic future that is at stake. It is for them and for them alone that all this action of the State in the economic sphere is intended. And yet, it is precisely they who are left out in the cold and made to stand outside the pale, while Government is glad to accept help and advice in its work from every other quarter, and listen to every other voice.

The field of work here is the people's own, and it has to be borne in mind that such protective intervention on the part of the State in aid of the people's efforts is a purely optional function and rests only on a moral obligation. And if the Government of India goes out of its proper line of administrative duty and undertakes economic work which does not fall within the limits of its necessary functions, it does so, because the people on whose behalf it is undertaken—are unable—through whatever cause—under present circumstances to do without such state-help. This is the *raison d'être* of such state-effort and its justification. As soon as the people are able to help themselves and safe-guard their interests by their own unaided efforts, the necessity for state assistance ceases, and Government will be bound to withdraw from the field. State-aid thus in this economic sphere comes in only

pro tempore and *pro bono publico*; and in taking up this duty, Government places itself for the time being in the position of a *trustee* and a *guardian* of the people's interests. It is obvious, that in order to be able to properly discharge its trust and for the good of those on whose behalf it exercises it, and to take effective practical measures with a view to that end, it must needs have correct and accurate knowledge as to what their difficulties are, what impediments lie in their path of advance, where and in what ways they require such state assistance. Without such knowledge, its action—however well-meant—might conceivably proceed on wrong lines and fail in its intended object. The Government of India, however, thinks fit to deny to itself the advantage of such close touch with the people vitally interested—and that, too, under circumstances under which it needs it most, and seek help and advice in the work chiefly from those who can have little or no knowledge of the people, their wants and wishes, and whose interests, besides, are not infrequently in conflict with theirs.

The result is as might be expected. Under such foreign advice, guidance and inspiration, there is a grievous deflexion of the entire action of the State on the economic side—a deflexion against which the nation is entitled to enter its respectful but most emphatic protest. A new ideal seems to be aimed at—the ideal of an Industrial India moulded and developed on European methods—not by the energy and efforts of her people—but by foreign enterprise, and objects are proposed other than those connected with national advancement. India is looked on as a “material asset” of the Empire of vast potential value, and quite in the spirit of the Colonial system of the 18th century and its underlying ideas, is sometimes spoken of as a “vast property.” It is a land of inexhaustible resources and there is no finer field in all the world for British enterprise. The Indian people are no doubt good agricul-

turists, but are “incapable” of any other or higher effort; and if the splendid wealth of the country is ever to be developed, it can only be by the energy and resourcefulness of foreign enterprise. British enterprise has achieved such marvellous success in the development of Canada, Australia and New Zealand, what ground is there for doubting that it would obtain similar success in the Indian field? The English exploiter, with his Free-trade experience of English industrial life, does not require any adventitious aid from the State; but the State gives it—to accelerate the movement of advance and to shorten the preliminary period of trial and failure. And when the industrial field is thus successfully worked and developed, the people of the country would come in for their share in the resultant prosperity.

Some such considerations would seem to govern the new economic policy of the State. And so inspired and guided, what wonder if the entire scheme of state action in the matter is being planned out on lines and state-aid rendered in forms and in ways which have been found so successful in the development of the Colonies—but which far from benefiting us—the people of the country—who, by reason of their general economic unpreparedness, are unable to take any active part in such work of material development, only serve to help the foreign exploiter and promote the progress of his enterprise? And it looks as if the whole splendid machinery of scientific inquiry and expert advice which has been recently created by Government to assist it in the work were being utilized in the same direction. The people of the country are left out of account in the general scheme; the requirements of their economic present and future are ignored; the peculiar disabilities under which they labour and which prevent them from taking their proper share of the work are lost sight of; and what is still more regrettable,—no comprehensive action is taken

or even proposed to lift them from their present helplessness and fit them for the work that awaits them and relieve the foreigner of the burden. The resources and energies of the State seem directed to one end and one only—the industrial development of the country—irrespective of any considerations of means or agency. The material progress of the country—so helped—is proceeding rapidly and on all lines. Only we, the children of the soil, have little or no share in the advance. This is the saddest feature of the situation and fills us with the gravest misgivings.

Such deflexion of state action and its results are alike deplorable, and seem to point to a serious defect in the machinery of expert advice that there is at present to assist the Government of India in these matters. At all events it is clear that the scheme of state-aid—framed under the influence of distorted views and false ideals—requires not only a modification but a radical change. Evidently the industrial development of a country can have no economic value and no permanent result unless it is the work of the people themselves. The industrial field is theirs—by right of birth; and theirs is the duty, as theirs is the privilege to work it. It is their national possession, their national heritage, which they are bound to maintain intact and pass down to those who come after them unimpaired, if not improved. It is the one provision that exists for the varied wants of coming generations. Foreign exploitation—whatever its extent and whatever its success—can at best be regarded only as *pioneer-work* and useful as paving the way for the eventual progress of indigenous enterprise; and must in no case and under no circumstances be suffered to supplant and supersede it. A scheme of economic development—and that too, with state assistance—in which the work is in the main left to foreign enterprise, and in which the people of the country have no

higher rôle assigned to them than that of labourers—hewers of wood and drawers of water—is a scheme of state-aided foreign exploitation—which has no justification in any considerations of national equity, necessity or expediency, and must carry with it its own condemnation. The work is emphatically and by every moral right ours; ours are the interests vitally concerned; or we must achieve our salvation by our own efforts in this as in so many other departments of national life. In our present economic weakness, however, and in the first stages of trial and struggle, we require as an indispensable condition of success, the guidance, the lead and the help which the State alone can give us. Looking at the question from this point of view, we submit that a new departure is absolutely needed in the existing plan of state assistance—a departure on lines more in harmony with our wants, and calculated to bring us relief and help where needed most and in the right way, and give us the requisite training as a nation to enable us to rise to a higher level of economic effort, and in course of time, resume our proper place among the great industrial nations of the world. As an indispensable preliminary to so fundamental a change in the programme of state action in the economic sphere, we would humbly suggest that the Government of India should have with it—available for purposes of consultation—and side by side with its departmental Board of Scientific Advice—another independent and non-official Economic Board—constituted on the plan of the Prussian Economic Council*—a Board composed under a double system of election and nomination—of representatives of the various industrial classes in the country—duly qualified to speak with

*“The Prussian Economic Council consists of 75 members, of whom 45 are recommended to the Government for nomination by representatives of trade, industry and agriculture and forestry (15 members each); while 30 are called by Government, 15 at least of these representing the artisan and labour classes. Election is for 5 years.” The Council was established in November, 1880.

authority from personal knowledge and experience and give competent and responsible advice to the Administration in respect of the various practical measures under consideration. Such a Council need not be at the start anything more than a purely *consultative* council like its Prussian prototype—giving advice on economic questions and without consulting which—as in the case of the Railway Board in respect of its deliberative functions—Government would not take any decisions.

Already in agricultural matters annual conferences are held in various Provinces between officers of the Agricultural Department and representatives of local agriculture—conferences which are by all concurrent testimony found so useful. The principle underlying such popular consultations in matters so vitally touching the well-being of the people, is officially admitted to be a sound principle; and the proposed Economic Board would only give it a wider and a more general extension, and in a more permanent shape. If such a Council of Advice in matters economic has been considered necessary in an advanced state like Prussia, and that, too, by no less a statesman than Prince Bismarck, how much more necessary is it to have one such for India where the problem that confronts us is infinitely harder and more complex. Surely the day is gone by when the rulers could securely live amidst the clouds of Olympus and issue *Firman*s for the guidance of their subjects. They must now in these prosaic times descend from the celestial heights and come to the haunts of men and listen to what they have got to say as to their wants and wishes. Even the British Government in India is no exception.

In Prussia—where the Economic Council was constituted in 1880, the question before the Prussian Government was one of Protection to Prussian industry against the perils of unrestricted foreign competition, and even so masterful a Chancellor as Prince Bismarck, the

great Empire-builder, considered such a standing board of economic advice to the Administration essential to the successful carrying out of the new policy proposed. In India the task before the Government and the country is one of immeasurably greater difficulty—it is a *re-building* of the entire industrial life of the nation on the newer and more solid foundations. Such a work of general industrial re-construction must in any country be a work of formidable difficulty. In the case of India, the difficulty is greatly increased not only by the vastness of the area to be operated upon but also by the heavy incubus of a chequered past to be removed before the way could be cleared and by the complexity of the conditions which surround the practical endeavour. It is undoubtedly the work of the people themselves—a work which they must carry out by their own efforts. But the fact that in their present economic prostration and helplessness they are unable to accomplish it unaided—for themselves and by themselves, and being so unable—starve and suffer, imposes upon the British Government of the country, as representing a higher civilization and charged under Providence with a nobler imperial mission than was ever entrusted to the ancient Romans—a most solemn obligation in this regard—an obligation to render to their subjects all the aid and helpful guidance it is in their power to do—in achieving their economic salvation. And in the discharge of such an obligation, no responsible British Administration will, we venture to think, deny to itself aid and advice from the people concerned and their leaders—such as the proposed Board of Economic Advice would be the means of supplying.

Besides, the constitution of such a Council of Economic Advice would be a most fitting supplement to the magnificent machinery of scientific enquiry and technical advice which Lord Curzon's Government has created to assist the Administration in this economic

work, and supply the one missing link in the great organization. The scientific staff is already strong—and only requires the addition of a few experts in fisheries, scientific forestry and Irrigational Engineering to give it the necessary completeness. The Boards of Scientific Advice are well-organized and leave little to be desired. The new Ministry of Commerce and Industry places at the command of the Government of India the highest technical and administrative talent to advise and assist in framing practical measures. There is, further, the touch with the representatives of British capital and British enterprise in the country. But one most important link is still wanting to complete the chain and strengthen the imperial organization. Some machinery is required by which Government in their Department of Commerce and Industry can ascertain at first hand the views of the Indian agricultural, industrial and merchantile communities, so vitally interested in the matter. In the absence of such an agency, there can be no living touch with the hard concrete realities of the situation, and the one central element in the question—and that, too, of such essential importance—and without due regard to which no practical decision can safely be taken—*viz.*—the views of the people concerned—is likely to be oftener than not overlooked. The proposed Economic Council is intended to supply this cardinal defect in the existing organization.

Such a Board of Advice constituted, Government would get into close living touch with the facts of the industrial life of the country, and would be in a position to know what the difficulties are that beset the path of indigenous enterprise—where its weaknesses lie—and at what points it requires nursing and fostering—and with such knowledge, to grasp and appreciate the general situation and its needs—and frame its programme in accordance therewith.

At all events, our national requirements in this respect—which are so numerous and so urgent, but which at present receive such scant notice at the head-quarters of the Imperial Administration, would receive their due consideration. There is, for instance, the first and most urgent of our wants, and that is in respect of general and technical education. After a century of British rule, we have to note the distressing fact that we have yet a bare 5 per cent. of the population able to read and write. It is clear, that no great advance is possible with such general illiteracy and the moral helplessness it implies—in this as in other lines of national improvement. Universal Education—whether on the voluntary or on the compulsory principle—is what we most sorely need to give us the requisite leverage for a progressive movement. So, again, it is regretted that we have not yet in the country one single institution like the Tokio College of Engineering in Japan—to give instruction to our aspiring youth in the higher branches of Science and Engineering. The time is surely come when it is necessary for us to have one strong and well-equipped college of Physical Science and Technology. There is, next, the question of the existing land revenue assessments, the crushing incidence of which has at present such a depressing effect on the premier industry of the nation. There is a general consensus of opinion that some fiscal readjustment is absolutely necessary to give relief to the cultivating classes, and put the industry on a proper plane of efficiency. Mr. O'Connor, our former Director-General of Statistics with the Government of India, suggests a 30 per cent. reduction in the existing land revenue demand all round in the temporarily-settled Provinces—notably Bombay and Madras. There is again the question of banking and the re-organization of rural credit. There is but little capital in the country available for

Population (1901)	293.3 millions	is possible with such
Literate	15.6	general illiteracy and

industrial efforts and as to what little there is, we have yet no proper means of marshalling and mobilising it for the purpose—such as for instance exist in Japan. Further, there is among the people a most lamentable want of knowledge about the material resources of the country. In regard to mineral wealth, for example, we doubt if one in a thousand can tell where lead and copper exist, manganese and chromite are found or where mica and asbestos are worked. The records of the Geological Survey, which contain such invaluable knowledge on the point, are all in English as also that comprehensive work of reference—Dr. Watt's Dictionary of Economic Products. We have got no vernacular translations of these works for the use of the industrial classes; and why not, is the question that is asked. In dealing with these and such other questions, we think, the advice of such a council as we propose would be of the greatest value to the Administration.

But, further, such a Council of Economic Advice would be a most useful link between the Imperial Administration and the industrial classes in the country. No such channel of communication at present exists. There are just now so many special inquiries going on in various parts of the country under official experts—enquiries regarding sugar, tobacco, silk, chrome leather work, indigo, &c.; and yet the people know little or nothing about these expert inquiries or the results reached. Besides, these and such other lines of scientific inquiry on technical research are at present being opened up in response to suggestions from the British industrial and mercantile community, while the people of the country whose requirements in respect of such scientific investigations of an economic nature are so numerous and so varied have got no means of taking any effective share in such initiation. We trust, they would find in the proposed council a useful body through whom they could place themselves in communication

with the expert Departments under the Government of India.

Moreover, under the *Swadeshi* impulse there is now a general awakening in these industrial matters throughout the length and breadth of the land—a new stir in men's minds—of such happy augury for the future. The air is full of movement and change, and it is evident, that we are on the eve of a new era in the economic annals of the country—the uprise of new ideas, new hopes, new aspirations—and active and vigorous efforts on all sides to go on on the path of advance. And it seems to us important that the Government of India should be able to place itself at a time like this at the central point of vantage on the line of march in order to give to the new national movement the proper directive guidance and stimulus which it alone can give. Already a comprehensive constructive policy of state-aid in support of such an economic progress of the country has been planned out with such prescient statesmanship by Lord Curzon's Government and a splendid organization of inquiry and technical advice has been created with a view to enabling the authorities to carry it out. And it seems to us that the help and advice of such an Economic Council as we propose is necessary, as calculated to bring the Imperial Administration into living contact with the industrial system of the country and enable it to appreciate the forces at work and intervene with effect—and exactly at the points where such intervention would be most useful.

Such are some of the considerations which lead us to suggest the formation of such an Economic Council for India. What the precise constitution and functions of such a Council should be are matters of detail which it would obviously be premature at this stage to discuss. We would only say that such a Board of Advice to be really serviceable and fitted to fulfil its duties with efficiency must be a strong, independent and, as far as possible,

representative Board. And we have no doubt that such a Council of Advice would be on the one hand of great help to the Government of India in carrying out its policy of state-aid as present conceived and chalked out, and on the other of incalculable advantage to the whole industrial population of the country.

And, finally, there is every reason to hope that thus helped and guided by the State on the one side, and with the moral leverage of the new *Swadeshi* sentiment of such force and strength, India would be able to enter upon a career of industrial advance with an organised vigor and a well directed energy which would promise the happiest results, and, before many years have passed away, to claim her proper place in the forefront of the world's progress. Altogether all indications concur

that this Land of Promise of ours has an economic future before her brighter and mightier by far than even her golden past—great though that is—and that the ideal of *Swadeshim* is not the baseless fabric of a dreamer's dream—but a positive certainty within measurable distance of realization. Here we conclude, and in conclusion we would express a confident hope that the suggestion made in the foregoing pages regarding an Economic Council for India—to advise the Imperial Administration on economic questions—will receive sympathetic consideration at the hands of the public.

O Land of lands ! to thee we give
Our prayers, our hopes, our service free ;
For thee thy sons shall nobly live,
And at thy need shall die for thee !

G. V. JOSHI.

THE INDIAN HAND-LOOM INDUSTRY

[We have pleasure in publishing the following letter from Mr. E. B. Havell, of the Calcutta Art School, to an Indian friend. We do not endorse all that Mr. Havell says, on the subject of power-looms. For we know that there is a demand in India for machine-woven cotton, which the hand-loom cannot meet, and this demand we desire to see supplied by our own people, and not by foreign dealers. Neither do we accept without a grain of salt, the strictures on labour-conditions in India. If what is said should be true, the fact would need establishing in our eyes by reliable evidence from many quarters. Nor are these labour-conditions incapable of improvement. Nevertheless, Mr. E. B. Havell has proved himself a true and devoted friend of our Indian weaving, throughout many years ; and undoubtedly his suggestions deserve the warmest consideration by Indian readers. We are happy therefore to draw attention to his letter.]

I AM writing to you about hand-loom weaving. I have prolonged my leave until November, 1907. In the mean-time I want to do what I can to push on the hand-loom

weaving. I have persuaded Hattersley and Sons, of Keighley, the biggest manufacturers of hand-loom apparatus in Europe, to exhibit a complete set of their hand-apparatus in the forthcoming Congress Industrial Exhibition in Calcutta (next December), and to send an expert to supervise a practical demonstration.

Their hand-looms have been a great commercial success in Roumania (worked by women) and in Egypt. On my suggestion they made a special model sometime ago for weaving plain *Saries* and *Dhoties*, and they are now making special efforts to adapt all their apparatus to Indian requirements. It has taken me several years to induce them to do this, and I am very anxious that people in India should make the most of this opportunity and give them a fair trial ; for it is most important for India to have all the power of organisation, technical skill, experience and

capital which such a firm commands, working on the side of the hand-loom industry.

It grieves me very much to see *Swadeshi* people wasting their money and energy in starting power-loom mills, which only can benefit the shareholders and help to push the hand-loom industry further down. What I want to see is one Indian weaving village provided with the best modern weaving apparatus, with proper technical help and financial assistance—as a model for all other weaving villages in India. If this were worked properly it could easily compete with the power-loom factories and it would be an object-lesson worth all the technical schools in the world. The cost of the experiment would not be the tenth part of one power-loom factory, and would be paid eventually by the weavers themselves out of their enhanced earnings. The Marwaris, who now finance the whole weaving trade of India, could easily set up the whole country in improved apparatus if they could be brought to see the possibilities open to them, but they will never move until they see a first experiment made a commercial success. I do not pin my faith entirely to Hattersley's looms—because the conditions are so various that there is scope for a great variety of apparatus in all grades—but the coming exhibition is an opportunity for testing apparatus which has been a great commercial success in competition with power-looms in Europe. The best villages to begin with would be Serampore, Hooghly, Chinsurah, or others in the same locality, where the weavers are of more than average intelligence, as they have themselves adopted several important mechanical improvements. Could you not try to get this experiment carried out? It need not necessarily be confined to Hattersley's looms. I believe Jessop and Co. of Calcutta have brought out one, and I have heard of several others introduced since I left India.

The point is that the practical part of the *Swadeshi* movement should work with the weaving industry, *i. e.*, with the weavers themselves and not only with school-boys and young men who have had no previous training in weaving. It is quite true that there is room enough for all, but the best chance of success should not be neglected altogether as it seems to be. We all know what the power-loom mills lead to. I see that Mr. R. D. Petit, who ought to know, says that “the condition of labour in the Bombay mills at present reveal a degrading and disgusting spectacle of cold-blooded inhumanity.” *Swadeshi* will be utterly discredited if the leaders only think of putting money into the pockets of themselves and their relations. Could you not get Mr. R. C. Dutt to try my experiment in Baroda? There are dozens of wealthy zemindars in Bengal who could find the money for it easily. I am writing to Hattersley about it. I want their man when he comes to India to go to Serampore and see for himself what the weavers are doing now, and what they might do with better appliances. He will be rather helpless on account of not knowing the language but no doubt you would be able to find many people to help him in this. Hattersley's agents in Calcutta are now Messrs. Allen Bros. and Co., and they would give you all information about the movements of Hattersley's expert. Hattersley's is the only firm I could get to take up the question in England. I wrote to numbers in America but none would respond. That is why I am anxious that Hattersley should be treated with some consideration.

I should so much like to hear how the weaving goes on in other directions and what success the various schools, etc., in Calcutta, have had. I fear you have had a difficult time on account of the bad season, but I hope things are mending now.

E. B. HAVELL.

DADABHAI NAOROJI

THE fact that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji has rendered great service to India by his study of her economical and political problems, is apt to mislead us as to the real motive power of his life. His intellectual powers are indeed remarkable; but we presume it is his heart-power and strong imagination that must have all along been the source of all his energy. No one can take a prominent part in the work of upbuilding and uplifting a nation who does not bring to his work pure, deep and intense feeling and a strong constructive imagination that may enable him to shape in his mind its ideal future. The future belongs to those statesmen and economists who can spiritualise their politics and economics. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji is such a statesman and economist. He has pure, deep and intense feeling and a strong constructive imagination; though these qualities of his mind are not perceived by those who take only a superficial view of his life and character.

Our object in making the foregoing observations is neither to belittle Mr. Naoroji's intellectual eminence nor to minimise the importance of brain-power; but only to point out that feeling and imagination have more to do with the making of a man than is generally supposed. It is for this reason that in the training of youth a prominent place should be assigned to what in the absence of a better expression may be called humane literature, though not, of course, to the exclusion of science.

In the chapter of his autobiography published in *M. A. P.*, Mr. Naoroji tells us:—

"One of the first fancies which took possession of my mind as a child—a fancy which has remained in my memory—was that, as my father was dead, the moon, like other friends, was in sympathy with me.

And whether I went to the front or the back of the house the moon always seemed to go with me. I liked sympathy then and I like it now."

Are not feeling and imagination there in that picture of his childhood?

Then again he tells us:—

"The education was then entirely free. Had there been the fees of the present day, my mother would not have been able to pay them. This incident has made me an ardent advocate of free education and of the principle that every child should have the opportunity of receiving all the education it is capable of assimilating, whether it is born poor or with a silver spoon in its mouth."

So it is not a mere intellectual process of reasoning that actually made him an advocate of free education for all. A sympathetic imagination must have called up before his mind's eye the holy image of many a poor widowed mother struggling ineffectually to provide education for the little ones;—that should be enough to make one an advocate of universal education for life. The following passage should also be read in this connection:—

"As education advanced, thought gradually developed itself in different directions. I realised that I had been educated at the expense of the poor, to whom I myself belonged, so much so that some of my school books came from a well-to-do class-mate, a Cama, one of the family with whom I was destined subsequently to have so much to do in public and private life. The thought developed itself in my mind that as my education and all the benefits arising therefrom came from the people, I must return to them the best I had in me. I must devote myself to the service of the people. While this thought was taking shape there came my way Clarkson on "The Slave Trade," and the life of Howard, the philanthropist. The die was cast. The desire of my life was to serve the people as opportunity permitted."

How beneficial it would be to our motherland if all of us, who have been educated, partly

at least, at the expense of the poor were to be impelled by the same sacred desire! The saddening thought also obtrudes itself on our minds that perchance many a patriot, many a benefactor of his race has been lost to India for lack of free education.

As a boy he could not have read much temperance literature to know all the evils, physical, moral and economic, of drink. But right feeling made him while still a boy an advocate of temperance for life. Says he in his autobiography:—

“As a boy, I was accustomed to have my little drink before dinner. One day there was no liquor in the house, and I was sent to have my drink at a shop opposite. Never did I forget the shame and humiliation I felt at being there. It was enough. The drink shop never saw my face again.”

Character is the foundation on which a great career in any sphere of human activity is built. In the case of Mr. Naoroji we find that he learnt the lesson of “Pure thought, pure word, pure deed” early in life from a Gujarati book called “The Duties of Zoroastrians.”

Now we come to the concluding passages of his brief but inspiring autobiography.

“I suppose I must stop here. But there is one, who, if she comes last in this narrative, has ever been first of all—my mother. Widowed when I, her only child, was an infant, she voluntarily remained a widow, wrapped up in me, her everything in the world.

“She worked for her child, helped by a brother.

“Although illiterate, and although all love for me, she was a wise mother. She kept a firm hand upon me and saved me from the evil influences of my surroundings.

“She was the wise counsellor of the neighbourhood. She helped me with all her heart in my work for female education and other social reforms against the prejudices of the day. She made me what I am.”

Blessed mother, blessed son! She reminds us of another “illiterate” mother, that of Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar, who inspired and helped her son in his life-work. Mr. Naoroji’s mother had her reward, too. She

lived to see him the idol of his nation. Says Mr. H. A. Wadya in *The Oriental Review*:—

“When she visited Baroda at Mulharrao Gaekwar’s pressing invitation, I remember the Maharaja’s interview with her. He sat for sometime unable to say anything, and thus burst forth—‘*Fortunate woman to be the mother of such a son, one only in all India!*’ She could only answer with upraised hands, her eyes full of tears of joy and pride. Verily, she had her reward!”

Yes; “*One only in all India!*”! But does not that one remind us of the Sanskrit proverb which says: One moon destroys darkness, which hundreds of stars cannot dispel?

We Indians attach the greatest importance to filial piety. Mr. Naoroji’s feeling of affectionate reverence for his mother, has had, we are sure, no small share in making him the devoted son of his motherland that he is. Mr. C. M. Cursetjee says in *The Oriental Review*:—

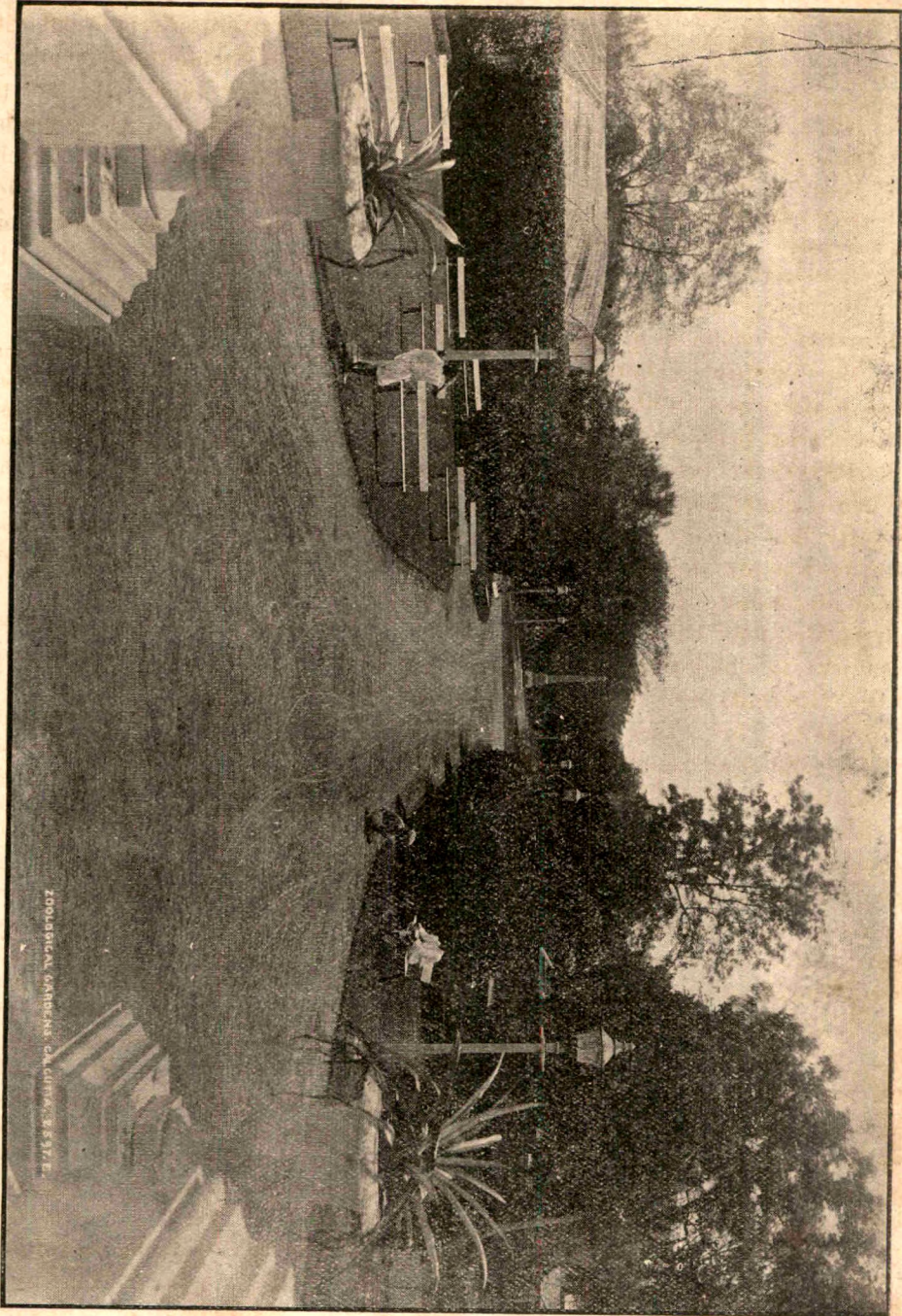
“His filial piety is not to be surpassed. In his most prosperous days the maternal word or wish was law in his house and his dealing with the mother was so gentle and so dutiful that it struck even the most casual observer. I have often seen them together and the relationship between them was ever a pleasing and exemplary sight. Even when, as it sometimes happened, the good dame was unreasonable, or acted incongruously, the son was ever amiable, forbearing and respectful.”

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s political career is pretty well known to the educated public of India. What is less known is his work as an educationalist and a social and religious reformer. He was the first Indian to be appointed a professor in a College; but his claims to the title of educationist do not rest on that fact alone. His educational, social and religious work had better be described in the words of Mr. K. R. Kama, his “oldest friend.”

“Drawn by an ardent desire to elevate the moral tone and character of his pupils, Prof. Patton enthusiastically encouraged the formation of a debating Literary and Scientific Society. Mr. Dadabhai was the right hand man of the Professor in the organization of this Society and in reality was its life and soul. A

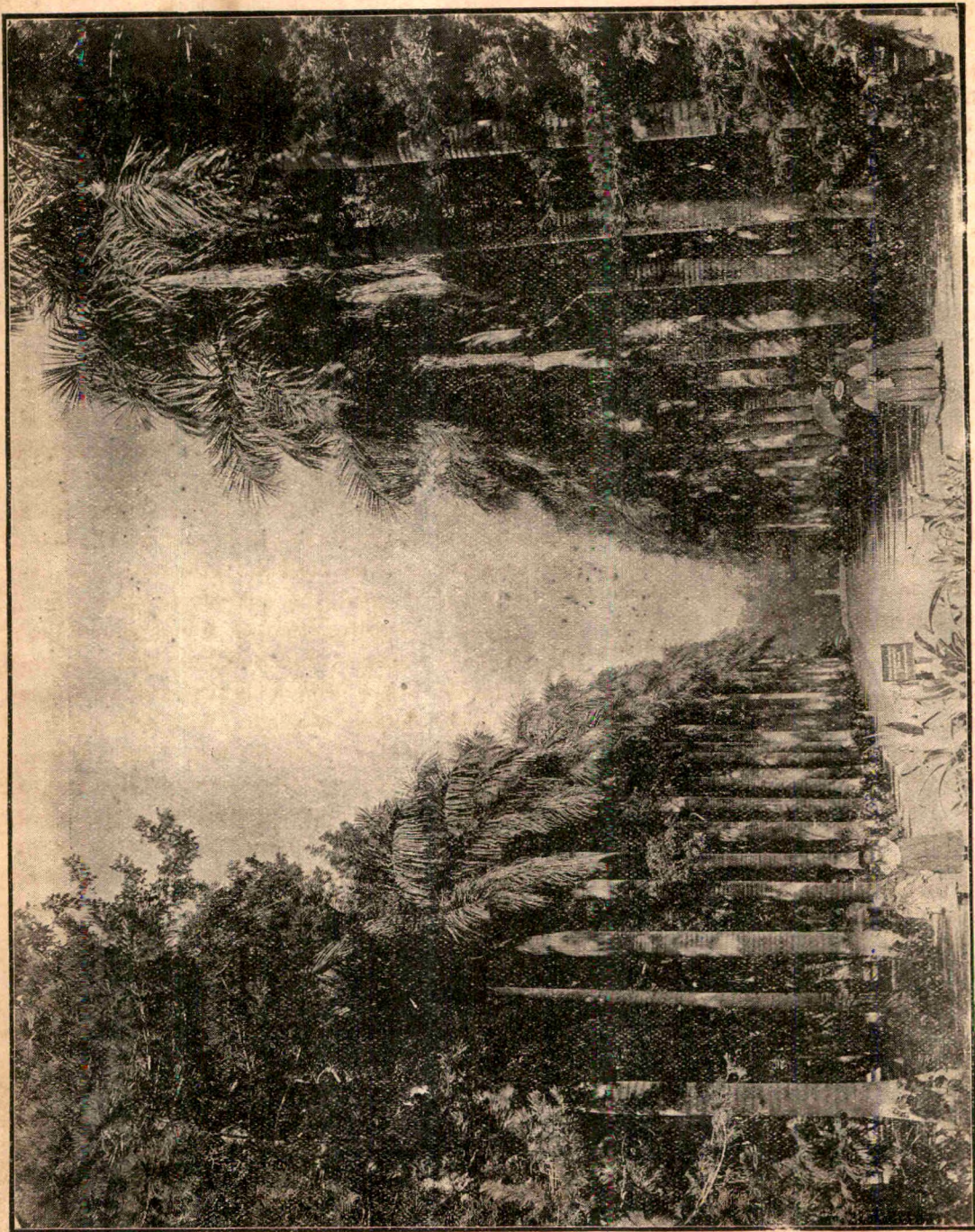


Mr. DADABHAI NAOROJI.



A VIEW IN THE ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS.

ZOOLOGICAL GARDENS, CALIFORNIA, 1917.



AVENUE OF OREODOXA, BOTANICAL GARDENS.

journal was started in connection with this society, called "The Students' Literary Miscellany." Dadabhai was one of the most diligent contributors to it. Not content with the formation of such a society, the proceedings of which were conducted in English, still further to benefit the larger masses of the natives who did not know English, he made it a labour of love to start branches of the same in Guzerathi and Marathi, and styled these the Dnyan Prasarak Mandalis. Under the auspices of the Guzerathi Dnyan Prasarak Mandal, Dadabhai gave them numerous lectures to remove ignorance, and especially superstitious faith in witchcraft and other demoralising tendencies."

"In 'the Students' Literary and Scientific Society' the late Behramji Ghandy read a stirring paper on the advantages of female education, when Professor Patton, the Chairman, urged upon the members the duty of putting their preaching into practice and to be active female educationists. Led by Dadabhai, a number of classes were opened with scarcely two to three girls in each, mostly consisting of sisters, cousins and neighbours. Dadabhai's class was situated at Bharkote in his house; that of Ardeshir Moos at Chundunwadi, of Jehangheer Panthacky and of Cavasji Mehta in the Fort, and of Dr. Ardeshir Bhajivalla at Mazagon. These volunteer teachers taught the classes in the mornings before going to their own duties at the Elphinstone Institution. These classes were the nucleus that developed into the formation of the Students' Literary and Scientific Society's Marathi and Parsi girls' schools."

"The stimulating effect of these literary activities prompted a keen desire to organise a religious reform association resulting in the inauguration of the Rahanumai Mazdiasna Sabha. Dadabhai's staunch co-adjutor in this work was his constant supporter and sympathiser, the late revered Naorojee Furdoonjee, who had, even previous to the formation of this Society, been studying the philosophy of the Zarthosti religion and publishing many articles and pamphlets on the subject. Furdoonjee was naturally elected President, and Dadabhai the first Secretary of the Rahanumai Mazdiasna Sabha."

"Still further to educate Parsi public opinion in favour of these reforms, the *Rast Goftar* was inaugurated. Dadabhai was its first indefatigable and edifying Editor. The concern was financially helped by the late estimable Cursetjee Nusservanjee Cama and later on by a Syndicate of seven of whom Dadabhai and myself are the only survivors."

"After his first return from England Dadabhai joined the late Manockjee Cursetjee, C. N. Cama and a few others to remove the social barriers which existed against Parsi ladies freely taking their part in social functions. The commencement of this was initiated by the formation of a family Social Reform Union, members of which had weekly family gatherings at each other's bungalows: and the ladies and gentlemen entertained one another by means of conversations, musical soirees and dinner parties."

Before his visits to England Mr. Naoroji was either one of the originators of or active participators in most of the public movements of the time. Some of these have been mentioned above. There still remain to be referred to the Bombay Association, the Framjee Cowasjee Institute, the Iranee Fund, the Parsi Gymnasium, the Widow Remarriage Movement among the Hindus, the Victoria and Albert Museum, &c. The Iranee Fund, it may be explained here, was raised for ameliorating the condition of the Zoroastrians resident in Persia. So far back as the year 1851 he contributed to a daily Gujarati paper, called the *Samachar Darpan*, a series of articles entitled "Dialogue between Socrates and Diogenes." He edited the *Rast Goftar* for two years without remuneration. He contributed some eighteen papers on Natural Philosophy and Astronomy to the *Dnyan Prasarak Magazine*. In connection with the controversy on the subject of introducing Indian ladies at dinners and social gatherings, Mr. Naoroji wrote an account of the condition of women in different countries in ancient times. In the midst of these multifarious activities he found time to learn French, Persian, Hindustani and Marathi. Gujarat, of course, he knew as his mother-tongue. When he went to England he became Professor of Gujarati and some other Indian Vernaculars at the London University.

These facts go to show, what is a truism, that a genuine reformer cannot but take some interest and part in all kinds of reform; though according to his powers, bent of mind and

opportunities, he may be busier with one kind of reform than another: for all reforms are correlated. They also show that the foundations of reform must be broad-based on the minds of our women and the masses through the medium of the Vernaculars, which, we are constrained to say, have been too much neglected by many of our leaders.

The reforms which Mr. Naoroji introduced in the administration of Baroda as its Dewan are generally referred to in his biographical sketches. But very few people know the nature of these reforms and the difficulties he had to contend with. The subjoined extracts from Mr. Wadya's paper on Mr. Naoroji give us some idea of his difficulties and his work. Their interest, it is hoped, will be considered a sufficient excuse for their length:—

"It is well known that Mr. Dadabhai was called from England when the Ravenscroft Commission was appointed to enquire into the maladministration which Col. Phayre had reported to Government. He became Dewan in December, 1873, and the Report of the Commission was sent to Mulharrao Gaekwar, in May, 1874, for any explanation or remarks he might desire to submit. His Highness was then at Navsaree. The Dewan was sent for and I accompanied him from Baroda to Navsaree as Personal Assistant. The report was explained to the Gaekwar. The question then arose what the Gaekwar should say. The old *Mundlee*, who were still around the Gaekwar, were encouraging him to make his defence. It was reported that the President himself, who had not taken kindly to Mr. Dadabhai's appointment and who certainly did not help him, taunted His Highness and asked where was the use of the new Dewan if he could not defend him! But from first to last Mr. Dadabhai gave one certain and unequivocal reply. *"I have not come to defend your past. My duty is to change and improve; and all I can do is to ask for a fair trial for the future."* This was the sum and substance of the position Mr. Dadabhai then took up. The struggle continued for two weeks and more. Mr. Dadabhai had made up his mind that if the Gaekwar accepted his advice he could return to Baroda, if not, he would go from Navsaree direct to Bombay. This was conveyed to His Highness more than once. One afternoon the Gaekwar came to the Adewan all of a sudden and asked us to go for a drive with him. He had decided

to accept Mr. Dadabhai's advice. The next morning the old *Mundlee* were sent to Baroda. We prepared the *Kharita* in Navsaree. All that it asked was for a fair trial. It had not attempted any defence of the regime which it was the new Dewan's task to reform. The struggle had been severe, but his calm strength and firmness brought him success.

"During the old regime the Varisht or High Court was presided over by the Gaekwar in person. Justice was actually bought and sold. The man who paid the largest *Nazarana* won the cause. It simply amazed us when we found that those *Nazaranas* were entered on the record and the dates for the payments of the instalments were fixed. The late Mr. Bal Mangesh Wagle was the Chief Justice appointed by Mr. Dadabhai. His support to the Dewan was entire and unflinching. He brought to Mr. Dadabhai's knowledge the fact that the date for the payment of one of his own instalments was approaching and the *Sheristadar* had drawn his attention to it with an intimation that His Highness expected the instalment to be levied. *"Tell His Highness,"* said the Dewan, *"that if he touches a single pie of such money I go from my office to the Railway Station. I will not be with him one single moment after he receives such money."* I had to take this message myself. There was another prolonged struggle. The old party, though out of power, had still their influence over Mulharrao, and the position he was taught to take up was that the payments had all been arranged before the Dewan's advent and they could not concern his administration. But Dadabhai remained unflinching and uncompromising. To him it was an outrage, and yielding was impossible. He was entirely successful and during his stay not a rupee of the unhallowed bargains came to the Gaekwar's hands.

"The relations of the Gaekwar with the Sirdars of the State were most unfriendly. Col. Phayre was their friend and they knew it. In this state of things, the wife of one of the Sirdars—a daughter of a previous Gaekwar, and niece to His Highness Mulharrao, left her husband's protection and took shelter in one of his outlying palaces. Her husband—a little peppery man—was furious and sought to bring her back by force. Other Sirdars made common cause with him. They assembled their armed retainers. The lady in the palace engaged a number of mercenaries and armed them for her protection. There would be bloodshed in the streets of the city and it was reported that the Resident would bring in a British Regiment and occupy the city to restore

order! Mr. Dadabhai never flinched and never lost nerve. He insisted on the lady's return. He knew that His Highness was supporting her though he pretended not to do so. He went straight to the Resident and undertook to send the lady back, but time was necessary, and Col. Phayre agreed to advise the Sirdar to take no step for a stated period. The Dewan then went to the Sirdar's house—and he found him and his sympathisers assembled. He told them what had been arranged with the Resident. The little Sirdar could not control himself and gave way to an outburst. I never saw Mr. Dadabhai more calm and more firm. He allowed the Sirdar to have his say in full. He sat silent for a few minutes waiting if any other Sirdar had anything to say. And then he spoke. *"I do not belong to the past. I have had no hand or share in the things you complain of. I am the Dewan now and I ask you to trust me and I undertake to send the lady back. But I must have time."* They could not and did not resist the appeal. The Dewan advised the lady to return. She positively refused. *"I am Gaekwar's daughter,"* was her proud reply. He asked Mulharrao to use his authority. He promised, but never meant to do so. The next morning when Mr. Dadabhai started to see the Gaekwar, His Highness got the warning and left the Palace earlier to escape meeting him. Mr. Dadabhai ordered his driver to drive fast in a particular direction so as to waylay Mulharrao in his drive. They met and Mr. Dadabhai tried to impress on His Highness the seriousness of the position. But Mulharrao was in one of his mad moods. And Mr. Dadabhai could see that he would do nothing to help. Then Mr. Dadabhai said he must have full powers to deal with the lady. Mulharrao assented, though unwillingly. In the afternoon, when Mulharrao was sleeping, the Dewan took the step he had contemplated. *He wrote to the lady in the Gaekwar's name that unless she returned before 4 p. m. to her husband's house, her allowance would be stopped.* He had obtained the Gaekwar's authority and he exercised it in his name. The lady could no longer disobey such a mandate. Before the Gaekwar came out of his bedroom the lady was at her husband's house. When His Highness heard of the Dewan's order, he was furious. *"Fancy such a message to a daughter of my house by my Dewan,"* said the Gaekwar. *"I had your Highness's authority and the message was in your name,"* said the Dewan. *"And I did it to prevent bloodshed."*

The following anecdote related by Mr. Wadya is characteristic of the selfless patriot:—

"For the first eleven months of his Dewanship, Mr. Dadabhai never drew his pay! And his pay was a lakh of Rupees a year. We never knew this. Our pay was given to us regularly every month by *chithis* signed by the Dewan. The news of the arrears of pay came one day from Bombay. We enquired and found it was quite true. We asked Mr. Dadabhai and he said he could sign the *chithis* for us but *how could he sign a chithi for himself!* Bal Mangesh Wagle and I reported this to the Gaekwar. He was simply astounded that no pay had been drawn for eleven months. He asked why, and when the reason was told, the words that escaped him were: "Every praise to him." It is not true that Mr. Dadabhai resigned because Mulharrao's trial was ordered or decided upon. He resigned 15 days before the *confessions* which made Sir Lewis Pelly report against Mulharrao. Till then Sir Lewis Pelly was making every endeavour to make the Gaekwar retain Mr. Dadabhai as Dewan."

This reminds us of his sterling honesty as a man of business. It is generally known that he was connected with the London firm of Cama and Co., half a century ago. It is also known that after sometime his connection with that firm came to a close. Mr. K. R. Kama tells us the inner history of this incident in *The Oriental Review*.

"Our business chiefly lay in exporting piece-goods and metals and importing cotton and seeds, on both sides it being exclusively confined to commission business. Unhappily an insignificant indent came for sewing-thread asking us to stamp the thread-balls with more yards than they actually contained. On our demurring to execute the order, our chief contended that even European firms of position and standing did not object to such a proceeding; we declined to accept this sort of moral code of any firm, however well known. This trivial affair ended eventually in our deciding to sever our connection with the Firm."

As to his failure in business, Mr. Wadya tells us that it was not due any speculations on his part.

"When he failed in business in 1865 his failure was not due to his own speculations. He quixotically befriended a Parsi gentleman hoping to save him from bankruptcy. He staked much of his own wealth to

avert a *Parsi bankruptcy*! He did not avert it and his loss was great. Then came the crash after the share mania in Bombay and he was engulfed in the general ruin. He placed his affairs before his creditors so fully and with such strict integrity that the Governor of the Bank of England wrote to him personally and complimented him on his remarkable honesty. When he received the purse from his admirers in Bombay for his public services he did not use this money himself. He devoted it to the same public service without ostentation and, indeed, without the knowledge of any one except of a few friends and fellow-labourers."

Mr. Naoroji's writings and speeches are not all political or economical in character. When Curzon the Truthful indicted all Asia of mendacity, the present writer, like many other journalists, tried to show from various sources that whatever the pretensions of that pompous Viceroy might be, the man Curzon was not exactly infallible. One of the sources of information was Mr. Naoroji's essay on "The European and Asiatic Races" written in 1866 in reply to Mr. John Crawford's paper on the same subject, in which that writer sought to prove the inherent inferiority of Asiatics in every respect. The reader would do well to turn to this and other papers of Mr. Naoroji's to stimulate his patriotism and store his mind with useful information.

Our Anglo-Indian patrons have scientifically classified all Indian agitators and politicians, labelling them as either moderates or extremists. We may without vanity tell our patrons that we understand their game. We are not anxious to claim either of the two tickets; nor is it our intention to label Mr. Naoroji accurately. What concerns us most is to know the truth, to speak the truth and to follow the path of righteousness "in the scorn of consequence." There is no genuine Indian patriot who does not in his heart of hearts believe foreign rule to be in itself an evil and wish for his motherland absolute autonomy. The difference of opinion between the so-called moderates and extremists is for the most part about strategy and the range of practical

politics in our day and the opportuneness of the present time for one or other of the various methods of India's political regeneration. Mr. Naoroji's political views are well known and the methods he advocates have no secrecy about them. He has pressed these views and followed these methods for half a century with a persistency which the younger generation ought to imitate. He has, in fact, been accused of constantly repeating himself, by those who do not know the secret of successful agitation. For says Mr. Morley in his "Life of Cobden":—

"A political or religious agitator must not be afraid of incessant repetition. Repetition is his most effective instrument. The fastidiousness, which is proper to literature and which makes a man dread to say the same thing twice, is in the field of propaganda mere impotency. This is one reason why even the greatest agitators in causes which have shaken the world are often among the least interesting men in history.

The Autocrat of the Breakfast-Table only says the same thing in a more piquant manner, when he observes:—

"You don't suppose that my remarks made at this table are like so many postage-stamps, do you,—each to be only once uttered? If you do, you are mistaken. He must be a poor creature that does not often repeat himself. Imagine the author of the excellent piece of advice, "know thyself," never alluding to that sentiment again during the course of a protracted existence! Why, the truths a man carries about with him are his tools; and do you think a carpenter is bound to use the same plane but once to smooth a knotty board with, or to hang up his hammer after it has driven its first nail? I shall never repeat a conversation, but an idea often. I shall use the same types when I like, but not commonly the same stereotypes. A thought is often original, though you have uttered it a hundred times. It has come to you over a new route, by a new and express train of associations."

There is at present more political unrest and ferment in Bengal than anywhere else in India. The Congress is going to meet in Calcutta in a few weeks. What will be Mr. Naoroji's message to us? What will be his

attitude towards *Swadeshim and boycott*? His message to the last Congress and his message to the people of Bengal may partly satisfy our curiosity.

"The tide is with us. The English people and Press are beginning to understand the wrongs of India. All Asia is waking up. The Isles of the East have made the start. A great autocracy in the West is crumbling to dust—and we may fairly expect that in dealing with such a people as the British, with their instincts for liberty and justice roused, our emancipation is not far off, but I hope near. My word is:—Never despair or despond! Go on, go on, thoroughly united—come weal, come woe—never to rest but to persevere with every sacrifice till the victory of self-government is won."—*Message to the Congress.*

"The responsibility and the opportunity that has now fallen to your lot, to the lot of Bengal, is to show that Indians have a backbone—the staying power to the last. If we can once establish this reputation, half our fight for self-government will be fought and won. I congratulate you on the opportunity Bengal has acquired to retrieve the Indian character for manliness, vigour, staying-power and, above all, readiness for any sacrifice. I don't care—I am prepared for ultimate failure—Bengal may remain partitioned—the boycott may at last end—but it will be a great gain if we can once establish the character for organised union and self-sacrifice. But I am not despondent. * * If we are determined on any one thing, some result is sure to ensue towards forward progress. I look ahead to the future. Such struggles will have great influence on future progress. I wish you every success in this struggle. You are a large and homogeneous body and can do things with unity. You can take all Bengal industries in your hands, jute, coal and others. One more important result I am looking forward to is the rousing up of the masses, and the present is just the kind of struggle which can accomplish this object. If the people are once roused, they will always be ready to follow their leaders. I hope you will carry the legal fight to the end."—*Message to the Bengalis.*

Casual glimpses of his character we have had above. It now remains to add a few concluding words on the same topic. Few they must be owing to exigencies of space; though we know a separate article devoted

to the subject would not be too much. For, has not "The Professor at the Breakfast-Table" observed, "when a strong brain is weighed with a true heart, it seems to me like balancing a bubble against a wedge of gold"? Mr. Justice Ranade once spoke of him as only one in India's three hundred millions. He fully deserves this high eulogium. What have always impressed those who have known him most intimately are the urbanity and suavity of his manners, the cheerfulness of his conversation and the most winsome simplicity of his temperament. No evil thought or word ever finds place in his speech nor a harsh expression such as can wound any one's feelings. On the political platform he calls a spade a spade; in private life he is amiability itself. "As a father he has ever been most affectionate, amiable and solicitous; as a husband a paragon of virtue and good sense; as a son most devoted and praiseworthy. As a friend it would be difficult to qualify him. He is everything that a friend should be." When his business failed and he suffered irretrievable losses, he bore his misfortune with the utmost calmness of mind. With still greater fortitude has he borne the loss of his only son. On the occasion of his coming to Bombay to preside at the Lahore Congress he returned to his humble little house in a back street in Khetwady, instead of driving to the fine house prepared for him on Malabar Hill, as he was pressed to do. "Whenever he is in India he discards the English habiliments entirely and dons the clothes which the orthodox Parsis still delight in." In 1865 during a slight illness his doctor remarked that Mr. Naoroji "had lived such a pure life and his internal organs were so perfectly sound, that he would not be surprised if Dadabhai lived to be a centenarian."

"Whatever record leap to light,
He never shall be shamed."

28th November, 1906.

RAVI VARMA

TENNYSON has taught us that
 "to look on noble forms
 Makes noble thro' the sensuous organism
 That which is higher."

He has also taught us

"That Beauty, Good & Knowledge, are three sisters
 That doat upon each other, friends to man,
 Living together under the same roof,
 And never can be sunder'd without tears."

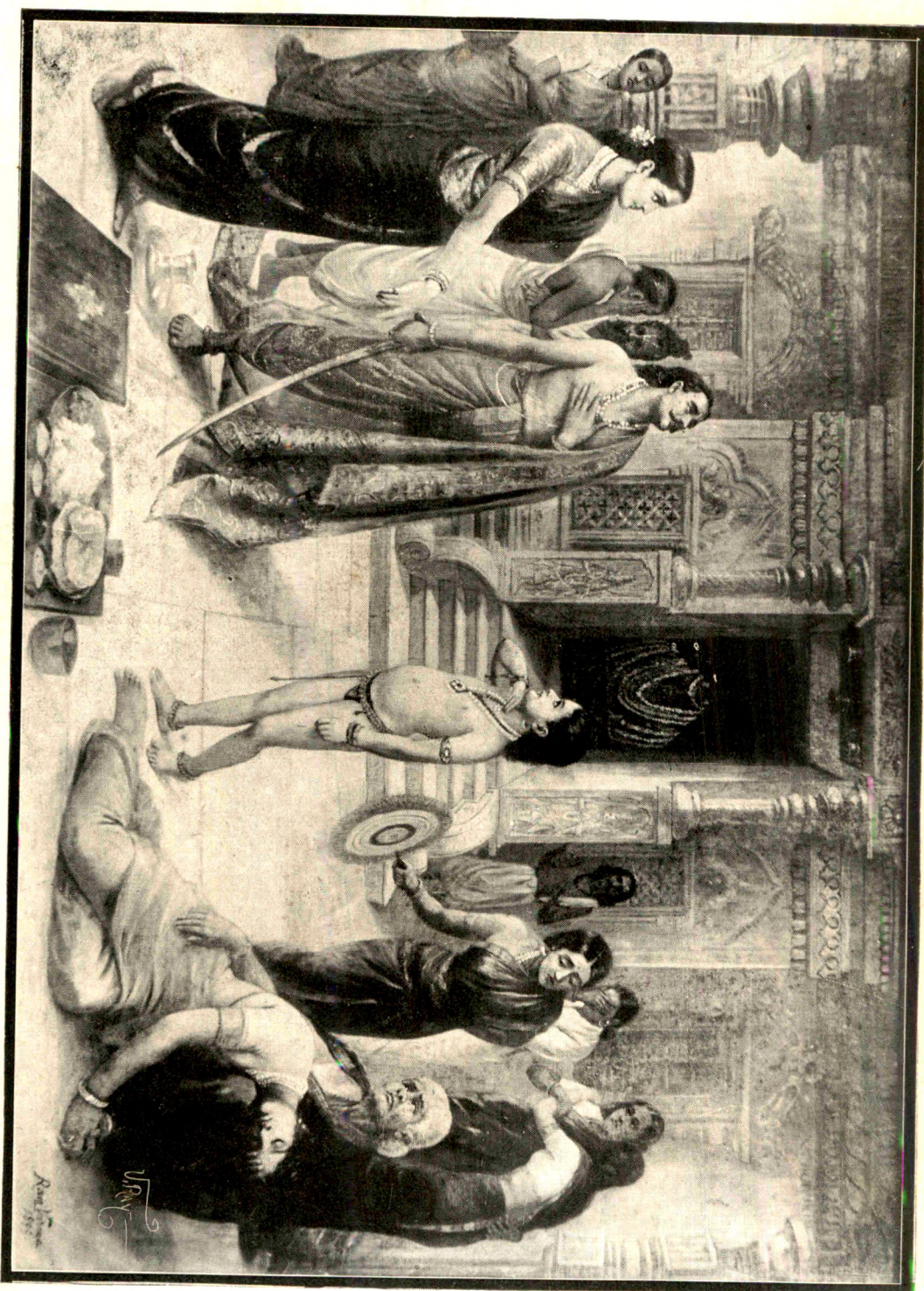
The uses of art are indeed many. When it gives us true portraits of the great ones of the earth, not only are their features, instinct as they may be with genius, or patriotism, or holiness, an inspiration to those who gaze on them, but "we can observe their habits of life, their manners, their dress, the architecture of their times, and the religious worship of the period in which they lived". Other paintings, and sculptures too, many serve the same historical purpose. The art of a country epitomizes the whole development of the people that produced it. But it is the emotional aspect of painting that is the most important. It can elevate, chasten, subdue and discipline our emotions, and awaken noble and kindly feelings in those in whom they are dormant. No doubt "Art with poisonous honey stol'n from France" may degrade and blight the moral nature; but we are not speaking of the abuses of art, but only of its uses. In modern India, however, over and above its more conspicuous functions, it is called upon to exercise one that may not be so obvious in the West,—we mean the function of nation-building.

The desire for national unity has found expression in our midst in various ways. The Indian National Congress is the political embodiment of this desire. The Indian Social Conference and the Indian Industrial Conference are the manifestations of this desire in the spheres of social reform and industrial

revival. The Theistic Conference seeks to give practical expression to the same desire in the world of religious thought and activity. The Conventions of the Theosophical Society also point to the same desire. Nor are linguistic manifestations of this desire wanting. Two or three years ago a discussion went on, particularly in Hindi papers, as to the necessity for adopting some Indian vernacular as our *lingua franca*; and there is also the society for the adoption of a uniform script for all Indian vernaculars. For India is inhabited by various races, speaking more than a hundred and fifty languages. To make the situation still more difficult, they profess many different religions. To build up all these races into one nation is a work of the greatest difficulty. The bond of nationality that lies in the past,—in common memories of glories and reverses, joys and sorrows, hopes and struggles, shared together,—is absent, if we consider all the peoples now inhabiting India; though particular communities have this precious possession. But we can all love India as she is, live for her, aye, die for her if need be, hoping and working for her and having faith in her glorious future. But how is this community of love and life, hope and endeavour and faith to be brought about? Subjection to the same Government and struggle against the same bureaucracy do not seem all-sufficient to generate the kind of patriotism that we want. We, the inhabitants of the different provinces of India, must first know one another that we may love one another and be one. Such knowledge includes our past as well as our present. And as nations and races are seen at their best in whatever is permanent in their literature and art, no knowledge of them can be complete without some acquaintance at least with their



RAVI VARMA.



*From the original painting by
RAJA RAVI VARMA.*

KING RUKMANGADA AND MOHINI.

By the courtesy of the artist.

literature and art, past and present. A foreign literature and foreign tongue, as English is, cannot serve as the medium through which we may know one another and interchange our deepest thoughts and feelings. The books, periodicals and newspapers which we write in English, have their uses, but they do not either reveal or reach the heart of the nation. It lies unexplored, and unknown even to many of us. And there is no vernacular common to the whole of India which can serve to make the different provinces known to one another. It is here that art comes to our aid.

More than seven years ago we referred to this aspect of the utility of art in the *Kayastha Samachar*, which we then edited, in the following words:—

“It does not require much observation to perceive that jealousies and prejudices exist not only among different nations and countries, but even among the provinces and districts of the same country. Take, for instance, any two provinces or races of India, and you are sure to find much mutual jealousy, distrust and prejudice. * * What is the remedy? Evidently a deeper and wider knowledge of our neighbours and the charity which that knowledge is sure to breed. One of the most effective means of knowing a nation is to know its literature. In Europe, there are more people knowing languages other than their own mother tongues than in India. Europeans, or to speak of a particular nation, Englishmen, have translated the best books in other languages into their own. Hence they are in a better position to understand other people than the people of India. Not to speak of those of other countries, we do not know the literature and people of our neighbouring provinces. How many men are there in India who know the principal vernaculars of the country? We do not care to read even the translations of some vernacular books which Englishmen have made. No wonder there should be so much provincial jealousy, distrust and prejudice. Happily, things are taking a turn for the better. Many educated Indians have begun to study other Indian vernaculars than their own.

“Another means of knowing a people is to know its art. It requires much culture to say *why* one admires a work of art. But even a savage may be struck with the beauty of a statue, a building or a picture. In this

respect art enjoys an advantage over literature. It appeals even to the illiterate. Hence, as a factor silently making for national unity, we should welcome a revival of artistic activity in India as much as, if not more than, a revival of literary activity. A few facts, perhaps otherwise insignificant, show that probably such an artistic revival is approaching. One is the increasing liking among Indians for illustrated newspapers, magazines and books. Another is the popularity and extensive use of the pictures of Raja Ravi Varma. Five years ago they were scarcely known in Northern India. As far as we are aware it was a Bengali magazine named *Siddhant* which in the north first pointed out the merits of these pictures. It is a pity that Ravi Varma does not yet seem to have had any intelligent imitators or rivals. The third fact that we wish to mention is the production by Mr. G. K. Mhatre of Bombay of the statue which forms the subject of this article. It was given to the world more than two years ago. It was highly praised at the time by several European critics including Sir George Birdwood. Much ridicule, however, was heaped upon Sir George by some persons, for having mistaken it for a marble statue, the material actually used being plaster of Paris. In justice to Sir George it must be said that he had no opportunity to see the statue itself, but could see only some photographs of it sent to him in England, which misled him. We admire and appreciate Mr. Mhatre's work, but not more for its actual merit, than for its promise. When the statue was placed before the public, it at once came to be talked of and appreciated in different provinces of India. Had Mr. Mhatre written a book in Marathi, which is his mother-tongue, it would have been appreciated only by Marathas, at least for years to come, even if it had possessed great merit. But we who do not know Marathi and others like us can admire and appreciate his statue, and be chastened and elevated by it. This exemplifies the advantage that art has over literature, which we have spoken of above.”

It requires some education to perceive the distinctive style or the hidden meaning of a work of art. But the language of form and colour appeals to all. It is no doubt true that the picture which tells its own story is often the least didactic, for it has no inner or deeper lesson to reveal. But in the work of nation-building even such pictures, representing stories in the mythological,

semi-historical or historical literature of the country, possess considerable usefulness. For the stories have many a lesson to teach.

Ravi Varma, the greatest painter of modern India, whose death we now mourn, painted for the most part scenes from the religious and classical literature of India. In this way, perhaps unconsciously, he helped in the work of nation-building, at least so far as Hindu India is concerned.

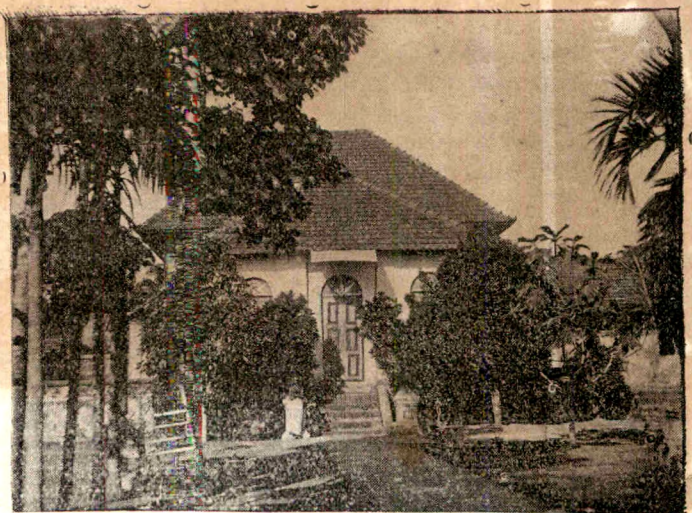
Ravi Varma's is not an eventful life. He belonged to an ancient Kshatriya family closely connected with the royal house of Travancore. He was born on the 29th of April, 1848, in his ancestral home at Kilimanur, a large village given to his ancestors as a *jagir* for military services rendered to the State in troublous times. His was a family naturally gifted with artistic instincts. He was the eldest of three brothers and a sister, all remarkably endowed with artistic powers. His mother was a cultured lady and a poetess of no mean order. Ravi Varma had in his boyhood the Sanskrit education then given to all boys of gentle birth. "But he took greater delight in making drawings with chalk or charcoal, of gods and goddesses, on the walls and floors of his mansion than in mastering his Sanskrit Grammar."

His maternal uncle, who was a man of uncommon parts and practised painting as an amusement, encouraged the boy in his artistic tastes. When he was barely thirteen, he presented the then Maharaja of Travancore with some of his paintings, with which His Highness was greatly pleased. The enlightened Maharaja found great promise in the boy's works and patronized

him and gave him opportunities for obtaining an artistic education. This circumstance does great credit to that prince, as in those days painting was considered a degrading profession for a gentleman. We must also admire the moral courage of the highborn and gifted Ravi Varma for choosing such a profession as his life-work; in which, though genius may come by nature, success can be achieved only by devotion and the infinite capacity for taking pains. It is also a happy augury for



THE MAIN ENTRANCE TO MR. RAVI VARMA'S HOUSE



MR. RAVI VARMA'S FAMILY RESIDENCE.

the future of art in India. For what Indian art has for long centuries most needed is the infusion of fresh blood, the devotion to it of gifted and cultured persons of all castes and classes, who may be able to lift it from the position of a mere handicraft to equal rank with poetry.

Though strictly speaking Ravi Varma was a self-taught artist, yet the models that he followed being of European origin and the painter whose work he watched in youth, being a European, his style of painting is not Indian, but Western. Of late years, mainly through the efforts of Messrs. Havell and Abanindro Nath Tagore, public attention has been drawn to the Indian style of painting. If a man of Ravi Varma's originality and feeling for beauty had in youth followed the Indian style, we do not know how much greater his success would have been; but of this there is no doubt that in that case the position of the Indian style in the world of art would by this time have been more assured.

We do not intend to follow in detail Ravi Varma's successful career as a painter or mention the medals that he won at Indian and foreign exhibitions, or refer to the patronage that was extended to him by men of rank and wealth, Indian or European, throughout India. The curious reader is referred to his biographical sketch entitled "Ravi Varma, the Indian Artist" for these details.

Of the distinctive features and merits and defects of the European and Indian styles of painting, we are not competent to speak. That task must be left to abler hands. We are able here only to record what appeals to our untrained eyes. We find that Ravi Varma's paintings are for the most part taken from the Puranas, epics and dramas of ancient India. That shows two things, namely, that he loved India, and had made a loving and careful study of her ancient literature. We could wish he had painted some scenes, too, from Vedic India as suggested directly and indirectly in

the Upanishads. His paintings also shew that he was gifted with poetic imagination to no small extent; for he has selected for his art some of the most beautiful, pathetic and soul-moving scenes in the ancient literature of India. The costume of his men and women must have sorely puzzled him. But his unconscious patriotism kept him true to India; he did not in the least cast a longing look towards Europe, ancient, mediaeval or modern, for the habiliments of his characters. On the contrary he made a laborious effort to discover an all-India costume. He paid "a visit to Northern India with a view to study, if possible, the ancient costume worn by Hindu princes and princesses from old paintings or statues, but without success." Rightly or wrongly he came to the conclusion "that during a long period of Muhammadan supremacy, every vestige of whatever was old and purely Hindu, had been effaced from the face of the country. Every shade of race and nationality in India has a dress and ornaments of its own, so that it was difficult to find a common costume which would satisfy every class equally." But one is tempted to ask why, *discovery* failing, he did not make an attempt to *invent* some artistic and graceful Indian costume. Indian nationalists are sometimes found to discuss the question of an all-India dress. His would have been an artist's solution of the problem. But somehow or other he did not make the attempt; a fact that all true nationalists cannot but regret. Hence we find in his pictures costume belonging to Southern India for the most part. But it is Indian all the same. And the various types of womanly beauty that we find in his pictures are entirely Indian. His love of warm and gorgeous colours is also Indian. If it be true that the physical features of a country exercise a formative influence over the minds of its people, the natural beauty of Travancore must have had much to do with the making of the artist.

With the exception of his style, every thing else in his pictures is Indian. But his foreign style, as far as we have been able to observe, does not detract from the usefulness of his paintings as sources of enjoyment and instruction or as an influence that makes for nationality. From the Himalayas to Cape Comorin, however much our languages, dress, manners and customs may differ, the social organisation and national character are much the same everywhere. This is due to no small extent to the influence of our national epics, the Ramayana and the Mahabharata. Ravi Varma's pictures taken from these epics appeal to all Hindus, at any rate, throughout India. May we not hope that hereafter a gifted artist will be born who will speak in the inspiring language of form and colour to all Indians alike irrespective of race or creed?

The most ancient Indian ideal was one of healthy activity and healthy enjoyment. Even in the Ajanta caves, which served as retreats for Buddhist monks, whose ideal was renunciation, we find an indication of this feature of the national character, taking delight in all natural forms and activities. The ideal of asceticism, of forsaking the world as mere illusion, was of later growth. This must have affected our art, too. If the world was an illusion, why take delight in it? The sooner one left it the better. This is diametrically opposed to the artistic temperament. May we not hope that the advent and popularity of a painter like Ravi Varma are artistic indications of the returning interest of the nation in mundane existence? This is not the place to enquire why the Greek gods and goddesses were given human and natural shapes, whereas India's gods and goddesses had very often non-human and non-natural shapes. What we are here concerned with is to note that Ravi Varma's paintings represent to some extent, but not entirely, a return to nature in the creative function of art in the domain of mythology.

The pictures which accompany this article are described below :—

KING RUKMANGADA AND MOHINI.

"This picture represents King Rukmangada between two fires as it were. He had promised to his second wife Mohini that he would grant any request she might make. On a certain *Ekādasi* (the eleventh day of the moon, on which orthodox Hindus fast), Mohini placed some food before him and demanded that either he should partake of the food, or cut off the head of his son, born of his first Queen. He was always strict in the observance of his *Ekādasi* fast. So in great perplexity he raises his eyes to heaven in agonised prayer for guidance. His son, a mere child, bravely offers his neck to his father, entreating him not to be guilty in the eyes of the gods by breaking his fast. The first Queen, the mother of the boy, has fainted in the lap of an elderly woman belonging to the Royal Household. Mohini with a stern and relentless look presses the king to keep his promise."—*Ravi Varma, the Indian Artist.*

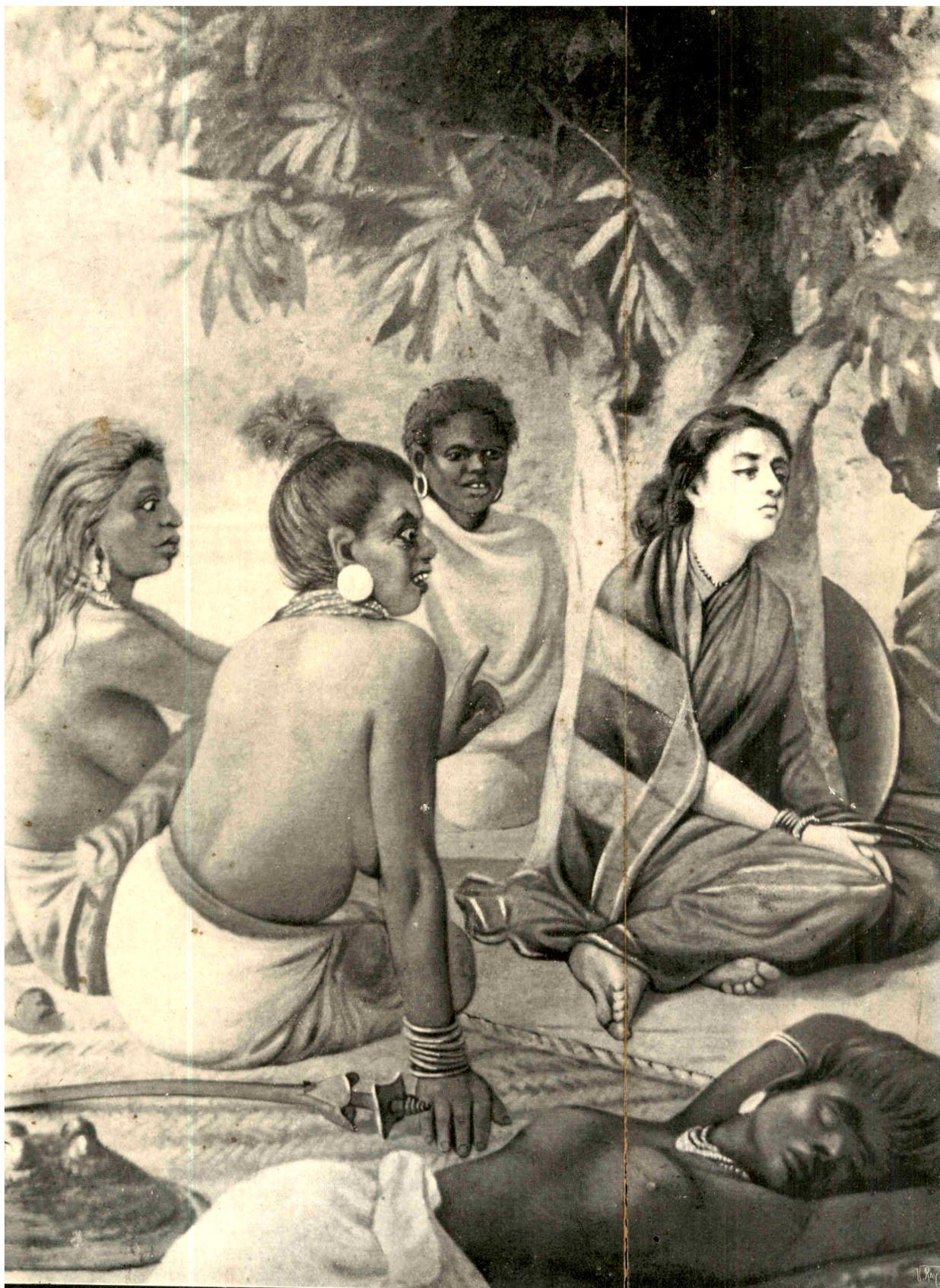
SITA UNDER THE ASOKA TREE.

"Sita was forcibly carried off by Ravana to his island kingdom of Lanka (Ceylon). There she was kept in an Asoka forest, guarded by Rakshasis (ogresses), who alternately threatened and cajoled her in the vain hope of persuading her to share Ravana's throne as his wife or mistress. In the picture she is represented as sitting sorrowfully under an Asoka tree, utterly unmindful of the presence of the Rakshasis."—*Ditto.*

THE FATAL GARLAND.

This picture represents the death of Queen Indumati, the wife of King Aja, the grandfather of Rama. The subject is taken from the *Raghuvansa* of Kalidasa. The late Mr. R. T. H. Griffith has given us a beautiful rendering of Kalidasa's verses in his *Idylls from the Sanskrit*. As once at the close of day King Aja chanced to roam with his darling Indumati through the royal park—

NARAD, sweet singer, speeding to his home,—
For he had tuned his heavenly lyre, to cheer
With sounds of melody great ŚIVA's ear,
In far GOKARNA, where the God abode,—
Flew o'er their heads, upon his airy road.
The wind, enamoured of the scent of flowers
That grew and blossomed in no earthly bowers,
Swept o'er the chaplet on his lyre that lay,
And bore it swiftly through the clouds away.



Fairer and sweeter than the flowers that grow
 In lovely gardens in this world below,
 That falling chaplet finds a fitting rest
 On the smooth wonder of the lady's breast.
 But, when that garland on her bosom lies,
 The Queen one instant looks, then faints, and dies ;
 As faints the lily, when the Demon's might
 Snatches the moon, her lover, from her sight.
 Scarce has she sunk, of sense and life bereft,
 Ere sense and motion, too, her lord have left.
 Loud shrieks, in sorrow, each attendant near ;
 And startled birds reply with notes of fear.
 Tended with care, the King revives, at last ;
 And she—Ah, Fate has bound its prey too fast.
 Art may recall the yet delaying breath ;
 No charms, alas ! can win his prey from Death.
 Lovely but mournful, like an unstrung lute,
 She looked all soulless, beautiful and mute,
 As in her husband's loving arms she lay,
 Pale as the moon that shrinks before the day.
 Broken in spirit, thus the mourner cries ;
 His voice scarce heard for groans, and sobs, and sighs.
 If iron melts before the conquering flame,
 Is the soul stronger in its mortal frame ?
 "Dead of a flower, my dearest ! And has such
 The power to kill thee with its gentle touch ?
 Now every weapon Fate may use to slay,
 If pleasant flowers can take the life away.
 Ah, I remember. Such is Nature's will,
 That gentle means should gentle creatures kill.
 Have I not seen a sweet young lotus die
 Of soft snow melting when the sun rose high ?
 How can this chaplet, if so deadly there,
 Here, on my bosom placed, have power to spare ?
 But poisoned cups may life and strength bestow,
 And Amrit kill, if God will have it so.
 And thus the bolt has spared the husband tree,
 And killed the gentle plant that clung to me.
 "Speak to me, dearest. When I vexed thee, thou
 Wast ever gentle. Why so scornful now ?
 And art thou gone without one last adieu ?
 And didst thou think my vows of love untrue ?
 Ah, human weakness ! Still her lips are red
 With my last kisses : and the girl is dead !
 Unkind, unkind ! Canst thou thy love forsake,
 Who ne'er in thought would cause thy heart to ache ?
 In name alone the Earth my bride they call :
 Thou art my Queen, my love, my life, my all.
 "The soft wind moves the flowers that deck thy hair,
 And whispers hope amid my wild despair.
 Wake, darling, wake ! My midnight gloom dispel,

Like the bright plant that lights the darksome dell.
 Woe, woe ! Thy hair is wandering freely o'er
 Those dear dear lips that speak not, move not more.
 Thus the sad lotus sleeps, that all day long
 Made pleasant music with the wild bee's song.
 Night goes, but glads her loving moon again ;
 The love-bird mourns, but mourns not all in vain.
 Lovers may part, and live, if hope be left ;
 But I for ever, ever am bereft.

"Those dainty limbs, for which soft blossoms, spread
 By gentle hands, were all too rude a bed,
 How will they bear to lie upon the pyre,
 Ere burnt to ashes by the ruthless fire ?
 The sharer of thy secrets, dear, thy zone,
 Rings out no longer with its silvery tone,
 Now that thy foot is silent. Can it be
 That all its voice and life have fled with thee ?

"Signs of thy charms will meet me. Thou hast taught
 Koils thy voice of music : swans have caught
 That step that love made languid : startled roes
 Have learnt thy winning glance : the creeper throws
 Her amorous arms, when shaken by the breeze,
 As thou didst, dearest. Thou hast left me these :
 But thou art gone away to Heaven, and what
 Can soothe my anguish, love, when thou art not ?
 Didst thou not promise, long ago, to see
 Thy creeper married to thy favourite tree ?
 And now, ere yet the rites are well begun,
 Thou hast departed. Is this kindly done ?
 Thy dear Asoka tree, that loved thee much,
 And bloomed so bravely at thy gentle touch,
 What henceforth will its blossoms be ? And how,
 Meant for thy tresses, can I use them now ?
 Believe me, love, it weeps for thee, and showers—
 The only tears it can—a rain of flowers ;
 Mourning what none can give again, the sweet
 Beloved pressure of thy gentle feet.
 Art thou asleep,—thy zone, in which we wound
 Flowers like thy breath for sweetness, still unbound ?
 These girls were partners of thy grief and joy :
 Here, like the Moon in beauty, stands our boy.
 In thee alone was centred all my bliss :
 With these to love thee, was thy purpose this ?
 Dear pupil in the song, friend, partner, wife,
 What is not lost, oh, tell me, with thy life !
 Girl with the eyes that sparkled ; wont to drink
 The wine of kisses from my lips ; oh, think,
 How wilt thou bear to taste, in realms above,
 Tears mixed with water, for the kiss of love ?"

Thus as he wept, the mourner's cries of woe
 Forced the trees' tears in balmy streams to flow.

Scarce could his sorrowing friends, with tender care,
 The lovely body from his bosom tear,
 And on the pyre those dainty limbs compose,
 Where scented flames from logs of sandal rose.
 Pale as the sad Moon when the night is fled,
 Back to the city all alone he sped,
 And saw his grief reflected in the eyes
 Of mourning matrons with their deep-drawn sighs.
 His saintly Teacher marked the monarch's grief,
 And sent a Hermit to console the Chief.
 Before the mourner stood the holy man,
 And thus, with gentle words, his speech began :
 " Well doth the pitying Saint, my Master, know
 The cause, sad King, that bids thy tears to flow ;
 And, did not rites unfinished claim his care,
 He had been here to soothe thy wild despair.
 Now hear the message of the holy Sage ;
 Store in thy mind the wise advice of age.
 His eye of knowledge never waxes dim,
 Nought in the triple world is hid from him ;
 But, all uncovered to his searching eye,
 The past, the present, and the future lie.
 Once TRINAVINDU, for his virtues known,
 Through sternest Penance threatened INDRA'S throne.
 The God from Paradise, in wild alarm,
 Sent a fair Nymph, the Sage's mind to charm.

Scarce could the Saint his furious wrath control,
 Surging tempestuous o'er his troubled soul ;
 And, as she stood, in all her charms arrayed,
 He laid the curse of death upon the maid.
 ' Father, forgive me ! '—was her tearful cry—
 ' My lord commands ; a helpless slave am I.'
 Then cried the Sage : ' On earth a prisoner be ;
 Till flowers of Heaven shall fall and set thee free.'
 Born, ages after, of a royal line,
 She was thy consort, and her heart was thine.
 But those sweet flowers upon her breast that fell
 Have freed her spirit, and removed the spell.
 Weep not for her ; but for thy land provide :
 The Earth, remember, is the Monarch's bride.
 Well hast thou borne thy prosperous fortune's test,
 Nor once has pride inflamed thy constant breast :
 Then scorn, O King, beneath thy grief to bow ;
 But show the same unyielding spirit now.
 Up, and be strong ! Thy useless grief control,
 And with rich offerings cheer thy lady's soul.
 Hast thou not heard, when tears for ever flow,
 The spirit suffers from the mourner's woe ?"
 The sage's counsel reached the mourner's ear ;
 But rent by grief, his heart refused to hear.
 Then to his home the Hermit turned again,
 And with him turned the counsel sent in vain.

CALCUTTA

WE are still looking forward, as we write, to the session of the 22nd Indian National Congress in Calcutta during Christmas week next. During the same week the Indian National Social Conference, the Theistic Conference, the Ladies' Conference, the Temperance Conference and the Industrial Conference will hold their sittings. It is settled that Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, our oldest and most revered and trusted leader, will be elected President of the Congress. The Theistic Conference will be presided over by Principal R. Venkataratnam Naidu, M. A., L. T., of the Pittapur Rajah's College, Co-canada. The Hon'ble Justice Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose is to preside over the Social

Conference. It is said that H. H. the Maharari of Cooch Behar will take the chair at the Ladies' Conference. Mr. Samuel Smith will occupy the presidential chair at the Temperance Conference. At the Industrial Conference the inaugural address will be delivered by H. H. the Gaekwad of Baroda, and the President will be the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey of Bombay. For several years past it has been the practice to hold an agricultural and industrial exhibition in connection with the Congress. This year the exhibition promises to be grander than in any previous year. The Hon'ble Mr. J. Chaudhuri is the honorary secretary to the Exhibition Committee.



THE HON'BLE DR. RASH BEHARI GHOSE,
CHAIRMAN, RECEPTION COMMITTEE, I. N. CONGRESS.

So, for a week and more, Calcutta will be the centre of various forms of national activity and will have a very busy time of it. Unlike many other important Indian towns, it cannot boast of a hoary antiquity or a glorious past. Its importance is coeval with British rule in India.

Some Calcutta houses are connected with historical names. The house where Clive lived stood on the site of the Royal Exchange. Some are, however, of opinion that the building now occupied by Messrs. Graham & Co., was his residence. Warren Hastings' town-house, a small one, stood on the site of the present Government House; but he had another house in Hastings, which was formerly occupied by Messrs. Burn & Co. The present official residence of the Magistrate of the 24-Parganas was the Alipore residence of Sir Philip Francis, where he used to hold his weekly symposiums. According to the Rev. Mr. Long, Sir Elijah Impey lived in the very house which is now called the Nunnery, a third storey only having been added. It is situated at 7-1 Middleton Row. Sir William Jones lived in the New Court House, which stood exactly on the site of the present High Court.

The Asiatic Society was founded by Sir William Jones, on January 15, 1784, during the administration of Warren Hastings, who was its first patron. The present building was erected about 1806, and subsequently enlarged in 1839. The Society established a private museum "for the reception of all articles that may tend to illustrate oriental manners and history, or to elucidate the peculiarities of nature or art in the East." Extensive collections of archæological and natural objects were gradually brought together, which appeared so valuable that it was decided to approach the State, with the prayer to preserve them in a national building. The Government readily consented to erect an Imperial Museum in which the treasures of the Asiatic Society might be arranged and exhibited, together

with the palæontological and mineralogical collections of the Geological Survey of India. In the year 1866, the Indian Museum Act was passed, and the Asiatic Society's Museum became the property of the Government of India. The building has since undergone extensive additions and alterations, and with its new wing for the art gallery, forms one of the largest, though perhaps not the most symmetrical or imposing, of Calcutta public edifices.

Unfortunately the Museum is visited for the most part only by sight-seers. Both the public and the Government of the country seem oblivious of the fact that a Museum is a scientific and educational institution. The Calcutta Museum, properly used, can be made the centre of much scientific and educational activity not only for grown-up persons, but even for children, as has been admirably shown in a small book called "Hours with Nature."* Indian Archæology, Zoology, Geology, Mineralogy, Palæontology, &c., can be very well studied there. But unluckily these are the very subjects most neglected by our Universities, which are practically so many Government Departments. The economic products of India, which await only the hand of the *native* exploiter to make India a veritable El Dorado, are here brought together in great variety and abundance. But so far as their utility is concerned, they might as well not have been collected at all. Of the usefulness of an art gallery it is superfluous to speak again, as practically two articles in this issue are devoted to art.

Another Calcutta institution which is almost entirely given up to sight-seers is the "Zoo" at Alipore. Beyond the little Zoology that is taught in the Calcutta Medical College, in the whole of the area within the sphere of influence of the Calcutta University nowhere is there any provision for the teaching of

* By Rai Bahadur R. B. Sanyal, C. M. Z. S. Published by S. K. Lahiri & Co., Calcutta.

Zoology. Yet India teems with animal life in variety and abundance probably unsurpassed anywhere else on earth. The oldest Sanskrit literature we possess shows that our ancestors were observers of animate existence. But considering the later metaphysical and "other-worldly" tendencies of our best men, one ceases to wonder that there are no Sanskrit or vernacular names for many weeds and other plants, as well as for many worms, insects and birds. Most of our educated men know Mr. A. O. Hume as a retired civilian interested in India's political advancement, but are not aware that there is a beautifully illustrated work written by him and Mr. Marshall entitled "Game birds of India, Burma and Ceylon." In this work, thirty-two birds have been described and enumerated which have no vernacular names!*

It is best to speak in this connection of another suburban institution which possesses great scientific, educational and economical value, and can like the Zoological Gardens be used for the purpose of original scientific research. We mean the Sibpore Botanic Garden. But botany is as much neglected in India as Zoology, Geology, &c.

"The founding of the Botanic Garden in Calcutta was the beneficent act of a noble mind. Colonel Robert Kyd of the Honorable Company's Engineers was an ardent horticulturist, and had gathered together in his private garden at Shalimar, a large collection of exotic plants. Deeply sensible of the benefit of an institution which might be made a source of botanical information for the possession of the Company, and a centre to which exotic plants of economic interest could be imported for experimental purposes, Colonel Kyd suggested the desirability of forming a Botanic Garden in Calcutta. His suggestions having been adopted by the Honorable Court of Directors, and practical effect having been given to it by the Govern-

ment of India, he was appropriately appointed the first Superintendent of the Botanical Garden, which was founded at his suggestion. The earliest efforts of Colonel Kyd were directed towards the introduction of the trees which yield nutmegs, cloves, cinnamon, and pepper vines. It was however soon proved that the climate of Bengal is quite unsuited to these tropical species. The equatorial fruits, such as mangos-teen, langoat, dukko, and bread-fruit, as well as the temperate fruits of Europe were also tried with a similar result. It was thus demonstrated by practical experiment that certain natural products, many of them of a most desirable kind, cannot be grown in Bengal. Colonel Kyd also began the experiment of cultivating the teak tree, for the sake of its timber, then so invaluable for ship-building. But it became clear after an experience extending over a period of thirty-five years that, although the tree to all outward appearance grows well on the alluvial soil of the delta of the Ganges, its stems early become hollow near the base, and therefore useless for yielding timber of sound quality. Colonel Kyd continued to perform the duties of Superintendent of the Garden until his death in 1793."—*Hours with Nature*.

On his death, Dr. Roxburgh, Dr. Francis Buchanan, Dr. Nathaniel Wallich, Dr. William Griffith, Dr. Hugh Falconer, Dr. Thomas Thomson, Dr. Thomas Anderson, Mr. C. B. Clarke, and Dr. George King, became successively Superintendent of the Garden. The author of "Hours with Nature" has rightly observed:—

"For us Indians, the history of the Botanic Garden, Calcutta, and the short biographical sketches of the distinguished botanists directly or indirectly connected with that institution, have a moral which may be expressed in the words of Gilbert White of Selborne recorded upwards of a century ago. "The productions of vegetation have had a vast influence on the commerce of nations, and have been the great promoters of navigation, as may be seen in the articles of sugar, tea, tobacco, ginseng, betel, paper, &c. As every climate has its peculiar produce, our natural wants bring mutual intercourse; so that by means of trade each distant part is supplied with the growth of

*They are: the great bustard, the close-barred sand-grouse, the crestless moonal, the Bhutan hill partridge, the Malayan wood partridge, the mountain quail, the little crane, Elwes's crane, the brown and ashy crane, the white-brown crane, the Malayan banded crane, the banded crane, the Andamanese banded crane, the Andamanese banded rail, the Indian water rail, the hooper, Bewick's

swan, the bean goose, the pink-footed goose, the whitefooted or laughing goose, the dwarf goose, the clucking or Baikal teal, the crested or bronze-capped teal, the marbled teal, the oceanic teal, the scaup, the golden eye or garrot, the red-breasted merganser, the snipe-billed god-wit, Armstrong's yellowshanks, the bar-tailed godwit.



H. H. THE MAHARAJA GAEKWAD OF BARODA.

every latitude. But, without the knowledge of plants and their culture, we must have been content with our hips and haws, without enjoying the delicate fruits of India and the salutiferous drugs of Peru." We have many advantages, of soil, climate, vegetable and mineral productions; but powerless to use them for our good we choose to be "content with hips and haws," while the nation to which Gilbert White belonged has, since his days, rapidly grown in wealth, power and influence. The Tea plant must have been awaiting search and discovery in the inaccessible jungles of Assam for ages past; yet, it waited in vain until a Griffith with the magic power of knowledge made the jungle yield up its secret. Another botanist, as we have already seen, introduced the cultivation of Cinchona in India, which is now a source of revenue to the Government. Instances may be multiplied to show that the science of Botany has a much wider scope of usefulness than that of collecting, naming, and classifying plants. It has influenced the trade and commerce of the world."

But to come back to Calcutta edifices. The Ochterlony Monument situated in the Maidan is a memorial to General Sir David Ochterlony. It is 165 feet high, and commands from the top, a most magnificent view of the whole city; even Barrackpore, Dum Dum, &c., being visible therefrom. But the building does not possess any architectural beauty. It cost forty thousand rupees. The Town Hall stands on the northern side of the Maidan. It is in the Doric style of architecture and was erected in 1804 at a cost of £70,000. Lord Macaulay's house in Chowringhee is now the Bengal Club. One of the most picturesque buildings in Calcutta is Government House, the winter residence of the Viceroy. Its construction was commenced in 1797 at the instance of the Marquis of Wellesley. It was finished about the year 1804 at a cost of 13 lakhs of rupees. The design is in the main an adaptation of that of Kedleston Hall in Derbyshire, the ancestral seat of Lord Curzon.

The Maidan is adorned with many statues.

The most important modern buildings of the town are: The High Court, the Writers'

Buildings, the Imperial Secretariat and Treasury Buildings, the New Customs House, the General Post Office, the Port Commissioner's Building, St. Paul's Cathedral, St. James's Church, the Bank of Bengal, the Mint, the Grand Hotel, the Asiatic Museum and Art Gallery, the Medical College Hospital with its adjuncts, the Senate House, the Sanskrit College, the Presidency College (where David Hare's statue ought to make the place one of pilgrimage), the Imperial Library, &c.

Some of the noteworthy houses belonging to Indian gentlemen are: the Prasad and the Castle belonging to Maharaja Sir J. M. Tagore, the late Maharaja Durga Charan Laha's house in Cornwallis Street, Raja Rajendra Mallik's palace at Chorebagan, the Dighapatiya Raja's house in Circular Road, Rani Rasmani's house in Corporation Street, Raja Digambar Mitra's house at Jhamapukur, the Temple of Paresnath at Gouriberh, the family residence of the Tagores at Jorasanko, Raja Srikrishna Mallik's house at Jorasanko ("the Normal School"), Raja Rammohan Roy's house in Amherst Street, Woodlands (H. H. the Maharaja of Kuch Behar's Alipore residence), &c. The Sukeas Street Thana, which belonged to Raja Rammohan Roy, Keshub Chunder Sen's ancestral house at Sankibhanga, and his own house at Upper Circular Road, Pandit Iswarchandra Vidyasagar's house at Badurbagan, Kristodas Pal's house at Chorebagan, &c., are also worth a visit for their biographical interest.

The Deaf and Dumb School on Upper Circular Road may not be a grand building, but the institution is worth a visit. Close by is Dr. J. C. Bose's house, where the sainted patriot Anandamohan Bose breathed his last. Near to it is Parsi Bagan house, now occupied by the Bengal Technical Institute. Next door are situated the laboratory and offices of the Bengal Chemical and Pharmaceutical Works, a Swadeshi concern which had its birth before the days of the present Swadeshi agitation, and which should have a great future before

it. The various Soap Factories, and the Manicktolla Pottery may be seen by those who are industrially inclined. Along with the Deaf and Dumb school, the School for Blind Children at Elliott Road may be visited, as also the various homes and asylums for the infirm and the afflicted.

Fort William and the Kiddepore Docks should also be seen. The latter were taken in hand in 1884-85, and cost 287 lakhs.

The total population of Calcutta including the Fort, Port, Canals and the three suburban municipalities of Cossipore-Chitpur, Manicktolla and Garden-reach, amounted to 949,144 on the night of 1st March, 1901. At the three previous censuses of 1872, 1881, and 1891 the figures for an equal area were 706,511, 684,710, and 765,510 respectively. There has been an increase, therefore, in 30 years of 242,633 persons, or 31·7 per cent. According to the last census, of the total population 624,855 were males and 324,289 females. The high proportion of the male to the female element of the population has long been known to be a distinctive feature of Calcutta. The disparity in the numbers of the sexes is on the increase. The number of married males in the city amounts to 358,336. On the other hand the number of such females is only 131,816. It may be safely assumed that practically all married women in town have their husbands with them, and that the difference between the figures for married males and married females, *viz.*, 226,520, is the number of husbands living in Calcutta without their wives. It is obvious, therefore, that in Calcutta there is not very much of family life. This can be explained mainly by the fact that the cost of living, and especially house-rent, is very much higher in Calcutta than in the mufassil. The poorer classes who come to Calcutta to earn a livelihood are very often compelled to leave their families behind them. Anyhow, this disparity does not make for a pure moral atmosphere. Another contributory cause which

increases the disproportion is found in the fact that whereas a considerable number of boys and young men come to Calcutta for education, there is a comparatively small corresponding number of girls.

Hindus form the bulk of the population. Out of a total of 949,144 persons in Calcutta and the suburbs, 615,491 are Hindus, 286,576 are Muhammadans and 38,515 are Christians. In the town of Calcutta the Hindus form nearly 65 per cent., the Mussalmans rather less than 30 per cent., and the Christians slightly over 4 per cent., of the population, leaving only 1·01 per cent., to all other religions. Buddhists number 2,903, Jews 1,889, Brahmos 1,812, Jains 1,241, Parsees 290, Confucians 178, and Sikhs, 153. Hindus have increased 24·1 per cent. since the last census, Mussalmans 23·01 per cent., Christians 30·79, Brahmos 154, Jainas 151, Parsees 75 and Jews 35 per cent.

The total number of Hindu castes mentioned in the Census Schedules is 180. Brahmans form by far the most numerous caste, being 88,610 in number, or one-seventh of the total Hindu population, and 9·9 per cent. of the entire population of Calcutta; Kayasthas make a good second with 71,757. Next to them at some distance come Kaibarttas, Subarnabaniks, Chamars, Goalas and Tantis.

The Muhammadans divide themselves into seven groups. The Sheikhs form an overwhelming majority, their number being 262,087 out of a total of 286,576 Mussalmans. They form 91 per cent. of the Islamic population, and about 28 per cent. of the entire population of Calcutta. The Pathans are second in point of numbers, there being 14,531 of them. Saiyads and Moghuls number 7,586 and 1,799 respectively.

Besides Indian Christians, the Christian population is divided into 46 nationalities. The Eurasians form the majority, numbering 14,663 or 37·8 per cent.

Jews and Eurasians are the only races in



H. H. THE MAHARANI OF COOCH BEHAR.

the town which have a female population more numerous than the male.

The age-tables show that above 36 per cent. of the Hindus and Muhammadans in Calcutta and its suburbs and above one-third of the Christians are between 20 and 35 years of age. The population below one year in each of these communities is considerably greater than that between one and two years, indicating a high rate of infant mortality in the town. This may certainly be ascribed in part to ignorance of hygienic methods of bringing up infants in a town, partly to the high price and bad quality of the milk commonly obtainable, and also in some measure, to the low vitality of infants born of child-mothers. The percentage of Hindus at the age periods 55—60 is 2·25, of Mussalmans 1·6 and Christians 2·8. In the period of 60 and over it is 4·8, 5·5, and 4·5 respectively; proving that although a larger number of Muhammadans die between 55 and 60 than Hindus and Christians, that religion possesses more veterans of 60 and over in the town than either of the others. A few more Hindus are longer lived in Calcutta than Christians.

The ratio of the males to females for the whole population is very nearly 2:1 (1000:503). The ratio of unmarried males to unmarried females is a little less than 5:2. The proportion of married to unmarried males is even greater. It will be observed, therefore, that the proportions of unmarried as well as married males to the corresponding representatives of the other sex are greater than the ratios of the sexes in the case of the total population. *On the other hand, we have considerably more than three times as many widowed females as widowed males.*

Up to the age of 5 there are 38 widowed persons, of whom only one is male. If marriages under the age of 15 in the case of either sex are, as they certainly ought to be, considered child marriages, the prevalence

of this custom or otherwise in the principal religions is shown in the following table:—

			<i>Married and widowed under 15.</i>		
			Male.	Female.	Total.
Hindu	...	...	4,146	11,163	15,309
Mussalman	...	...	2,320	3,596	5,916
Christian	...	...	...	50	50

The number per 10,000 of such persons is as follows:—

			Male.	Female.	Total.
Hindu	...	...	48·9	131·6	180·5
Mussalman	...	...	27·3	42·4	69·7
Christian	...	...	...	0·6	0·6

Among the three religions the percentage of married persons is greatest among Muhammadans, being 62, against 57 for Hindus and 35 for Christians.

There is a larger proportion of widowed persons among Hindus (14 per cent of the total Hindu population) than among the followers of any other religion. Muhammadans, Christians, Jains and others have about 9 per cent. each. Of the 14 per cent. of widowed Hindus, the greater part (11 per cent.) is female, owing doubtless to the injurious and unjust custom of enforced widowhood; but on the other hand there are but few Hindu women above 15 who are unmarried. The figures give 3,063 unmarried Hindu females above the age of 15; 178 of these are above 60 years of age, being most probably women belonging to *Kulin* Brahman families. Kahars and Chamars get their sons married earlier than all other castes. The lowest percentage of unmarried females are among Kaibarttas, Tantis, and Baisnabs.

There are 113 Hindu husbands and 127 Hindu wives below 5 years of age.

That after a century and a half of British rule, India is still practically an illiterate country is well known. But the illiteracy of the metropolis of the British Indian Empire is nevertheless remarkable. The number of the illiterate there is 724,974. They form 76·4 per cent. of the total population. Only 23·6

per cent., therefore, or less than one-fourth, can read and write. Of this percentage, 20·0 is male and 3·6 female. Of the total female population about one-tenth only (10·6 per cent.) is literate. The proportion of male literates is about three times as high (30·4 per cent.).

There are in Calcutta 124,280 boys and 77,284 girls between the ages of 6 and 20. Of these only 46,090 boys and 13,547 girls, or about 37 per cent. of boys and 17·5 per cent. of girls, are literate. So in the metropolis of an enlightened and beneficent Government more than 60 per cent. of the boys and 80 per cent. of the girls of school-going age go without any education!

The distribution of the literate male and female population among the chief religions is as follows:—

	Male.	Female.
Hindu	35·5	9·7
Mussalman	16·5	2·9
Christian	82·3	69·8
Brahmo	66·4	53·1
Buddhist	41·3	15·9
Jew	65·7	44·8

Literate in English.

	Male.	Female.
Hindu	14·4	·7
Mussalman	2·8	·1
Asiatic Christian...	23·8	34·0
Brahmo	41·8	37·9
Buddhist	10	4·6
Jew	49	20·2

Of the 24·8 per cent. of literates in the town of Calcutta, 16·25 per cent. are literate in Bengali, 4·16 in Hindustani, 2·73 in English and 0·5 per cent. in Oriya, leaving not more than 1·1 per cent. for 36 other languages. Out of the 137,803 persons who are literate in Bengali, 80,900 or nearly 58·7 per cent. are literate in Bengali only, and 41·3 per cent. can read and write both Bengali and English. Of the number of literates in Hindustani 89 per cent. are literate in Hindustani only, and less than 11 per cent. are able to read and write English as well. Of the Oriya literates, 98 per cent. are literate in Oriya alone and about 2 per

cent. are so in English as well. 2,819 females are literate in Bengali and English, 277 in English and Hindustani, and none in English and Oriya.

The following table also will be found interesting:—

Speaking	Total number.	Percentage of literates.
Gujarati	2,026	76·5
Tamil 1,312 } Telugu 1,258 }	2,570	42·1
Arabic	602	79·5
Chinese	1,693	40·7
Bengali	434,984	31·6
Hindi	318,635	11·1
Oriya	30,630	14·7
English	28,528	81·3
Urdu	24,424	14·1

The proportion of literacy is therefore very high among foreign traders and those hailing from the sister presidencies, *i. e.*, broadly speaking from such regions as do not supply a labouring population.

The literacy of different Hindu castes is shown below:—

Caste.	Percentage of literates.	
	Males.	Females.
Baidya	70	29·1
Kayastha	61·2	26·0
Brahman	60·6	19·2
Sadgop	59·3	11
Sundi	52·0	4·7
Subarnabanik	51·9	8·1
Gandhabanik	51	6·2
Chhatri	40·4	5·1
Khatri	38·0	7·3
Teli	34·0	6·4
Tanti	33·6	6·7
Moirā	33·5	5·7
Napit	28·1	4·4
Kaibartta	27·1	4·5
Baisnab	26·9	4·5
Gola	22·0	4·3

A number of Brahmans in Calcutta speak Hindustani and Oriya. The percentage of literates among this class is very small. If the Bengali-speaking Brahmans could be separated from the others, the proportion of literate



PRINCIPAL R. VENKATARATNAM NAIDU.



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in the caste would be considerably increased. This is true also of Kayasthas to a small extent.

Coming to literacy in English, we find that the Vaidya males have a percentage of 47, Kayasthas 37, Brahmans 31. The inferiority of Brahmans is due to some extent to the large immigration of up-country and Oriya Brahmans. There are 49 castes in Calcutta, of which six have their total male population illiterate and seven, their whole female population in that condition. These castes are Baiti, Chunari, Kaibartta (Chasi and Jelai), Mal, Malo and Tatwa. The percentages of literacy among the Chamars, Dhobas, Hadis, Kaoras, Lalbegis, Muchis and Tiyars are 8·6, 6·4, 2·6, 2·4, 5·2, 3·3, and 3·4 respectively. These facts show how the "lower" castes are rising in the social scale.

The number of languages spoken in Calcutta is 57. Throughout Calcutta and the suburban municipalities Bengali is spoken by nearly 5 lakhs of people and Hindustani by over 3½ lakhs. The total number of the Hindustani speaking people is 381,397, or 40·2 per cent. of the total population. As this is considerably larger than the population of Lucknow (264,049) which is the most populous of Hindustani cities, Calcutta may well claim to be the largest Hindustani-speaking city in India. It is interesting to note in this connection that in the whole of the United Provinces there are only 24,120 Bengalis, or nearly one-sixteenth of the number of Hindustani-speaking persons in Calcutta alone; in Bihar proper there are 12,519 Bengalis. There are 6,599 Panjabis; 2,805 come from Bombay, 1,919 from Madras, and 14,947 from Rajputana. There are 1,775 Chinese, 331 Afghans, 264 Persians, 191 Arabs, and 163 immigrants from the Straights Settlements.

The total number of infirm persons is 1,916. 474 are insane, 335 deaf-mutes, 696 blind and 212 afflicted with leprosy. Although Mussalmans form only 29·8 per cent. of the total population, nearly half the whole number of

blind persons are Muhammadans. Then again, while 4·25 per cent. of the population is Christian, nearly a fifth part of the insane and a sixth part of the lepers are Christians. This is said to be due in great part to the fact that conversion to Christianity on the appearance of symptoms of leprosy, blindness, &c., is of frequent occurrence. Among Mussalmans Moghuls have the largest number of insane, blind and deaf-mutes. Pathans, too, are very prominent in this respect. Englishmen and still more English women have a good number of insane persons in proportion to their total number. Among the Hindu castes, Kaoras contain the largest number of blind persons. Jugis contain many mad and blind persons; while Hadis stand foremost in respect of the proportion of lepers, and are the second Hindu caste for deaf-mutes.

Christians represent 20·6 per cent. of the learned and artistic professions, that is, about 5 times the amount due to them in proportion to their numerical ratio on the total population, and Hindus form about 69·3 per cent., just a little more than is their due, while the Muhammadans form only 15·7 per cent., or just about half as much as they should. It will, therefore, be observed that the common notion that Hindus flock inordinately to these professions for a career is not borne out by the figures.

Hindus form the largest proportion (88·9 per cent.) of those who follow indefinite and disreputable professions, to which Mussalmans contribute only 10·2 per cent., and Christians barely 0·3 per cent. That Hindu prostitutes should be so disproportionately large must be due in great part to enforced widowhood and to a much less extent to *kulinism*.

The Christian population takes the lead in the matter of superior Government posts with nearly 44 per cent. Hindus rank third and Muhammadans last.

The percentage of persons in the different castes who follow the traditional occupation

of their castes is as follows; *Town*—Chunaris, 100; Dhais or Mussalman midwives, 100; Mussalman barbers, 100; *Suburbs*—Lalbegis, 100; Tatwas, 100; Dhoba, 87·5; Nikari Mussalman, fisherman, 85·7; Mallah, 84·6; Lalbegi, 84·4; Muchi, 68·6 per cent; Hindu Lalbegi, 61·4; Mussalman Lalbegi, 84·4; Dom, 59·2; Kahar, 59; Tiyyar 58·7; Hadi, 57·8; Sonar (Behari), 56·4; Guria, 55; Baiti 50. *Town*.—Brahman, 13; Kayastha, 30·4; a very small proportion (6·2 per cent.) of the Tanti or weaver caste

earn their livelihood by their traditional occupation; a clear proof of the competition of Manchester.

We have no space left to notice the many other interesting facts connected with the occupations of the people. But it is clear that it is neither character, nor education, nor occupation that determines a man's caste, but only the accident of birth.

The greater portion of this paper has been compiled or taken from the Census Report.

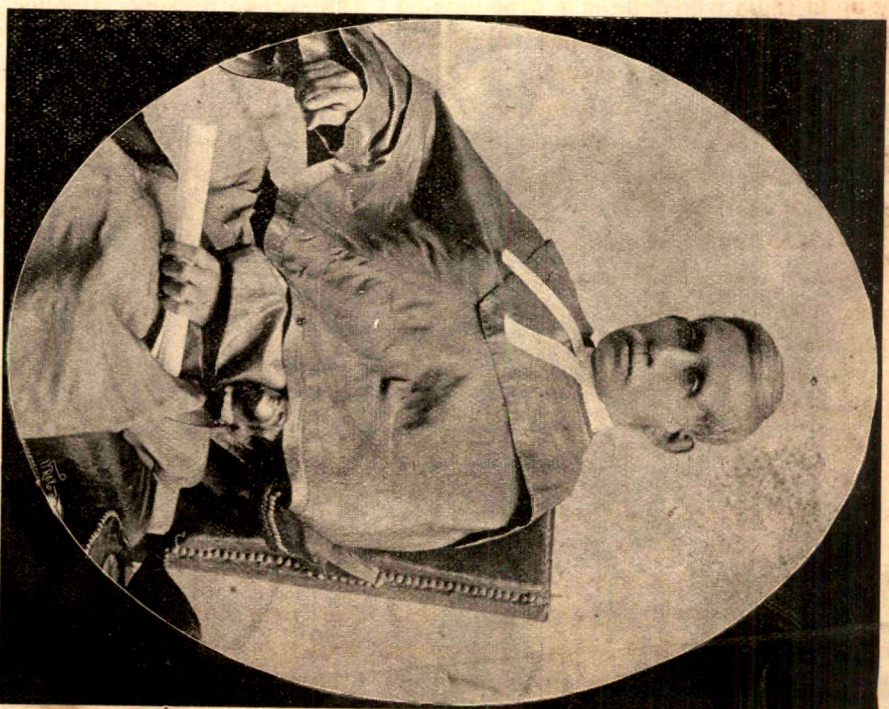
“SELF-RELIANCE” AGAINST “MENDICANCY”

INDIAN political thought has for sometime past, been not a little excited and unsettled, and not the least potent cause of such unsettlement is the cult of “Self-reliance” which has been vigorously preached by some political workers. A school of politicians has sprung up in India who delight in propounding extreme views on all political questions. They do not stop short of claiming complete self-rule, immediate and unconditioned, and have no thought as to how under present conditions it is possible to attain it, and assuming it possible, whether we are competent to use it to our advantage. There are those among us who advocate a cautious and considerate advance, who are mindful of our own disabilities, and who would prefer a long tutelage under the ægis of the British Government. The first set of thinkers have no patience to wait, and are ready to denounce the Government for not granting political rights or reforming administrative abuses fast enough. They denounce their fellow-countrymen, too, for desiring to advance moderately and slowly. They take so hopelessly irreconcilable and impracticable an attitude, that it becomes well-nigh impossible for the moderates to

work with them. The moderates have not only to preserve their own character for sanity and sobriety, but have to safeguard the interests of the country. (They are sensible that extreme demands will never be granted and will only retard our progress. They see that the present temper of the British Government in England and India is favourable to our advancement, and they are therefore anxious that the cause of the country should not be spoilt by any unworkable or disagreeable claims. The so-called progressives on the other hand would rather not have any concessions granted, and would of set purpose pitch their demands to the utmost extent, so as to make their refusal certain. In fact their programme is to abstain from making any demands whatever. Their professed object is to embarrass the Government and to heighten its unpopularity by making it appear that it refuses to make popular concessions. It is difficult to see what possible good they hope to attain by such tactics. Happily this body of irreconcilables is not numerous, though it is very noisy and energetic. Taking the country as a whole we believe that among the thinking population there is a preponderance of



THE HON'BLE MR. J. CHAUDHURI.



THE HON'BLE JUSTICE SIR CHUNDER MADHUB GHOSE.

sober, solid men. But the advanced radical section has its representatives and adherents in all the provinces, and they exert a deleterious influence on the masses. They cannot, therefore, be despised. On the other hand any attempt to convince them of their error is futile. The masses, however, who are apt to be beguiled by their blandishments, ought, if possible, to be saved from following their perilous lead. A plain statement of facts may warn waverers and neutrals, and may induce them to examine the grounds of their faith. It is in the hope of arresting the headlong career of the unwary and incautious multitude, that we attempt here a calm and candid review of the situation.

It must be frankly recognized that the repressive character of the last regime has called into being a spirit of unrest among a portion of the thinking public in this country. The liberal and progressive administration of Lord Ripon awakened a temper of cheerful optimism, and stimulated ideas and hopes of reform in administrative methods and details, as well as in the political rights and privileges of the people. The ferment thus set in motion gave birth to the Indian National Congress. The succeeding regimes of Lords Dufferin, Lansdowne, and Elgin, though not as progressive and stimulating as that of Lord Ripon, were yet not so retrogressive as to impede the path of progress or to discourage hopefulness. The regime of Lord Curzon however sought to introduce a new spirit in the methods of administration calculated to centralise all authority in official hands and to make the people mere recipients of official favours. While the Liberal administrations of Lord Ripon and his successors up to Lord Elgin endeavoured to educate the people in methods of self-government and to inspire them with progressive ideals, the Tory Government of Lord Curzon sought to treat the people as children deserving perhaps to be fondled and caressed, but unworthy of any measure of

liberty or self-rule. Such a reversal of policy caused alarm among the people as to the safety of the political rights already acquired and despair as to any future progress. The unsettled condition of political feeling which ensued has resulted in raising doubts as to the adequacy and correctness of our methods of political reform. The more restless among us have begun to preach that the constitutional method, inaugurated by the pioneers of political reform in India, and affirmed by the founders of the National Congress has so far been barren of results, and is futile for the future. (The constitutional method thus far in vogue consists in expressing approval or disapproval of administrative measures in the form of resolutions and petitions. This method, the so-called reformers characterise as begging or mendicancy. They set up self-reliance as their watch-word and ask that the Congress should no longer appear before Government as a suppliant but should undertake only such work as it could accomplish by itself. The denunciation of mendicancy and the appeal to self-reliance constitute a programme which has a plausible look about it, and is apt to be very catching to the multitude, but on sober searching examination of details, the proposals resolve themselves into unpractical, ill-digested ideas, and wild thoughtless chimeras. It is, however, necessary to examine the ideas in greater detail, so as, if possible, to expose their hollowness. There is a real danger in these ideas gaining credence among the people, and we propose to endeavour to avert the danger by showing their impracticability.

The wish for a change of method in the Congress work arises principally from a feeling of impatience and dissatisfaction with the supposed infructuousness of Congress work. Assuming that the fruit of Congress agitation has been so far *nil*, it is not a proper cause for despair or despondency. Twenty-one years is a long enough time in the

life of an individual, but it is a very short period in the life of a nation. In the latter case the growth of events must be very slow. There are multitudes of causes and complex circumstances which control the march of events as affecting a nation, and the results of individual acts may take generations to mature and to yield their fruit. We ought to remember that there are usually two sides to a question and that what may appear manifestly correct and prudent to us may not appear in the same light to others. Our rulers differ from us in most particulars and their points of view on most questions of political and administrative reform are apt to be different from our own. There is thus a likelihood of an honest difference of opinion. The men in highest authority like the Secretary of State, the Viceroy, and the provincial Governors, who have the disposing power on the questions submitted, have their own advisers and are not constitutionally free to act, even though they may give intellectual assent to our views. Further, what may appear to us as indisputably beneficial may in fact be not so according to the judgment of others. There are thus various circumstances which may impede or delay the fruition of our wishes. In counting our gains and losses therefore we ought to take into account these different adverse circumstances and ought not to give way to despair because our wishes are not granted as quickly as we may desire. We need not call into question the honesty of purpose of those in authority over us, nor should we lose faith in our endeavours to obtain our ends. If our objects are true, we may trust to a gradually better understanding of them by our rulers, and to eventual success in course of time. In point of fact, however, the Congress work has not been as barren of results as the more impatient of our friends represent it to be. One of the most important planks in the Congress platform from the outset was the reform of the Legislative

Councils. The subject soon drew public attention and won the approbation of our rulers. Before the Congress was many years old, the reform was an accomplished fact almost on the lines suggested by the Congress. This measure of reform then granted is now felt to be insufficient, and a further step is suggested by the Congress. The Government have once more responded so far as to appoint a committee to consider what further measure of reform could be granted. The reduction of the salt-tax and the increase of the minimum of exemption in the case of the income-tax were again topics of debate in the Congress, year after year, and the Government have responded to our prayers in a considerable measure in regard to them. The separation of Judicial and Executive functions, though not actually carried out, is yet generally recognised to have passed the academic stage and may be trusted to be accomplished when financial circumstances are more propitious. It must however be said that the fat surpluses in the Budgets for the last few years have given an excellent opportunity to Government to carry out this most useful and necessary reform. The truth seems to be that the Revenue and Executive branches of the public service are unwilling to part with their power, and their interest is too potent to resist for the central Government. But the central Government must rise superior to class or personal interests, and must courageously carry out what has been acknowledged to be beneficial for the Empire. This reform has been shown by the schemes suggested by Sir P. M. Mehta and Mr. R. C. Dutt to be practicable without any considerable extra outlay, and it cannot be delayed without giving just ground for dissatisfaction. The numerous Commissions of enquiry into various branches of the Administrative machinery which were appointed during the last régime may fairly be traced to the awakening and exposure of defects made by the Congress

The measure of confidence and respect among the Anglo-Indian as well as Indian communities which the Congress has achieved in recent years is itself an achievement of no mean significance. It encountered at the outset an immense amount of opposition, bitter hostility, and prejudice. It has now established a character for respectability and usefulness, and its representations are received even by the Secretary of State with becoming respect. This recognition, by the public and the Government, is due to the prudence, sobriety and orderliness of its work and the scrupulous moderation and reasonableness of its demands. What has been stigmatised as a policy of petition, and prayer and mendicancy, is in its true significance the time-honoured policy of constitutional agitation. That policy is pointed out to us as the right one by the lessons of English History and is justified by our own experience ever since the era of popular agitation for political rights was inaugurated under the ægis of the British Government, both in the pre-Congress period as well as that subsequent to it. If the Congress leaves this well-trodden path and takes a leap in the dark of wild adventure, it will lose the position it has won, and fall into insignificance and disrepute. The present temper of irritation and impatience at the supposed paucity of results exhibited by some Congressmen argues woeful blindness to or ignorance of existing political conditions. We cannot afford to ignore them. We must recognise historical facts. We ought to bear in mind the power of our rulers, and our own absolute feebleness. We ought likewise to remember that our rulers, though powerful, are willing to use their power in a kind and generous spirit. They are willing to treat our shortcomings with forbearance and sympathy and are ready to help us on to achieve our own well-being. They are the most liberal and progressive among civilized nations, and we have a great deal to learn by their example.

As human beings they have got their own failings, and we ought to show forbearance towards their faults and weaknesses, just as we expect them to show to our own. In the meanwhile we must day by day strive to benefit ourselves to the uttermost by means of our connection with England, which merciful Providence has thought it best to bring about. In any case, we should do nothing to cause any estrangement between our rulers and ourselves. We should not take up a wild irreconcilable attitude or go into sulks and act in a spirit of petty peevishness, if we desire that Government should respect our wishes.

What after all is the programme of the new party? It is said the Congress ought not to make any petitions or prayers to the Government but should take up only such work as it can do by itself. For the rest it should adopt a policy of passive resistance, making Government impossible by means of strikes and like measures of embarrassment. As examples of the first class of measures are mentioned national education, the Swadeshi plus boycott or the national industrial movement, and arbitration courts. Assuming that these measures are to be commended, do they exhaust all our wants? Are we to leave alone administrative questions and political institutions? How can self-reliance or self-help avail to reform administrative evils? Yet it is to correct such evils that the Congress is principally held. The subjects named are moreover outside the function and capacity of the Congress. Political reform has been the only object of the Congress, and debate and deliberation, finding eventual expression in the shape of resolutions and memorials, have been its weapons. National education, national industry and arbitration can hardly be classed as political or administrative reforms, except in a very distant way; whereas their actual accomplishment will require an executive and administrative machinery which

the Congress does not possess and will be incompetent to direct or control. The measures moreover are in their nature provincial or local, and cannot be adequately dealt with in a Congress of all-India. National education and national industry as well as arbitration will vary as regards their needs and conditions according to the educational and industrial condition of the different provinces, and the measures for their advancement will have to be made to suit provincial requirements. The Congress has heretofore considered the subject of education, general as well as technical, with reference to policy, and its financial provision by the Government. If, however, it is now contemplated that the Congress should settle a scheme of national education, should found institutions for carrying out such a scheme, should organize funds, and direct their management, the work would obviously be too specialised for a central deliberative body like the Congress. The work would have to be undertaken by specialists in each province solely devoted to the educational cause. The work of national industry again properly belongs to the Industrial Conference. The Subjects Committee of the Benares Congress ruled that the Swadeshi movement and boycott did not properly fall within the purview of the Congress. The ruling though not final is eminently sensible. The work of organizing arbitration courts or associations is likewise of such a local and personal character that the Congress can have little scope for actual participation in carrying it out. If it is meant that the Congress should only discuss these subjects and adopt resolutions declaring principles and policy, the Congress would have very little scope to live for. But the nature of the subjects now contemplated is essentially practical, and their success lies not merely in formulating theories but their actual execution and accomplishment. It is difficult to see how the Congress as it is at present

constituted can fulfil this new role of a Board of Directors, or a body of executive officers. If it undergoes such a transformation it will cease to be the National Congress.

With respect to the second branch of the new programme we are even more diffident as to its practicability and usefulness and more apprehensive as to the results flowing from it. The suggestion is that in all administrative matters our people should take up an attitude of sullen exclusiveness, that they should take no office under Government, that they should not resort to the courts whether as plaintiff or defendant, that they should not attend the Government schools or colleges, and in short do no service to the State and take no benefit from it. Such a policy can only be characterised as insane. It presupposes that our duties as members of the body politic are unilateral, that our people are all homogeneous and united, that they are a small compact body and that their abstinence from Government institutions will stop their work. Supposing we are so firm as to abstain from resort to Courts, the Courts may have something to say to us irrespective of our own wishes. It is not to be expected that the whole Indian population will turn into angels and that all civil and criminal strife will end by a resolution of the Congress. (Whatever may be said of civil litigation, public crime will certainly have to be dealt with by the Sate Courts, and no refusal on the part of the people will avail them to prevent the Courts from exercising their functions.) It is moreover forgotten that only a small enlightened minority of Anglo-Indians, Eurasians, East Indians, Jews, Native Christians, Parsees and Mahomedans, subscribe to the Congress views. Of the Hindus the uneducated and illiterate portion take little interest in political discussion. The educated section however is for the most part earnest and the thoughts they express filter down to the masses. Thus although Congressmen

may fairly claim to represent the views of a large portion of enlightened Indians there is a considerable residue which is unaffected by the work of the Congress. Congressmen claim to be the brain of the people, and their claim will be well founded so long as they confine themselves to their legitimate function of thinking and speaking for the people. But when it comes to translating their thought into action by individual citizens, the latter will have a right to say something on their own account. It is very questionable that any appreciable set of people will respond to the dictates of their supposed leaders when the counsel of perfection placed before them is to boycott all Government machinery and deny to themselves all benefit or aid from Government institutions. Such a policy of isolation and exclusiveness seems to us so unworkable as to need no serious refutation.)

Though we thus entirely disapprove of the spirit of impatience that is abroad as well as the measures propounded to rectify the evils which are supposed to have caused the impatience, we yet do not see any cause for alarm or despair. We venture to hope that the impatience is not deep-seated or abiding, that it is a temporary phase and that it will vanish when a temper of better thought and reflection is induced among the people. A truer knowledge of the resources and strength of Government and of our own relative weakness and dependence will sober down wild expectations and will induce a spirit of reasonableness and discretion.) The growth and spread of education will bring about a better understanding of the motives of Government and of our own aptitude and capacity. There is unhappily a considerable amount of loose, irresponsible thought in our vernacular press which is perhaps a necessary preliminary to the dawn of clearer ideas hereafter. Failure and disappointment consequent on wild expectations will lead to the chastening of error. Those of our leaders who are blessed with a

clearer vision of present possibilities have need to be patient, moderate, and persevering, and in course of time the unruly element among our present-day workers will become loyal associates and help-mates. It is however necessary to remove misunderstandings. Considerable misapprehension and ignorance seem to prevail as to the temper of the Liberal party and of the Liberal Secretary of State towards us. (There is reason to think that the present Liberal party contains a large body of members who are true friends of humanity, and who in consequence will befriend India to the best of their power. The Secretary of State too is a genuine supporter of progress and is conscientiously intent upon promoting our advancement.) He is beset with many difficulties. He has to obtain his information and advice from his counsellors in India and England. He may be hampered in his judgment by a multitude of circumstances unknown to us, and we are apt to be impatient at his not taking a course which may seem obvious to us. But we must make allowance for the difficulties of his situation. We must give him credit for correct and honest motives, and if he does not always respond to our wishes as quickly or to as large an extent as we desire, we ought to forbear from denouncing him as having deserted his principles. Judging from all accounts Mr. Morley is the best Secretary of State India has had for many years. By his age, learning and experience he holds a prominent position in his party. As biographer of Cobden and Gladstone and a close associate of the latter in his later years he is an unfailing repository and referee of liberal principles. He is withal credited with an innate conservatism and is in consequence respected even by his opponents. He is thus best qualified to make a bold advance in the liberalization of the Indian Government. In his able Budget speech he has given fair indications of his policy. It is now our duty

not to make that policy impossible by any show of distrust or extravagance. Strong as he is in his own faith in liberalism, he may pause, when applying his principles, to see whether the political and social conditions of our people warrant such application. He has never seen India himself, and has to depend for information on the experience and en-

lightenment of his counsellors. We know that the latter are not quite friendly to our advancement, and we may be prepared to see discouragement offered to our claims by such counsellors. It will behove us therefore not to add to Mr. Morley's difficulties by any resort to unconstitutional methods or any advocacy of unattainable ideals.

BHALCHANDRA KRISHNA.

MARATHA HISTORICAL LITERATURE

IT is eminently fitting that in the celebration of the Centenary of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, a place should be found for taking stock of the work done during the century, so as to note the landmarks in the progress of Maratha Historical Literature. Research in history has been, from the outset, one of the chief aims of such Societies. When the Royal Asiatic Society of England was established, the great Oriental Scholar, Mr. H. T. Colebrooke, in his inaugural address, dwelt at great length upon the importance of research in Asiatic History, and observed:

"The inquiry extends over regions the most anciently and the most numerously peopled on the globe. The range of research is as wide, as those regions are vast; and as various, as the people who inhabit them are diversified. It embraces their ancient and modern history, their civil polity, their long-enduring institutions, their manners, and their customs; their languages and their sciences, speculative and practical; in short, the progress of knowledge among them; the pitch which it has attained; and last, but most important, the means of its extension."

A similar scope of work was sketched for itself by our local Society, and several of its leading members, especially in the early thirties, put forth efforts in the cause of elucidating ancient history. Their environments in West-

ern India impressed them with the backwardness and obscurity of Maratha Historical Literature, and stimulated their exertions in bringing to light such materials as were available. Many of the great lights of Maratha History, such as Grant Duff, Malcolm, Briggs, and Coats, were members of this Society, and their labours shed no little reflected glory on the early history of this institution. It is well known that the Society's Library was the repository of the celebrated Grant Duff collection of Maratha Mss., which, it is to be regretted, are not now forthcoming from the shelves of the Library; but the incident serves to show the interest the Society took in the work of historical research. This interest has been kept up to this day. Archæology, the elder sister of history, has figured somewhat more prominently in the labours of the Society; but history—especially Maratha History—has occupied no little attention. The transactions of the Society are replete with papers on different topics of Maratha History, and they will, I venture to think, be of invaluable help to the future historian.

The subject I have prescribed for myself is a review of the progress of Maratha Historical Literature during the century commencing

with the foundation of this Society. As you are all aware, this Society was founded in A.D. 1804 under the title of "The Literary Society of Bombay," which was afterwards changed into "The Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society." It is a noteworthy fact that the year 1804 marks an epoch in Maratha History. It was about this year that the Maratha power first began to show signs of weakness and decline. It was in A.D. 1804 that the victories of General Wellesley, afterwards Duke of Wellington, caused the first beginning in the break-up of the Maratha confederacy, and laid the foundation of the British Empire in the Deccan. The century may be divided, for the purpose of noting the progress of Maratha Historical Literature, into three parts—1804 to 1830, 1830 to 1860, and 1860 to 1904. It may be mentioned here that, prior to 1804, there had been no little literary activity in regard to historical research. Numerous works of great value were written by travellers such as Tavernier, Bernier, Carré, Dellon, De Graaf, Fryer, De La Haye, Pere D'Orleans and Manouchi. These travellers visited India between 1640 to 1690, and their works supply valuable contemporary records of the rise of the Maratha power. The translations of Fraser, Dow, Karr, Jonathan Scott, and others, from Persian historical works, also shed considerable light on the same period. In 1782 the first systematic effort of writing a connected historical narrative was made by Orme. His first work is the "History of the Military Transactions of the British Nation in Indostan," and the second is "The Historical Fragments of the Mogul Empire." Scot Waring in his "History of the Marathas" refers to Orme in these terms:

"Mr. Orme, our first Indian Historian, was the first also to manifest any interest in the history of the Marathas. He collected a considerable degree of information which he published under the humble title of Fragments, and though his work be not free from errors, they result from the scantiness of his materials, and not from a want of the most patient inquiry.

He concentrated, in a small compass, a most valuable mass of information; nor is it to be omitted that he has pointed out almost every European author who has written on the subject."

Contemporary with Orme, Nana Phadnavis, it is interesting to note, made an effort in the Poona Durbar in 1783, to have a chronicle written dealing with the whole Maratha period. Dalrymple's account of the Marathas in the "Oriental Repertory," Tones' "Institutions of the Marathas," Moore's "Narrative of the Operations of Captain Little's Detachment and of the Maratha Army under Parashram Bhow Patwardhan against Tippoo Sultan," as well as stray fragments published in the Asiatic Annual Register and the Asiatic Researches, are some of the notable contributions made in this behalf during the early period. Tippoo Sultan's letters by Kirkpatrick and other works relating to the Mysore war by Beatson, Dirom and others, form another channel of information bearing on Maratha History. These works are valuable as forming the ground-work of the still more active and brilliant work achieved in the period which marked the commencement of the century.

As I have noted above, the first period between 1804 and 1830 was marked by remarkable activity in the collection and publication of historical materials. While General Wellesley's victories made the year 1804 a conspicuous landmark in history, his brother, the Marquis of Wellesley, made it remarkable from the point of view of historical literature by his publication of "The History of the Maratha War." About the same time attempts were made by Col. Mackenzie to collect the materials of the early history of the Maratha Power in Southern India. Col. Mackenzie's labours in the field of historical research are made memorable by his magnificent collection of vernacular manuscripts in Southern India—a collection which numbers about 8,000 works. This collection was later on purchased by the

Marquis of Hastings on behalf of the East India Company for £10,000. In 1810 appeared Scot Waring's remarkable work, *History of the Marathas*. This work is based on several Maratha *bakhars* or chronicles, as well as Persian *kaifiyats* and *tawarikhs* and the writings of English authors. He mentions as his authorities 4 *bakhars* of Shewajee, 2 of Shahu Maharaj, 2 of the battle of Panipath, 2 of Madhowrao, 2 of Narayan Rao Peishwa, and 1 containing the accounts of the Rajas of Berar, and the Gaikwar, Sindia and Holkar families. The author bears the following testimony to the value of the Maratha *bakhars* :--

"Their historians write in a plain, simple, and unaffected style, content to relate passing events in apposite terms without seeking turgid imagery or inflated phraseology. Victory and defeat are briefly related. If they pass over the latter too hastily, they do not dwell upon the former with unnecessary minuteness. They do not endeavour to bias or mislead the judgment, but are certainly greatly deficient in chronology and in historical reflections."

Scot Waring treats his materials with great discrimination and impartiality, and his work stands pre-eminent as the first attempt to deal with Maratha History in a spirit of justice and fairness. Almost contemporaneous with Scot Waring's work were, it may be noted, several Maratha *bakhars* containing the lives of the Satara Rajas by Malhar Ramarao Chitnis, the hereditary Chitnis of the Maratha Kings of Satara. Then followed Wilke's *History of Mysore*, Malcolm's *Central India*, Blacker's *Maratha War*, Jenkins' *Nagpore*, Prinsep's *Transactions of Political Events in India*, Tod's *Rajasthan* and other works. The most notable book of this period is, however, Grant Duff's *History of the Marathas*. In spite of later researches Grant Duff is still the paramount authority on the subject of Maratha History. His work fully deserves all the eulogies passed upon it by successive writers. For patient research and judicious statement it stands pre-eminent

among works on Maratha History. Whatever additions and improvements may be made by later writers, Grant Duff's work stands on its own pedestal, and can hardly be surpassed. It cannot be denied that want of familiarity with the Marathi language and such other causes have led to some errors and defects which later investigation may be able to correct, and such correction has been in part supplied by the work of Mr. Justice Ranade, which I shall notice later on. In connection with Grant Duff's work, it may be interesting to note, that Maharaja Pratapsing, the Raja of Satara, evinced an enlightened sense of the value of history by giving substantial help to Grant Duff in the shape of original historical records and papers which, Mr. Grant Duff acknowledges, were not confided even to the Peishwas. Maharaja Pratapsing took such keen interest in this work that he had various *bakhars* and narratives specially written for Grant Duff's assistance, and after the publication of the *History of the Marathas* by Grant Duff, he got it translated into Marathi. This translation has not yet found its way into print, but I have obtained a copy of it which I intend to present to this Society. General Briggs, who succeeded Grant Duff as Resident at Satara, in a letter, dated 20th August, 1827, exhorted the Raja to make the translation mentioned above. He writes :

"I trust your Highness has received his (Grant Duff's) *History of the Maratha Empire*, which your Highness should procure to be translated by degrees into the Marathi language, after which it might be struck off on lithography (*chhapp*) at Bombay, which would obtain as great a name for your Highness in the East as your friend Captain Grant Duff has established for himself in Europe by compiling his excellent history."

For his enlightened interest in literature the Raja was made an Honorary Member of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, an honour, then highly prized and rarely bestowed on Indians. It is also interesting to note here that another Maratha Prince of the same period,

Raja Sarfoji of Tanjore in Southern India, was the happy recipient of the honourable distinction of M.R.A.S. He, too, under the guidance of the Rev. Dr. Schwartz, a famous Danish missionary worker in Southern India, had cultivated literary tastes and attained considerable eminence as a lover of books. The large collection of manuscripts made by him at Tanjore is a standing monument of his culture; this has served as a favourite resort to learned men, like Dr. Burnell, for carrying on their researches. With reference to our present subject, his most notable act was an inscription, in the Marathi language, of the History of the Tanjore House on the walls of the famous Brihadeshwar Temple which occupies about 90 courts. It has been made accessible to scholars by the labours of Mr. Sambha Murti Rao of Tanjore.

General Briggs was another worker of the same period, quite as remarkable as Grant Duff. He translated from the Persian, Ferishtah's "Rise of the Mahommedan Power" and "Seirul Mutakharin." In the Transactions of the Royal Asiatic Society of England, he published, in 1827, "An Autobiographical Memoir of Nana Pharnavis," and "Secret Correspondence of the Court of the Peishwa Madhoo Rao; from the year 1761 to 1772." He collected about 9,000 original papers relating to the life of Nana Phadnavis, and having translated several of them, he lodged them all with the Royal Asiatic Society in London. He intended to write a regular treatise on the life of this great statesman, but appeared to have been prevented from doing so by the apparent want of interest shown in Indian subjects by the British public of those days. Referring to the publication of this work, Grant Duff wrote to Briggs in 1864:—

"Pray, how do you mean to publish and how do you mean to make your book go down with the public? The only advice I can offer must be in the style of that given me by the late John Murray, when I

called upon him about my history of the Marathas. Can't you put something of the present days into it? Try to connect the life of Nana Pharnavis with Golden Horn at Sophia and the Sultan, mix up the Peishwas' Durbar with a particular account of the receptions of Messrs. Pease and Sturge by the Emperor of All the Russias. As an amusement to yourself, and a pleasure to those old friends who care about the most uninteresting history in the world, it is all very well; but I would not venture on publishing unless some booksellers would take the whole risk."

Grant Duff himself suffered terribly in the monetary way on account of the publication of his History of the Marathas. His letter to Goldsmid which has been published in the Journal of this Society, Vol. XXVII, gives expression to his bitter disappointment. It is important here to observe that most of these writers on Maratha History were military men in the service of the East India Company, who in the course of their official duties came in contact with men and institutions representing the last days of the Maratha power, and who, being struck by the contrast in civilization and character, were inspired with the laudable ambition of preserving their history. They were as great in letters as in arms. They were conspicuous for their sympathies with the princes and people of the day. They were also men of industry, ability, and self-sacrifice, by virtue of which they have laid us all under great obligations, though in their own country they were ill-requited for their labours,—a circumstance which might perhaps partially account for the apathy shown by English officers and writers towards Maratha History in later periods.

The next period of 1830 to 1860 is comparatively barren of actual results. The most noteworthy productions of this period are Elphinstone's History of India, Forbes's Oriental Memoirs and Ras Mala, Clune's Maratha States, MacDonald's Life of Nana Pharnavis, Thornton's History of India, Sleeman's Rambles and Recollections, and a few others.

Several distinguished missionary workers, such as the Rev. Dr. Wilson, the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell and the Rev. Dr. Stevenson, studied Maratha literature, and read valuable papers before this Society. They were struck by the richness of that literature and exhorted their contemporaries to cultivate it. In the course of their observations they referred to Marathi Historical Memoirs and advocated their publication,—a recommendation which soon bore good fruit. In spite of these contributions this period does not, as I have already remarked, compare favourably in point of actual work with its predecessor, but it is remarkable as preparing the way for yet more brilliant results in the period succeeding it. It was then that with the advocacy of Lord Macaulay, the despatch of Sir Charles Wood, and, later on, the establishment of Universities that English education began to be diffused among the Indian people. The rich treasures of English literature then became accessible to Indian readers. The Press, too, became an active instrument in the dissemination of knowledge. All these agencies of enlightenment brought about an awakening of Indian intellect, and raised in the succeeding period new recruits in the rank of workers in all fields of literature.

The third period, commencing from 1860 to the present time, witnessed the spectacle of Indian workers labouring in the field of historical literature side by side with European workers. With superior facilities as regards information and materials, and with their training in the modern principles of historical criticism, the Indian workers became valuable help-mates in the field of historical research, and though there were then some notable English writers like Wheeler, Taylor, Kaye, Malleson, Hunter and Keene, the most noteworthy feature of this period was the work done by Indian scholars. English works of note were translated into the vernacular, chief of these being

Rao Saheb Mandlik's Marathi translation of Elphinstone's History of India, Vinayak Janardan Kirtane's Marathi translation of Malcolm's Central India and Rao Bahadur G. H. Deshmukh's Marathi translation of Tod's Rajasthan. There was a translation of Duff's History of the Marathas by another writer, and Rao Bahadur Nilkanth Janardan Kirtane published his "Criticism of Grant Duff's History." The last book pointed out the defects of Grant Duff's work, and led to the publication of some original *bakhars* and other papers relating to Maratha History. Magazines like the "Vividhajnan Vistar" and "Dambaharak" opened their columns to the publication of original papers as well as to critical contributions on historical subjects. A magazine called "Lokahitavadi" was started by the late R. B. Gopalrao Hari Deshmukh for the publication of historical incidents and anecdotes. Vishnu Shastri Chiplunkar's Nibandha-Mala contained some stirring critical essays on the subject of the study of history in general and of Maratha history in particular. These writings aroused active interest in historical literature, and helped in rescuing many old historical records from destruction. A magazine called the "Kavyetihasa-Sangraha" by Mr. Sane and the late Mr. Janardan Balaji Modak was started with the special object of publishing *bakhars* and all available historical papers. A considerable body of old historical material was brought to light by this magazine. It inspired in the Maratha public a taste for reading original historical papers, which gradually led to the writing of original works of history and biography. There has thus been a large accession to Marathi literature—the lives of Nana Phadnavis, Mahadji Sindia, Malhar Rao Holkar Shahu Maharaj, Bapu Gokhale, the Rani of Jhansi, Brahmendra Swami, Parsharam Bhow Patvardhan, Balaji Vishwanath and so forth. The family histories of the houses of Sindia, Holkar, Dabhade,

Vinchurkar, Bhonsle and the lives of Prabhoo soldiers are books of more or less value. They are, moreover, very interesting as the first fruit of the leaven spread by the publication of old records and documents. The "Kavyetihasa-Sangraha" continued for twelve years, and it was succeeded by other magazines such as "Kayastha-Prabhucha Itihasachin Sadhanen," "Granthamala," "Aitihasik Lekh-Sangraha," and "Bharatavarsha." These latter magazines have brought to light a rich treasure of historical materials. The most notable acquisition to Maratha historical literature of the present day was the "Rise of the Maratha Power" by the late Mr. Justice Ranade. It is a work of uncommon value. It throws on Maratha history quite a new light. It is not a mere narrative of events. It puts life and soul into the dry bones of history and makes the past tell its own tale with thrilling interest. The late Mr. Ranade had planned his work and intended to publish it in several volumes. The work we have got is only the first volume of the series, and its very excellence enhances our regret that its author has not lived to finish his work.

While thus the native public evinced so much active interest in their past history, European scholars were no less active in the same cause. Sir Bartle Frere by his own example and precept gave impetus to the study of Maratha history and the collection of historical materials. He himself collected a large number of Marathi and Persian manuscripts, relating chiefly to the Kingdom of Bijapore, and had several of the Persian manuscripts translated into Marathi. These translations are preserved in three large volumes at the India Office Library in London, and are a standing memorial of Sir Bartle Frere's interest in the cause of Indian history. A large collection of manuscripts was unhappily lost in his voyage from Calcutta to Bombay. He encouraged some of the native Chiefs and Jahgirdars of this

presidency to get historical accounts of their respective houses written. He made a grant of Rs. 4,000 per year to this Society, which it was at one time proposed to apply to the furtherance of Maratha history. Mr. Justice Newton and Dr. Wilson, both Presidents of the Society, made considerable efforts in the collection and publication of authentic ancient documents, elucidatory of Maratha history. There were debates and discussions in the Society in 1867, under the presidency of Mr. Justice Newton, on the possibility and importance of collecting and publishing original manuscripts which may be in the possession of old historical houses in the Deccan. Mr. Justice Newton himself made a tour in the Deccan, visiting several Sirdars and Jahgirdars and exhorting them to preserve their ancient documents and make them available to scholars. He himself was able to collect a few manuscripts which he presented to this Society.

Another conspicuous worker, though of more recent date, was Mr. Acworth, who struck a new line in the collection of historical materials. In collaboration with Mr. Shaligram he collected and published a large number of *powadas* or historical ballads which are sung by the *gondhalis* or minstrels of Maharashtra. It is worthy of note that in 1843 the Rev. Dr. Murray Mitchell, in a paper on Tukaram read before this Society, had expressed surprise that martial songs, chronicling the gallant exploits of Maratha warriors, were not published. This want was supplied by Mr. Acworth's book. Referring to these ballads Mr. Acworth writes :

"With the Marathas, as with every warlike race, the feelings of the commons have taken shape in ballads, which, however rude and inartificial in their language, their structure and rhythm, are genuine embodiments of national enthusiasm, and are dear, and deserve to be dear, to those who repeat and those who listen to them."

Mr. Acworth's collection shows the necessity of further work in the same direction.

The movement for publishing old papers spread to the Government and they published many valuable historical works in the form of selections from the original records. The Government of India published the collection of treaties, engagements and *sanads* prepared by Mr. Aitchison. The Government of Bombay appointed a special officer, Mr. Forrest, to make selections from their own records. These selections from State papers are a valuable addition to Maratha historical literature. Mr. Douglas's Book on Bombay and Western India as well as the different gazetteers published under the auspices of Government also contain much valuable historical matter and deserve mention in this connection.

Among the books published in this period by European scholars I may specially note Colebrooke's Life of Mountstuart Elphinstone, Kaye's Life of Malcolm, Evans Bell's Memoirs of General Briggs, General Wellesley's Despatches, Mackey's Central India, Hope's House of Sindia, Gribbles's History of the Deccan, and many others.

Great as has been the work done in the past, the future is full of immense potentialities. The Peishwa *Daftar*, the Menavli collection in Nana Phadnavis's *Wada* and the *daftars* of numerous ancient houses of the Deccan will yield a rich treasure, if skilful hands attempt the work of examination, of sifting, sorting, selecting and of seeing it through the press. The movement to tap the Peishwa *Daftar* was first started by this Society as early as 1867. Mr. Justice Newton and Rao Saheb Mandlik were very hopeful of making the *daftar* available for inspection, but Colonel Ethridge's somewhat pessimistic view put an extinguisher on the movement. The subject was again taken up by the late Mr. Justice Telang and the late Mr. Justice Ranade under Lord Reay's administration. Some others also made efforts in the same direction. Eventually in 1895 the requisite permission was granted and the Peishwa

Daftar was thrown open to the work of selection under the auspices of the D. V. Society of Poona. Mr. Telang wrote a paper on Gleanings from Maratha Chronicles. Mr. Ranade wrote another paper on the Peishwa's Diaries. These show what rich possibilities there are in the *Daftar* of unearthing buried treasures. The work of inspecting and classifying papers is proceeding apace, and by the kindness of Government there is every prospect of a vast number of papers becoming available to the student of Maratha history. Private workers like Messrs. Khare and Rajwade have likewise given to the public a considerable body of historical material. They have, moreover, in their possession, unpublished materials which will occupy their energies for many more years. It is hoped that the public will give every encouragement to their laudable efforts, and that they will not be hampered by want of funds, which is often a stumbling block in the way of good work of this class.

The Mackenzie collection at Madras and London, the collection of General Briggs and Sir Charles Malet in the R. A. Society of London, the Jenkins collection at the India Office, and the Tanjore Palace Library contain many Maratha manuscripts lying absolutely unused at the places where they are now kept. They are likely to prove very useful if they could be kept in Bombay, where they would be within the reach of Maratha scholars. H. E. Lord Curzon has already expressed his desire to obtain from England some historical manuscripts and documents and place them in the Victoria Memorial Hall at Calcutta. If among such manuscripts and documents there are any papers in Marathi character, they might more fitly be placed in Bombay than Calcutta. H. E. Lord Lamington has suggested the happy idea of establishing a museum in Bombay. That museum may appropriately possess a court for history, where ancient manuscripts and documents,

arms and accoutrements, dresses and pictures, seals and coins, and other objects of historical interest might be collected. It will serve as a convenient resort to students of history desiring to make researches in that line. The project of a museum may, however, take a long time to accomplish. In the absence of such an institution, the rooms of this Society may well serve as a resting place for historical objects. On the heels of the collection of materials must follow the work of digesting and assimilating them. A race of scholars must rise, trained in the art of deciphering manuscripts, of weighing evidence and drawing inferences with discrimination. The ground is already prepared and there is every prospect of capable workers rising to the occasion. Mr. Karkaria, Mr. Purshotam Vishram Mawjee, Mr. Rajwade, Mr. Natu, Mr. Khare and others may be trusted to use their opportunities to advantage. Biographies of eminent personages, monographs on subjects like the Maratha army, the revenue system, arms, dresses, and a variety of similar topics, as well as a methodical and well-ordered history of the Maratha Empire, have yet to be written. Speaking of the scope of history, Mr. Colebrooke observed :

"In speaking of history, I do not refer merely to the succession of political struggles, national conflicts, and warlike achievements, but rather to less conspicuous yet more important occurrences, which directly concern the structure of society; the civil institutions of nations; their internal, more than their external, relations; and the yet less prominent but more momentous events, which affect society universally, and advance it in the scale of civilized life. It is the history of the human mind, which is most diligently to be investigated; the discoveries of the wise; the inventions of the ingenious, and the contrivances of the skilful."

These words aptly describe the nature of the work that lies before us. Such a work as this wants the genius of a Ranade or a

Telang. The fragments they have left only serve to remind us of the immensity of our loss. But we must have trust in the future. There must be co-operation between Indian and European workers. By the light and guidance and the example of European workers, Indian aspirants may strive to perform their task and fulfil the duty they owe to the nation. We can never forget that the work of recasting and digesting the materials done so far is very little compared to what yet remains to be done; and our efforts must be commensurate with the magnitude of the task. This Society showed itself alive in the sixties to its responsibility as regards historical research. Let me now appeal to it to take up the work once more, of fostering research and guiding the footsteps of such new workers as may need guidance. When in the light of the new materials discovered, history is rewritten, it may be hoped that many erroneous notions will be corrected as regards the Maratha character, the methods of their warfare as well as their civil administration, the deeds of their heroes, the degree of their refinement and their achievements in the fields of literature and art. In the words of Johnson,

"There is no part of history so generally useful as that which relates to the progress of the human mind—the gradual improvement of reason, the successive advances of science, the vicissitudes of learning and ignorance, which are the light and darkness of thinking beings, the extinction and resuscitation of arts, and the revolution of the intellectual world."

When Maratha history is written in the light of these principles, it will fulfil its proper function. It will give us a correct representation of the past and show wholesome lessons for the guidance of the future.

D. B. PARAGNIS.

[NOTE.—This paper was read before the History Section of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in connection with its centenary.—ED., M. R.]

SIVAJI LETTERS

(From the Persian)

NEWLY DISCOVERED MATERIALS

THE original historical documents on which Captain Grant Duff based his *History of the Mahrattas*, (3 vols., 1826,) have long been given up for lost. He tells us in his foot-notes that most of his materials were deposited by him with the Literary Society of Bombay. But no trace of them could be found by the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society in 1867, when a search was made for them. Students of Mahratta history like Telang have often sighed for the recovery of these materials as a thing to be wished for rather than expected.

But I have reason to think that the quest is not really so hopeless, only the right track has not been followed. Arguing by probabilities we may conclude that it is in England that many of these documents may be found if search is made by a competent scholar. The missing manuscripts of the Literary Society are more likely to have been stolen and sold than thrown away as rubbish or "burned." In the old days of neglect many rare Sanskrit manuscripts of the Bengal Asiatic Society are said to have been sold in secret and their places supplied with bricks wrapped in cloth to satisfy the perfunctory stock-taking. Manuscripts in those far-off days had only European customers, who, however, had no suspicion of their being stolen property. These collections have made their way to Europe and have been thus saved to the world. The originals of some of the documents, again, of which Grant Duff got copies only, repose

in the dark unfrequented archives of Indian princes, and the white ants may not have destroyed *all* of them in the 80 years that have passed away since Grant Duff wrote. Mr. D. B. Parasnis of Satara has given to the world one such document, newly discovered by him, and written to me that he has got some others, mostly Persian letters.

In my search for contemporary histories and letters of Aurangzib's reign, I have carefully gone through the Catalogues of Persian Mss. of all the Royal and public Libraries of Europe, and personally inspected the libraries of Benares, Jaipur, Udaipur and Alwar. The search has been rewarded by the discovery, among other things, of two Persian Mss. which supply some of the "sources" of Grant Duff.

The first is a Ms. of the Royal Asiatic Society of London, carelessly named the *Khatut-i-Shivaji* (= the Letters of Sivaji), only because the first piece in the work is a letter from Sivaji (translated in this article). But in reality it contains a good deal of other correspondence between the Mughals and the Mahrattas: *e. g.*, letters from Sahu to the Nizam, from Aurangzib's rebel son Akbar to Kavi-Kulesh, the minister of Sambhaji, from Aurangzib to the Mahratta generals whom he wanted to seduce, despatches from Mughal officers, and the bitter letters that passed between Aurangzib and Akbar.

The second is a Persian translation of a Maratha Life of Sivaji, (India Office Library,

Ms. No. 1957, Etthe's Catalogue, entry 485). It has an abstract translation made in pencil in an old-fashioned hand on the margin. This, I believe, is one of the two lives of Sivaji numbered 4 and 5 in Grant Duff, vol. 1, p. 120, footnote. I intend to publish a full translation of it in this Review.

Sabhasad's Life of Sivaji (No. 1 in Grant Duff's list, p. 119,) has been translated into English in Forrest's *Selections from Documents in the Bombay Secretariat*, Maratha Series, vol. I.

Below are given translations of some of the interesting Persian letters connected with Sivaji, found in my first manuscript.

I.

[Note.—In May, 1657, Sivaji first violated Mughal territory by plundering the town of Junair. But he could not be punished, as Aurangzib, the Viceroy of the Deccan, was soon called away to northern India by the fight for his father's throne. In May, 1661, the Mughals renewed hostilities. Shaista Khan, the new Viceroy, entitled *Amir-ul-umara* or Premier Noble, took some of Sivaji's forts and occupied Poona. Here, in April, 1663, Sivaji made the daring night-attack in which the Khan lost a son and narrowly escaped death himself. Shaista Khan in disgust secured a transfer from the ungracious service in Deccan to Bengal (end of 1663). Sivaji had now a freer hand and merrily plundered Mughal cities, including Surat. The following letter was evidently written in 1664 or early in 1665.]

From Maharajah Sivaji, to the Officers and Counsellors of the Emperor Alamgir. Letter written by Nil Prabhu munshi :

Be it not concealed from the hearts of far-sighted and thoughtful men, that, for the last three years, the able counsellors and famous generals [of the Emperor] have come to these parts. To the orders issued by the Emperor for seizing my country and forts, they reply, "These will be soon conquered." They do not know that even the steed of unimagined

able exertion is too weak to gallop over this hard country, and that its conquest is difficult. It is a matter of great wonder that they do not at all expect the fruit of shame from such writings filled with fictitious statements, but [on the contrary] cast off truthfulness, which is the cause of salvation. And why? My home, unlike the forts of Kalian and Bidar,* is not situated on a spacious plain, which may enable trenches to be run [against the walls] or assault to be made. It has lofty hill-ranges, 200 leagues in length and 40 leagues in breadth; everywhere there are *mullahs* hard to cross; sixty forts of extreme strength have been built, and some [of them] are on the sea-coast. Hence, Afzal Khan, an officer of Adil Shah [Ali II., King of Bijapur] came to Jauli with a large army, but perished helplessly. Why do not you truly report to the Emperor what has happened [here], so that the same fate may not overtake you?

After the death of the abovementioned Khan, the Amir-ul-umara, who was appointed against these sky-kissing hills and abysmal passes, laboured hard for three years, and [constantly] wrote to the Emperor that I was going to be defeated and my land conquered in the shortest space of time. But at last, as all false men deserve, he encountered such a terrible disaster and went away in [such] disgrace, that it is clearer than the sun. [Verse.]

It is not everywhere that the charge can gallop;

There are places where one has to fling away his shield.

IT IS MY DUTY TO GUARD MY LAND.

Although, to save their reputation, they had written to the Emperor the opposite of the true state of things, yet, thank God, the

* In 1657 Aurangzib advanced into Bijapur territory. "The fort of Kalian was reduced almost immediately, and Beder fell to the

Mughals in one day. Aurangzib was greatly elated by this unexpected success." *Grant Duff*, i., 156.

bud of desire of no invader of the beloved country of this retired man has [yet] blossomed forth. [Verse.]

The wise should beware of this river of blood,

From which no man [ever] carried away his boat [in safety.]

II.

[Note.—Aurangzib now despatched the able and wise Rajah Jai Singh and the brave Afghan general Dilir Khan, to subdue the "mountain-rat." Jai Singh arrived at Poona on the 3rd March, 1665, and so vigorously pushed on operations against Sivaji that the Mahratta king came to him on the 12th June to surrender. The Rajput prince then wrote the following letter to Saf Shikan Khan, a Mughal officer in command of 3,000 horse, serving under the Viceroy of the Deccan.]

Rajah Jai Singh to Saf Shikan Khan:

May you be ever seated on the bed of happiness and joy, and enjoy the Emperor's favour! My pen of congratulation, finding it beyond its power to gratify [my] desires, now employs itself in rejoicing at the grand fresh victories that have glorified the age, thanks to the grace of the Giver of Victories and the fortune of the world-conquering Emperor. The defeated and weak Sivaji has arrived at our camp with the feet of submission and head of prostration to the gracious and forgiving Emperor, to offer his obedience and supplication; the fort of Purandhar with 22 other strong fortresses have been gained [by us]. Joy and prosperity on all the Imperial officers!—especially on your noble self, who had longed for such an event. I acknowledge that this result is due to the grace of God and the help of you, my brother.

The details of how Fortune favoured our plan are, in brief, as follows:—

The agents of the weak Sivaji had been coming and going between us ever since the coming of the Imperial army into this country. I knew that so long as strong hands were not laid on his head, his words and tales would

have no truth in them. So, I did not reply to their message, but turned them back disappointed.

After the capture of Rudarmal, I engaged in the siege of Purandhar,*.....and having wrested one tower (*kangura*) of the fort of Khabinda-garh, I sent brother Daud Khan and Rajah Rai Singh at the same time to overrun his country. Some detachments composed of Mughals and others were ordered to march daily*.....to the lands lying at the feet of Rajgarh and other forts, assert their power, and leave none (of the enemy) strength enough to raise his head on any side. Our chain of outposts was established, and [we] remained on the alert, so that whenever the enemy's presence was reported force after force was sent. Before this we had closed against him the way up to Gulshanabad [Kulbarga]. Many of his soldiers, cavalry and infantry, deserted him through fear of being attacked and plundered by us and on receiving [from our side] conciliatory assurances and promises of stipend and bounty. And thus day by day Sivaji found the gates of distress gaping and the materials of humiliation being made ready for him. He saw only two alternative ends to his affairs. First, he would pray for the sparing of his life and land, by coming to this slave of the Emperor. If this offer were accepted, what could be better than it? Otherwise, he would cede to Adil Shah [of Bijapur] a portion of Tal-Kokan and being [thus] more strongly allied to him than before, he would carry on hostilities.

On these terms, in the middle of the month of Zi-qada in the year [eighth] of the Emperor's reign, corresponding to the year 1075 of the Hejira, [about 20 May, 1665,] Pandit Rao [*i. e.*, Raghunath Panth, Nyaya Shastri,] the Hindu agent [of Sivaji] †

* The Persian text is very corrupt and confused in these places.

† Here there is a break in the text. Evidently the concluding words were ".....brought a definite proposal of peace."

III

[*Note*.—Dilir Khan, an impetuous soldier, hated diplomacy. He was hurt, too, at Sivaji submitting to his colleague Jai Singh and thus robbing him of the credit of the capture of Purandhar which was impending. The following taunting letter was now written by him to Sivaji. The reader will mark how some of the boastful phrases of Sivaji's letter were remembered and flung in his teeth by the victorious Mughal general.]

Dilir Khan to Rajah Sivaji:

May good Providence be your helper! My wish to see you is so strong that it baffles measuring. Now to my object. Your letter, sent with some palace guards (*mahaldars*), has been received and its contents learned by me. It treats of peace, and I have comprehended it. Be it not concealed from your heart that the words most appropriate for saying on this occasion are "First fight and then peace." If a man craves peace without fighting it sounds as an unbecoming proposal to the Imperial generals, who have come at the bidding of their master from the garden of Hindustan in order to travel and hunt in your hilly country. They have come solely for this that you would show yourself in battle. They are guests arrived in this hilly tract with an intense desire for it; but you have not appeared [before them!] In spite of [your] many "strong forts, sky-kissing hills, abysmal ravines, and brave soldiers lying in ambush," you have not once shown any sign of yourself anywhere. And [now] you propose peace! Although you should have thought of it long ago and made the overture before this, yet even now it is welcome.

IV.

[*Note*.—Fast couriers took the happy news of Sivaji's submission to the Emperor in eleven days. He confirmed what his generals had promised to Sivaji in anticipation of his sanction. The following letter evidently conveys this fact to Sivaji. I think it does not belong to a later period, when Sivaji (after his

return from Delhi) was again coquetting with the Mughal officers in the Deccan and the latter very foolishly swallowed the bait of ending the never-ending war in Maharashtra by some compromise with Sivaji.]

Dilir Khan to Rajah Sivaji:

After expressing my great friendship for you, it is the aim of my loving heart [to tell you] that,—praised be the Lord of the Universe for it!—at the prayer of this the humblest of the servants of the Emperor, your firm fidelity and honesty have been and will be covered with the Emperor's favour, as far as the heart desired, nay, even more than that. Your son, too, has been honoured with a *man-at* of six thousand in rank and six thousand troopers (of whom 5,000 are with two and three horses,) a bounty of two lacs of rupees, and the right to use the kettledrum and standard. It is necessary that immediately on the receipt of [this] letter you should quickly summon Sambhaji to you, that he may be glorified by Imperial favours in return for good service. The favours which the Emperor, out of his regard for the lowly and his wish to cherish his household slaves, has ordered in [your] case will become known to you from the letter of Muhammad Said,* an eminent minister, to Pandit Rao. It is a matter of congratulation to you and us alike. God willing, all that friendship and brotherhood demand will, as we have mutually agreed, be made evident to the world. What more need I write?

V.

[The original of the spirited letter of remonstrance to Aurangzib on his bigotry, oppression and misrule, translated in Tod's *Rajasthan*, vol. I., ch. 13 of the Annals of Mewar, footnote, is given in my manuscript, but ascribed to Sivaji. Tod assigns its authorship to the Maharana Raj Singh. The reader will kindly consult Tod for it.]

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* A *Khushnawis* of the Court of Aurangzib.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH

A History of Hindu Chemistry from the earliest times to the middle of the sixteenth century, A. D. with Sanskrit texts, variants, translations and illustrations. By Praphulla Chandra Ray, D. Sc., Professor of Chemistry, Presidency College, Calcutta. Vol. 1. Second edition: revised and enlarged. Price Rs. 3.

Dr. P. C. Ray is not more widely known for his original researches in Chemistry than as the author of this scholarly volume. It has long been before the learned public, and chemists of the highest repute have acknowledged its value. It is not, therefore, necessary for us to say anything in praise of it. What we are pleased to note is that a work on such a technical subject has undergone a second edition within a comparatively short period of time. This edition is not only revised and enlarged, but is much cheaper than the first; so that it is sure to reach a wider public than before.

We are glad to be able to announce in this connection that the second volume of this work, which has been long looked forward to, is in the press. Since the publication of the first volume the author has come into possession of several rare and valuable manuscripts of alchemical *Tantras* procured from Benares and from the Darbar Library of Nepal. These are calculated to throw a flood of light on the knowledge of Chemistry possessed by the ancient Hindus. It is, we understand, now evident that as early as the 11th and 12th centuries, A.D., chemical science was vigorously pursued in the various schools represented by Patanjali, Nagarjuna, Bhagavat Govinda, Mandavya, and others. Hermann Schelenz in his recent comprehensive work entitled "Geschichte der Pharmazie" quotes repeatedly from Dr. Ray's "History," and referring to the chapter on *Yantras* or apparatus as given in *Rasaratnasamuchchaya*, expresses his admiration of the chemical knowledge displayed by the Hindus in the 13th and 14th centuries A. D. In the second volume of Dr. Ray's work, it will be shown that *Rasaratnasamuchchaya* is only a compilation from various much older works, *e. g.*

Rasendrachudamani by Somadeva, *Rasaprahasasudhakar* by Yasodhana, &c. But the portion of the work which is likely to create more interest is that devoted to the alchemical Buddhist *Tantra* named *Rasaratnakara*, by Nagarjuna, the only one of its kind hitherto recovered. Altogether the antiquity of Hindu chemistry has been pushed back by several centuries. The work will be prefaced by a lengthy historical introduction. The atomic theory of Indian philosophy will also receive due recognition. The work, which has involved incessant labour during the last 17 years, will no doubt be awaited with considerable interest by the scientific and literary world.

Report of the First Industrial Conference held at Benares, on Saturday, the 30th December, 1905. Pp. 63+389+cii. Diagrams and plates 12. Price Rupees Two. Postage extra.

This is a very valuable *Swadeshi* manual. We may perhaps safely say that it is the most informing of non-official publications on agricultural and industrial subjects. It contains all the speeches delivered and papers read at the Conference, as well as the papers prepared for but not read at the Conference. These range over a wide variety of subjects, agriculture, sericulture, co-operative credit, organisation of capital, mining and metallurgy, cotton cultivation and the cotton industry, education and industrial development, the sugar industry, &c. Of the papers it is difficult to say which is the best, whether Mr. T. H. Holland's paper on "The Development of the Mineral Resources of India" or that by Rao Bahadur G. V. Joshi on "Mining, Metallurgy, Mineral and Metal Works." Of the other more noteworthy papers we may mention those by Mr. H. K. Beauchamp, Mr. S. M. Johnson, Rao Bahadur Raoji Bhai Patel, Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar, and Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath. The other papers are also valuable. The volume commences with an ably written introduction. There is also a very useful summary of proposals. The Benares Exhibition Committee and

their Industrial Conference Secretary, Mr. C. Y. Chintamani, deserve praise for the timely appearance of this report. It is but bare justice to Mr. Chintamani to say that the idea of holding an Industrial Conference with the Congress was his, though in Poona there were Industrial Conferences in 1891, 1892, 1893, 1894 and 1895. The success of the Benares Conference was also due for the most part to his unremitting labours.

The report is well got up and should be in the hands of all interested in the *Swadeshi* movement in all its phases.

HINDI

During the last few months some useful and important publications have been issued in Hindi. Among these may first be mentioned two small books published by the Indian Press, Allahabad. The first '*Bala Bharat, Part II*' contains 23 stories culled from the Mahabharata, and is written by Thakur Surya Kumar Varma. The second '*Bala Ramayana*' contains the story of Sri Rama Chandra's life and is written by Pandit Ramji Lal Sharma. Both the books are written in a simple and attractive style and are suited to meet the requirements of little boys and girls. Hindi suffers from a paucity of juvenile books, and we must feel grateful to the Proprietor of the Indian Press for trying to meet this want. It need hardly be said that such publications will prove very useful not only to juvenile readers, for whom they are chiefly intended, but will afford a pleasant reading to their mothers.

Another important and useful publication is "*Jiva Daya*" by Manikya Chandra Jaina. It is an adaptation of Tryne's "Every Living Creature." The book is well written and ought to be in the hands of every educated man. It is a cruel stroke of fortune that a nation which can boast of having produced one of the greatest men in the world to promulgate the blessings of mercy should now stand in need of societies for the prevention of cruelty to animals. It is pitiable to see the ill-treatment of these dumb creatures at the hands of man, and the municipalities are the greatest sinners in this respect. A vigilant watch by the Municipal Officers will go a great way towards mitigating this evil, but many of our august City Fathers have little time to spare from their petty

jealousies and self-aggrandisement. 'Let everything be sacrificed for my Rai Bahadurship' is the motto of these representatives of the people. Under these circumstances we can expect but little help from them. Could not some thing else be done to teach the people, the masses, to be merciful to the creatures of the Great God? It is no wonder that a Jaina gentleman should have thought of publishing such a useful work. A true Jaina cannot give a better proof of his belief in the great religion of Mahavira than by trying in his own humble way to spread the principles of "mercy" among his countrymen. The book is priced at annas 6 and may be had of the Manager, Swadeshopakar Karyalaya, Hariganj, Khandwa (C. P.)

Bande mataram, the national song of Bengal, now spreading to all parts of India, was originally written by Bankim Chandra Chatterji, the great Bengali novelist, in his '*Ananda Math*.' Very many people would naturally be eager to know the contents of this book, and no doubt one would think that Kunwar Kamalanand Singh of Srinagar (Purnea) was meeting a real demand by publishing a Hindi translation of this novel; but unfortunately the translation does no credit to the Kunwar Sahib. It teams with grammatical blunders, and does not show any real grasp of the Bengali language, too. One would run through its pages in vain to admire the literary flights of the great Bengali novelist. Even the translation of the *Bande mataram* song is not at all attractive. A much better translation was published some time ago in the *Saraswati* of Allahabad. The get-up of the book leaves *everything* to be desired. Kunwar Kamalanand Singh is known to be a great lover of Hindi, always ready to help all movements for the enrichment of that language; but we are sorry that he should have brought out a book, on which we have been constrained to pass these remarks. We trust that he would consider seriously the necessity and advisability of withdrawing the book from the market and bringing out a revised edition.

URDU

Though the output of Urdu books is becoming larger and larger every day, it is but seldom that a

really good book is published in that language. The Urdu-reading public is a great devourer of tenth-rate fiction and most of the Urdu publications belong to this class. It is therefore with genuine pleasure that we welcome the publication of the *Life of Maulana Jalal-ud-din Roomi*, the author of the famous *Masnavi*. *Maulana Roomi* stands in the front rank of Persian poets, not simply because of his literary merits, but also owing to his being a great *Sufi* teacher. The development of *Sufi* thought is one of the most interesting and instructive problems of the religious history of Islam, but that subject can hardly be discussed here. Suffice it to say that the sect has given birth to many literary men and has always been regarded as the sect of the poets *par excellence* and opposed to the *Ulemas*. The mystic pantheism of the *Sufis* is naturally more capable of poetic expression than the dry-as-dust doctrines of the orthodox Maulvis, and we can therefore hardly wonder when we find many of the best Persian poets belonging to this heretic group of the votaries of music and song. The great teacher and poet of the *Sufi* sect whose life has been written by Shamsululema Maulana Shibli Nomani of the Nudwatululema of Lucknow, richly deserved a tribute of this kind from his Urdu-speaking admirers. Maulana Shibli is a writer of repute and has published several books and essays dealing with the history and religious philosophy of Islam. Most of his books and essays have been written in defence of Islam and naturally exhibit not the judicial spirit of the historian but the temper of the partisan. But apart from this, perhaps inevitable, defect, his writings are eminently readable and singularly free from the puerilities so often met with even in the best Urdu books, and the existence of which more than anything else testifies to the utter lack of scientific spirit in our intellectual training. The style is simple and vigorous, and in dealing with the incidents of the life of his hero, in differentiating the false from the true and the natural from the supernatural, and in making a just estimate of the literary worth of the poetry of *Maulana Roomi*, Maulana Shibli displays no mean acquaintance with the modern canons of criticism. The book may be divided into three parts. The first portion contains the biography proper, the second deals with the habits and traits of character of the Master showing his

Sufistic tendencies, while the third embodies a literary and quasi-philosophical criticism of his writings. The get-up of the book is excellent, the *Nami Press* of Cawnpore being the printers.

Another book, lately published, which in its own domain is a very valuable contribution to Urdu literature, is the *Asar Akbari* of Mr. Muhammad Saiyed Ahmed of Marehra (Etawah district). If we are not mistaken this is the second book of its kind in Urdu, the first being the famous *Asar-us-Sanadid* of Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan. The author is a real lover of the old world which has passed away and the great monuments of which yet mutely testify to the greatness of the Moghal imperial race. Fatehpur Sikri, a small town near Agra, was Akbar's favourite place of residence, and Mr. Saiyed Ahmed gives us in his work not only the history of the town but a full and authentic account of every notable building therein. In a way this book may be regarded as a complementary volume to Maulana Azad's famous *Darbar-i-Akbari*. We welcome the publication of this book not only on literary but on political grounds also. We welcome it not only because it is a real contribution to the historical and archæological department of Urdu literature and is written in a simple, unaffected and charming style which here and there rises to real eloquence, but also because any work dealing with the Akbar period of Indian history, a period which is remembered by both Hindus and Mahomedans with affection and pride, cannot but exercise a healthy and pacific influence at the present juncture. We can safely recommend the book to every lover of Urdu and hope that Mr. Saiyed Ahmed's example will stimulate other writers to do for Lucknow, Bijapur, Benares, and other historical cities of this country what he has done so well for Fatehpur Sikri and Sir Saiyed Ahmed Khan did many years ago for Delhi.

GUJARATI

Translation into Gujarati of Kalidasa's Sakuntala, by Balwantrai K. Thakore, B.A., Rajkumar College, Rajkot. Pp. 159. Price 0-8-0. (1906).

We note with pleasure that this is the fourth attempt of its kind to present in a Gujarati garb the famous work of Kalidasa. The previous translations

date far back to the time of Kavi Narmadasankar, besides whom Rao Saheb D. P. Khakhkhar and the Hon'ble Mr. Javerilal have also tried their hands at it. There is no doubt room for such a translation as the one under review. The love of the author for the Sanskrit original, his known literary talent and his close study of the previous translations to see where he can adopt or improve upon them, alone entitle the book to our attention. But apart from that the effort to convey the ideas of the original in language, simple and popular, a difficult thing at all times, and most difficult in the case of Sanskrit books, has been tolerably successful. A vocabulary at the end of the book explaining the meanings of such difficult words as the translator could not help using, goes a great way to make the translation successful. The cheap price at which it is issued and the still more convenient terms offered to libraries and students is an index to the fact that this has been a pure labor of love with Mr. Thakore.

Selections from the Greek Lives of Plutarch, rendered from English into Gujarati, by Balwantrao K. Thakore, B.A., Rajkumar College, Rajkot, and Harilal M. Bhatt, M.A., Professor, Baha-ud-din College, Junagadh. Pp. 338. Price Rs. 2. (1906).

This collection comprises the lives of Lyncurgus, Nicias, Dion, Themistocles, Pelopidas, Pericles, Agesilaus and Alexander. We may say at the outset that the work is no mere verbatim translation of the English rendering of Plutarch's Greek lives, but a well thought-out and deliberate attempt—so far as we are aware, the first of its kind—to introduce into Gujarati literature the philosophy, history, and literature of the Greeks, through the medium of a collection of biographies. The study of mere history as history, as was done in the old Gujarati school series, or of philosophy as philosophy, as in the prose writings of Kavi Narmadasankar, is neither attractive nor popular. The authors have, therefore, hit upon a happy medium. To the translation of each life, are appended several independent articles, which explain all the salient historical and philosophical phases of that life, and show in a concrete form, the atmosphere in which that life was passed and its surroundings. For instance, the appendix to the Life of

Alexander, consists of six articles, (i) the Greek Pantheon, (ii) the Olympic Games, (iii) Greek Currency, (iv) Greek Chronology, (v) short biographies of famous men mentioned in Alexander's Life, and (vi) a chronological list of the chief events in Greek history. The authors have all throughout depended for their information on such well-known ancient writers, as Thucydides, Herodotus and others. What is still left obscure, is made clear by valuable foot-notes, which are copious and well-written. A very valuable and useful feature of the book is the partial removal of that defect which mars almost all good Gujarati books, viz., the want of a good index. An index of names at the close of the work comes very handy, and an index of subjects would have rendered that part of the book perfect, but perhaps want of leisure is responsible for its absence. We wish this book an extensive circulation.

BENGALI

Mahabharat—Translated into Bengali, by Eshu Surendranath Tagore.

We welcome the above publication, as it will remove a long-felt desideratum of Bengali homes. The earlier translations of the work, all in verse, among which Kasiram Das's celebrated poem deservedly enjoys the greatest popularity, cannot be called faithful renderings of the original text. The method adopted by the early Bengali poets was to embellish their performances by many additions derived from their own fancy and not infrequently from analogous books on the subject. They were not besides very particular in observing decency in their writings, which is a great drawback. The modern prose translations of the *Mahabharat*, though generally faithful to the Sanskrit text, have the disqualifications of a heavy classical style and of unwieldy and bulky dimensions unsuited for ordinary use. The great Sanskrit epic embodies in it the traditions and legends of the Vedic age, the philosophical and spiritual teachings of the Vedantic school and the genealogical history of royal dynasties and mythical accounts of the Puranic age. It is thus a perfect epitome of Indian thought in all spheres of its activity during India's highest days of glory. But while the poem grew in size by the accretion of stories, legends and

philosophical teachings dovetailed to it from time to time, it became difficult to follow the main incidents of the narrative through the luxuriant growth of extraneous matter interpolated with it.

The translation under review gives a connected and clear account of the main story in a racy and highly finished style, weeding out all that is calculated to distract the reader's attention. The incidents retained all converge to the main point, and hold the characters in a clearer light. As a translation it is literal, and the style is not heavy. Still the work is of more than average length, though much of the unnecessary appendages of the original have been eliminated. In our opinion it is the most suitable and finished rendering of the great epic which we have yet had, and should be read by all who want to know something of the great ideals of our past and who have no access to Sanskrit literature, or patience and time to study the great poem in the original.

Pratapaditya—By Nikhilnath Rai, B.L.

In 1802 Ram Ram Basu, a pandit of the Fort William College, Calcutta, published a life of Pratapaditya in Bengali. The style in which the book is written is a curious medley of high-sounding Sanskrit and colloquial Bengali words, not without a sprinkling of Urdu. The book under review is, properly speaking, a new edition of this work. The industry and spirit of research which mark this erudite edition, remind one of the works of German savants, and we scarcely know of any other Bengali work which has been so carefully edited. The preface extends over 200 pages, in which the author has taken a bird's-eye view of the history of Bengal in the sixteenth century. It is replete with information of the highest value to students of Indian history. Next comes the original work of Ram Ram Basu, to which are appended thorough and exhaustive annotations, explaining historical allusions, elucidating matters and not infrequently repudiating unauthenticated and wrong accounts given by Ram Ram Basu. Then follows a life of Pratapaditya by Harishchandra Tarkalankar, which is in fact nothing more than a mere paraphrase of the older work in simpler Bengali published about half a century later. Nikhil Babu has appended his learned

comments to this work also. The poet Bharat Chandra's account of Pratapaditya's conflict with Man Singh written in his singularly fascinating style has been next quoted *verbatim* with erudite foot-notes. Then follow in succession:—(1) Extracts from *Kshitisa-vamsavali-charita* in Sanskrit. (2) *Ghatak-Karika* or genealogical accounts of Pratapaditya's line in Sanskrit. (3) *Udbhat Kavita*—verses on Pratapaditya in Sanskrit by unknown authors. (4) Statistical and geographical report of the 24 Pargannas by Major Ralph Smith, 1857. (5) Proceedings of the Asiatic Society on Sunderban—by H. C. Rainey. (6) History of Raja Pratapaditya by J. Westland. (7) Accounts by Du Jarric. (8) Accounts by Nicalao Pimenta.

The two last accounts by Jesuit priests are in Latin, and Nikhil Babu has subjoined Bengali translations to them and to all other above-named works.

It will appear from the above list that every available source of information about Pratapaditya has been collated and arranged in this remarkable production, and all issues arising out of these extensive materials possessing any historical significance have been discussed in it in the unprejudiced spirit of a true historian. Pratapaditya's character is full of strange anomalies; he was a brave and generous patriot, his bounties were wide, not even excluding the claims of Christian missionaries who begged of him a plot of land for a church; but he was violent, self-willed, contriving and ferocious; he once ordered a sweeper-girl's breasts to be cut off for a slight offence; he was so powerful that he defeated several times the armies sent by Akbar to subdue him, but, ambitious and unscrupulously selfish, he killed his own uncle, Basanta Ray, fondly devoted to him, and formed a plot to murder his own son-in-law, Ram Chandra. The patriotic Bengali writers of the present day are trying to whitewash his great crimes and in the name of this great character are delineating their own ideal of a hero conceived from a study of European history. Nikhil Babu's work is history and no fiction; it shews the strength and weaknesses of a great character and portrays in vivid lines of reality the greatest of the twelve *Bhaumiks* of Bengal in the sixteenth century.

The place Chandikan so often referred to by Jesuit priests and forming a subject of animated controversy among scholars is a corruption of Chandika Nagari, a

place situated near Jessore. We find it mentioned in an old MS. of *Digbijay-Prakash* by Kabiram preserved in the library of the Maharaja of Jeypore*. If it had been known to Nikhil Babu, it would have saved a fruitless discussion on the point.

The question of the leadership of the *Bangiya Kayastha Samaj* solved by Nikhil Babu in page 165, with evident leanings towards those with whom his own ancestry is connected, gives rise to issues which it would have been graceful for Nikhil Babu to avoid, as he steps into debatable ground on a personal subject and unnecessarily drags the readers with him into a case of family dissensions.

These are very minor points. The work on the whole is a monument of labour and historical research and is not only the best work on Pratapaditya and his times yet published, but, considering the important bearings of the narratives on other connected events of Indian history, is a permanent and valuable acquisition to Bengali literature.

The Castes and Sects of Bengal. Vols. I and II. By Babu Nagendranath Vasu.

As we read the above work, we are overwhelmed with an idea of its bulk, its originality and the patient industry required for giving shape to uncouth materials neglected for centuries. Each of the two volumes exceeds 600 closely printed pages of royal octavo size and are full of original matter brought to light by the original research of their learned compiler. They clearly and definitely indicate the line of thought followed by the ancestors of the Brahmins of Bengal in forming the vast social fabric of the Hindus and give incidental references to contemporary events which are likely to help in solving many knotty problems of Indian history. There is no space here to review the work in detail, and we doubt if there is any competent writer in our midst who could attempt a suitable criticism of these scholarly volumes, as the materials on which they are chiefly based are as yet the monopoly of their author—lying in the shape of old Mss. in his vast library. We shall content ourselves in this brief notice with merely touching some of the issues raised therein.

* A transcript of the above MS. is to be found in the Visvakosh Office, Calcutta.

The social history of Bengal preserved in the genealogical records of families disclose some curious and interesting facts regarding the ancestors of the modern Brahmins of Bengal. The Brahmins have themselves told their own story, so its authenticity is undoubted. It appears that the original Brahmin settlers of Bengal, representing 700 families, had renounced their sacrificial thread and all observance of Vedic rites during the Buddhistic age. The great king Adisura gave them a social status by making them once more adopt the sacred thread. The five Brahmins that came down from Kanauj could not help having intermarriages with these outcastes of the Brahmin community, and the present Brahmins of Bengal, the higher classes not excepted, are thus directly or indirectly connected with the "Sapta-Satis"—the name by which those degraded Brahmins were known.

Even barring the state of affairs in those remote times when Adisura reigned, in comparatively recent times the Barendra Brahmins were under the great influence of Buddhism, and many of them were without the sacrificial thread. In the gradual process of transformation of the older society to one of Brahmanical orthodoxy, these Brahmins were restored to the use of the thread by the intervention and favour of the *Vaidiks*. Five hundred years ago, the Hindu community of Bengal did not indicate that clearly defined caste distinction in its rigid form which binds it now, and instances of intermarriage amongst all sections of Brahmins were of frequent occurrence. There were besides intermarriages between Vaidyas and Kayasthas and between various other castes who now scrupulously stand aloof from one another.

From a study of old Bengali Literature, we have come across other facts which would still more surprise the credulous members of the orthodox community who have been led into the belief that the great Hindu society has remained inert and stereotyped ever since the Great Brahma gave it a local habitation and a name. The *Hadis* and *Doms*—the lowest and the meanest of our ranks, were, we believe, once Brahmins or an equally respected class of people. They once wielded great influence and having been placed at the helm of the older society during Buddhistic supremacy offered a fierce resistance to Brahmanical influence. So the revivalists reduced them to their present deplorable condition. In old

Bengali literature we find that some of the great priests, who were said to have possessed miraculous powers and before whom Emperors bowed down their heads, belonged to the *Hadi* or *Dom* caste. The names of Hadipa, Kalupa and some other spiritual guides of some of the powerful Pal kings of the 10th and 11th centuries are well known to those who are familiar with the literature of the Dharma cult. There are some sacred temples in Bengal in which the authority and precedence of *Dom* Pandits are yet preserved. The Brahmins have to recognise this and take water at the hands of these low-class men while visiting these temples. These are Dharma temples, and Mahamahopadhyay Haraprasad Sastri has conclusively proved that the god Dharma is a transformation of Buddha. *Yogis* (usually written *Yugis*) whose adoption of the sacred thread is looked upon as an instance of proverbial arrogance, must have once formed an important section of the Hindu community.

The castes have all been re-formed after the Hindu revival, and many sections of the Indian community that once occupied the front rank, having avowed their opposition to the Brahmanical revival, were degraded in the scale of society when the Brahmanical religion triumphed, and thus the entire social organisation was turned topsyturvy during the last thousand years.

The surmises given above are not all taken from Nagendra Babu's work. These will, we believe, be the inevitable conclusions of a perusal of the original records and of Nagendra Babu's history, only 2 parts of which have been yet published. These volumes, we once more venture to say, disclose materials of stupendous dimensions, and we look upon this huge collection of genealogical histories with eyes of never-ceasing admiration. The compilation that Nagendra Babu has undertaken is not only unique in its nature but the like of it, we believe, has not been attempted

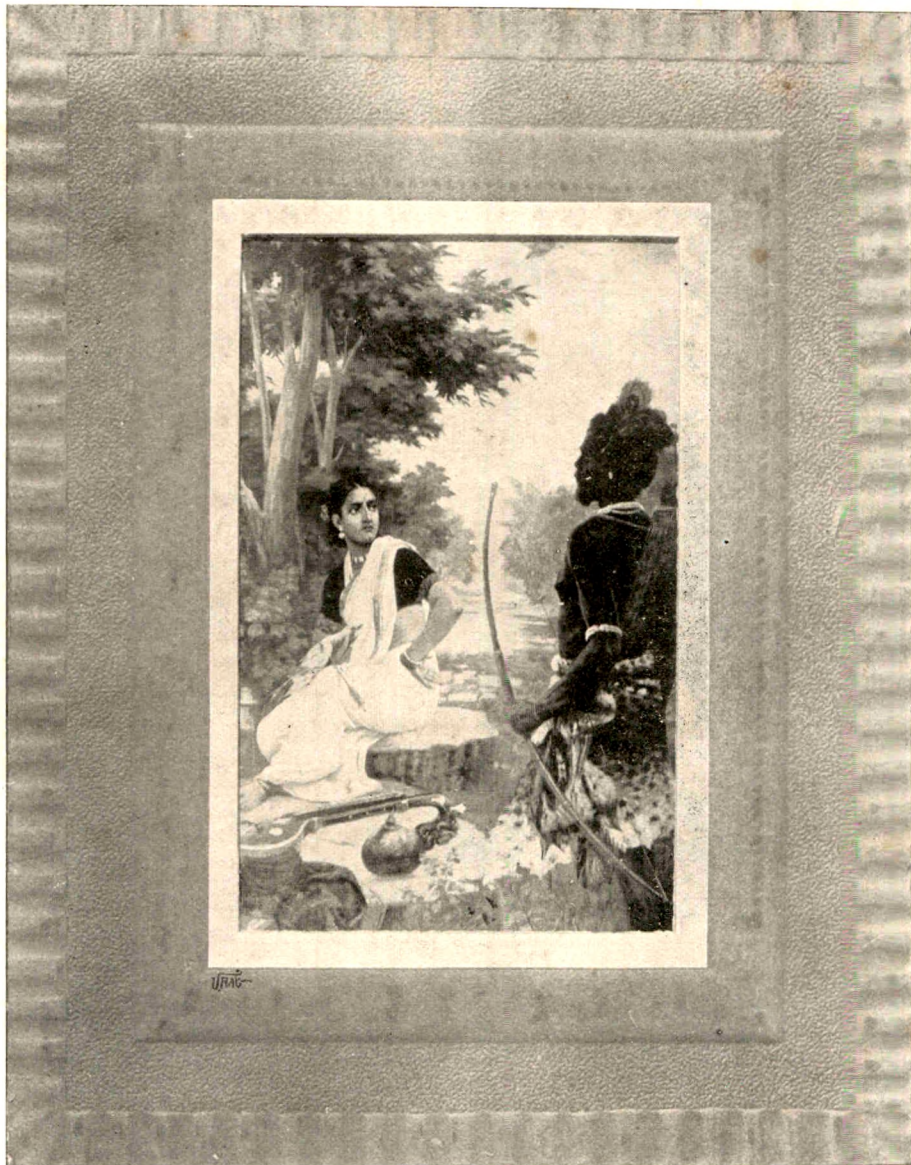
since the days of Raghunandan. It shews that behind the panorama of the Mahomedan regime, where dynasties of kings rose and fell without affecting the masses of the people, the great Hindu community slowly but steadily passed through great revolutions in the majestic sweep of their march towards a new ideal supplied by the Puranic religion. This history is the genuine living history of Bengal and the political history of the country dwindles into insignificance before this vast literature of social revolution.

Nagendra Babu has proved that even outside India, in other parts of Asia, there were in ancient times four divisions in society which have in this country been stereotyped into the rigid form of caste, and that the Scythians above all contributed not a little to the growth and advancement of Hindu society, which now considers everything outside the pale of its present organisation as unholy or accursed of God.

It will be well for our students to study how this social ostracism—this spirit of exclusiveness, originated, as it would prevent much irreverence for the older institutions of our country felt on a superficial and hasty view of matters.

No nation in the world except perhaps the Hindus possesses such a vast body of family-history, and we ought to be proud of this collection. With the loss of political ascendancy we have lost all political history, and the political instincts of the Bengalis have been for the last 6 or 7 centuries at such a low ebb that even the spirit of a Herodotus or Gibbon would fail here for want of sufficient materials. But social life was not dead here even a century ago; and these two volumes of Nagendra Babu shew to what end and objects our ancestors worked, as also the line in which the students of the history of India in general and of Bengal in particular should work to recover accounts of the past glory of our race.





From the original painting by RAVI VARMA. **THE PRINCESS & THE FOWLER.** By the courtesy of the artist.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

FEBRUARY, 1907

No. 2

ECONOMIC SWADESHISM—AN ANALYSIS

ONE of the most valuable fruits of the repressive and reactionary regime of the late Viceroy is the revival and spread of the sentiment of Swadeshism all over the land. The proximate cause of this historical event is too well-known to require mention. The newly awakened feeling manifests itself in an intensified and vigorous form in some parts of the country, as Bengal and Maharashtra; it drags on a feeble existence in others, as in Upper India and Gujarāt, while there are very backward tracts like Karnatac and Sindh, where it is still striving to struggle into conscious existence. But no thoughtful observer, whatever his race, can overlook the fact that the sentiment has in a way overspread the whole land from Calcutta to Peshāwar, and from Lucknow to Travancore. Further, the fact cannot escape notice that it is not a transient phenomenon, a passing wave of patriotic excitement, a merely seasonal breeze. In fact if one is to judge rightly by all that has occurred and is still occurring before one's eye, it is a deep-rooted and abiding sentiment, that has gathered strength and volume, as time has passed, and promises to be one of the most powerful levers for the attainment of an all-round progress. It has come to stay in the land, and to be a potent

instrument of our national and economic regeneration.) It behoves us, therefore, to ascertain its true character, the scope and tendency of its operation, and to mark out for it, if possible, the channel in which its flow may be most beneficial to our national aims and aspirations.

(Swadeshism in its liberal and broadest sense is equivalent to nationalism, or national patriotism, but it may be doubted whether all who use it invariably attach this sense to the word. A truly patriotic impulse is certainly the underlying bed-rock on which its foundations are laid, but in practical parlance the shades of its meaning to different classes of people vary considerably. The officials and the classes connected with them seem to think that in its proper application the word ought to mean an encouragement of Indian industries chiefly by the establishment of new industries and productive works, or at the greatest stretch, by a purchase of the products of Indian industries by the State. This appears to be the whole range of their view. We will call it *laissez faire* Swadeshism. To the common people, who are not hampered by theories, or a desire to grasp the kernel of the problem as a whole, Swadeshism practically means, avoidance of foreign goods as an end

in itself: while many among the thinking and the educated are not slow to perceive, that though the eschewing of foreign goods is of immense value as a preliminary step in the path of industrial advancement, yet real and tangible progress consists in the constructive direction of establishing new industries according to the best of our opportunities and means. The use of boycott as a political weapon, though perfectly legitimate under given conditions, is still confined to a part of the country, *viz.*, Bengal. All, however, seem generally to concur in recognizing the utility of economic Swadeshim, as a powerful instrument for achieving our industrial regeneration. There are many persons, who have not yet realized its full importance; but it may be affirmed without fear of contradiction that their attitude, where it is not due to personal or selfish grounds, is owing to their not having bestowed attention on the whole question. We propose to confine ourselves for the present to economic Swadeshim alone, leaving the broader aspects of the sentiment to be dealt with in future.

Economic Swadeshim has two aspects: one positive and the other negative. The former, which is sometimes called Swadeshim proper, aims at establishing new industries and producing goods that are now imported from abroad. It is constructive in its aims and methods. The latter, which is ordinarily styled boycott, is negative and destructive. It aims mainly at avoiding foreign goods. Its object would be accomplished if foreign goods ceased to be imported. A boycotter, if a new word may be coined, will be *functus officio* when this stage is reached. The function of the Swadeshist proper is to supply the void created by an effective avoidance of foreign goods. The boycotter clears the ground for the Swadeshist to build upon. Both are necessary and desirable. In ordinary course both ought to proceed hand in hand. But for boycott the work of the Swadeshist would be

arduous and risky; on the other hand, but for Swadeshim the vacuity created by a successful boycott might prove burdensome and repulsive, and may endanger the Swadeshi cause itself. Each is supplementary to the other. They are like the two lobes of a grain of pulse, which must both remain united if the grain is to germinate and bear fruit. On the practical side the spheres of the two appear distinct and divided. Boycott appeals to the population at large to eschew foreign goods in order that new indigenous ones may take their place. Swadeshim proper appeals to the instructed and the enlightened, to the capitalist and the skilled artizan, to devise means for supplying the vacant place of the foreign article. Boycott does not necessarily imply an emotional hatred of the foreign article. It seeks to avoid it in order to secure a rational and economic end. Both are necessary. Of course, we are speaking of a legitimate boycott, stripped of its unnecessary and illegal concomitants, if any.

Though such appear to us to be the spheres of the two twin movements, there are persons whose opinion is entitled to respect, who disapprove of boycott, but would still encourage Swadeshim proper by all means. These gentlemen belong generally to the *laissez faire* class of economists. Some of them have given practical proof of their regard for our industrial prosperity by purchasing country-made goods to the exclusion of foreign ones, and by offering valuable and practical advice also. It would be uncharitable to impute improper motives to such men; and in any case the imputation of such motives cannot terminate a controversy satisfactorily. We ought to be able to appreciate and meet their argument, if our position is sound and unassailable. Now, the arguments usually advanced against the adoption of an economical boycott, so far as we have been able to follow them, are reducible to three. First, it is stated that boycott is either useless or mischievous.

It is urged that if the country-made article is as good and as cheap as its imported rival, it is bound to displace the latter and a boycott of it is unnecessary. If it is not as good and cheap, then a boycott of the foreign article is harmful, because it imposes, if successful, a burden on the poor to the extent of the extra price or the inferior quality of the indigenous article. This is the first objection. The second objection urged is, that boycott cannot stop short at goods only, but must ultimately extend to foreign people also, and is, therefore, to be condemned, as opening a wide door to racial animosities. The third objection is implied in the first. It is, that boycott must lower artistic taste, and the economic standard of the people, which is undesirable even from a merely industrial stand-point.)

(The foregoing statement is, we believe, the whole case against boycott as put by its opponents. An examination of it fails to satisfy any patriotic Indian that boycott is wrong and must be abandoned. The first argument is in effect the stock plea used by free-traders against any form of protection whatsoever. The answer to it must be the one used by eminent free-trade economists in this connection. New and nascent industries cannot be called into existence without some such protection. They would be exposed in the absence of such a safeguard to the fierce onslaught of rich and powerful foreign competitors who would even face a temporary loss to strangle a new industry in India at its very birth. Again, those who are familiar with the colossal scale on which industries are carried on in Europe and America can at once perceive that since India cannot at once command the necessary capital for making a start on such a scale, it must wait for a long time, or perhaps for ever, if protection to new industries in the form of boycott is not to be given at the commencement. In the face of these considerations, we Indians have to decide for ourselves

whether we are going to allow our economic prosperity to be deferred indefinitely or permanently, or to grasp and utilize the only instrument that we have at our command—*viz.*, an economical boycott of foreign goods. This is the crux of the question. Sober reflection suggests that the latter course must be adopted. There is no escape from it, whatever its temporary drawbacks. That all fears of a destructive foreign competition are not illusory may be proved by a reference to a known recent case. Since the Japanese came to know that match factories had been set up at Ahmedabad and elsewhere, they have begun to lower the price of their own matches, and now the latter are 25 p. c. cheaper than they were before and may be cheapened still further. What is the duty of every patriotic Indian in such circumstances? Is he to allow the new factories to be borne down and to perish under the weight of an unequal competition or patriotically to stand by its side, its firm supporter to the last, and thus save the hundreds of men that have got a living there, from again becoming hand-to-mouth labourers? There can be only one answer as far as India is concerned. If in adopting such protection, Indians are committing an error, they are erring in very good company. The prosperity of England began in the nursing-house of protection; and even at the present day all the nations of Europe are doing by legislative measures what we are endeavouring to do voluntarily. Protection by the State would be welcome and is needed in India, but as that is not to be thought of under the peculiar circumstances of the Government of India, we take the matter in our own hands. Our efforts will be necessary for a prolonged period and can only cease when the occasion for them ceases, *i.e.* when our industries are able to stand on their own legs. Further, we may ask—why should any one object to our people, even poor people, sacrificing a small amount, if by doing so they

are actually encouraging their own industries? Lastly, it may be well to resort to a fundamental principle, *viz.*, that the object of economics ought to be not simply buying articles in the cheapest market but maintaining our people in health and comfort. It is because boycott does it that we adopt it. The actual experience of more than a year proves beyond doubt that it is a safe and sound course. The patronizing by a large section of the Indian people of the fabrics of Indian Mills has put more profits into the pockets of the mill-owners; the latter have extended their establishments; the country fabrics are getting cheaper and will eventually reach the old level; with the advantage into the bargain that wages have increased, many labourers hitherto living in idleness have found remunerative employment, our capitalists and merchants have profited, and practical skill has been developed. How can we in the face of tangible results like these adopt outside advice to leave off boycott? So much for the economic objection.

As regards the second objection, we do not see how an economic boycott of foreign goods can naturally extend to the person of foreigners. Our object is to organize our national efforts so that all our countrymen may be ultimately maintained in health, strength and comfort. It will happen incidentally that step by step as we advance, foreigners may be displaced gradually. But this result is inevitable. It can only be averted and that perhaps partially by the identification of our interests with those of the ruling class in all matters. This does not appear to be feasible for some time to come. Till that consummation is reached, no unprejudiced man can say that we are wrong in making our own national interest exclusively our goal.

The third objection has been partially answered already. We may add that people with a national conscience, and a living and patriotic regard for their countrymen, con-

sider it a matter of far greater moment to see that every one in this land is well fed and well clad than that some fancy foreign articles are not abjured. If it were practicable, we should wish a sudden stoppage of the importation of all foreign articles of mere luxury and show. It is a debased taste that hankers after outlandish bawbles. Moreover, the supposed evil can be at best temporary; for, in the final adjustment of things which will take place when India is economically independent, taste will have its place, but the crying problem to which everything must be subordinated for the present is that of bringing up all our countrymen in full health and vigour. Boycott paves the way to that end and ought, therefore, to be welcome.

(We have already acknowledged that the *laissez faire* and the nationalist Swadeshist both desire that Indian industries ought to be extensively developed. The former, however, stops at the mere expression of the desire, and, except in the direction of agriculture, does not propose any practical steps. He would tell the people at large not to trouble themselves with the question, but simply go on buying their goods in the cheapest market. He would leave the founder of a new industry to shift for himself as best he can and would not be sorry, if he got crushed in the enterprise by the stress of an unequal and killing competition. The Indian nationalist view is quite different. Since the desire for a revival of industries ought not to remain a mere pious wish, he would insist that steps be taken to materialize it and that sacrifices be made to secure the object. A small sacrifice by the population at large in the way of patronizing country-made goods is one of the surest means that practically answers the purpose. It has the merit of giving nourishment to new industries when they need it most, *viz.*, in their nascent stage, which the other view would withhold. Viewed thus, an economic boycott is completely vindicated.

While upholding a legitimate boycott on economic grounds, we are sorry we do not see our way to endorse the complaint made by persons of undoubted sincerity and friendliness that the mill-owners and other producers do not take care to make their products accessible to the poor by making them cheap enough. We fully appreciate the excellent motives that actuate them. They naturally believe that the cheapness of indigenous goods would strengthen their advocacy of boycott, and advance the propaganda extensively. Moreover, an apprehension seems to be entertained that unless the indigenous goods are as good and as cheap as the foreign ones, the masses will not be induced to patronize them for any length of time. Whilst we appreciate these views, we take leave to urge that if country-made goods were always as good and as cheap, they would naturally make their way against foreign goods and the aid of the Swadeshi propagandist would not be at all necessary. The coarser products of our cotton mills may be cited as an instance in point. It is because at the beginning our goods cannot be always as good and as cheap, that people are asked to undergo a small sacrifice, either in taste or in money, and the Swadeshi preacher is needed to help in the work. We would go a step further and maintain that, both as a matter of business principle as also of practical necessity, the producer ought not to be called upon to forego, nor can he in practice forego any portion of the price he asks for his goods.

First as to principle.

The whole merit of the boycott movement and its effective economic value to the country at large consists in the fact that it stimulates the demand, while the supply remains stationary, and thereby puts extra profits into the pockets of the producer. The profits are turned into capital, and production is increased, fresh supplies are brought to the market, and prices begin to decline. This process goes

on till the whole demand is met at reduced prices, *i. e.* till a stable level is reached. In the meanwhile, existing industries are extended or new ones originated and work for thousands of people is found in the factories; while our capitalists, the skilled artisans and middle men obtain a fair share of the gains. The object of true Swadeshim is thus accomplished. That such will be the actual order of development is proved by the positive experience of the cotton mills and other concerns all over the country during the past year. Now it may be confidently affirmed that if the prices had remained at the old level, no such result would have been achieved. To desire, therefore, that prices should remain stationary, in spite of the boycott, is to desire an unattainable object. Nay, further, if the desire met with success, there would be none of the very beneficent extensions of industry that we now see everywhere. A boycott to be successful in its aims to cause increased production, must at first raise prices. It would defeat its own object if it did not.

So much for the principle. As a matter of practical business it is not possible for producers, be they mill-owners or others, to raise prices permanently. A wide-spread and sustained combination may be able to do so; but in this country, it does not exist. In the case of cotton fabrics, a large army of middle-men who severely compete with one another, intervene between the consumer and the producer, and any artificial raising of the price by the latter is practically out of the question. The general course of prices in the world, coupled with the state of the local demand in India, determines the state of selling values here as elsewhere. The producer always wishes to get the highest price he can for his article, but he is restrained by the state of the market, which means all the forces that go to fix the price at any given time. It is a mistake, therefore, to suppose that the Bombay mill-owners or any other

class of producers have unconscionably run up their selling prices. If anything, the consumer is as much responsible for higher prices as the producer; and it is not in the power of either to lower or raise them. If practical satisfaction is needed that this is really the case, let any Swadeshi preacher go to a mill or other place of business and see how things are done. It must not be for a moment supposed that a business can be managed on any other than business principles. Business and philanthropy make uncongenial friends. Their unhallowed combination can

only result in bad business and a spurious philanthropy. Each must be kept apart from the other. Each thrives in separation from the other. If any lesson is to be derived from the foregoing remarks, it is that economic boycott ought to be vigorously preached and practised. It is a necessary hand-maid to constructive Swadeshim and actively contributes to its growth. Capital is, of course, required to complete the work: scientific and technical knowledge are equally necessary. But boycott is the pioneer.

AMBALAL SAKARLAL DESAI.

THE FUNCTION OF ART IN SHAPING NATIONALITY

II

ART, then, is charged with a spiritual message,—in India to-day, the message of the Nationality. But if this message is actually to be uttered, the profession of the painter must come to be regarded, not simply as a means to *dál-bhát*, but as one of the supreme ends of the highest kind of education. Thus, an Art-school now-a-days would need to be a University; the common talk amongst the students out of hours, to cover all the accepted conclusions, all the burning questions, of the day; their reading to be marked by an insatiable curiosity for all the noble secrets of the world.

For, it is undeniable that everything great, whether for good or evil, begins with the earnestness of a group of students. When men have reached a decision on any of the critical questions of life, it is already too late for them to come together. The world-shaking confederacies are never made up of mas-

ters. One mature mind and many disciples, or many young minds struggling together: these are the groups through which power is developed. For proof of this, we might look at the movements which have grown up in Calcutta itself, as the result of the ferment amongst the students in the time of Keshub Chunder Sen. The whole of the *Naba Bidhan* with its indisputable powers of moral education, the whole of the *Sadharan Brahmo Samaj*, with its fearless and unselfish advocacy of every progressive movement, and the whole of the work of the Order of Ramakrishna, to name only three definite associations, are our inheritance from the students of that time.

Instances further from home abound. Who can doubt that the vicious theories of Imperialism propagated by the man Curzon and his school, are the result of the stand that made itself popular amongst the sons of the privileged classes at Oxford in his student days?



BHARAT-MATA (MOTHER INDIA).

BY ABANINDRANATH TAGORE.

Lord Ripon, on the other hand, in *his* young manhood, was one of the innermost circle of that group of "Christian Socialists" that also numbered amongst its members Charles Kingsley and Tom Hughes. And it was here, as their friends knew well, that he and his wife trained and developed that noble partisanship for the defeated, that instinct of justice and equality, for which their names will shine so long in history.

The Fabian Society of Socialists are one of the central sources in London to-day of the culture of the democratic idea. And they began as a group of young and hardworked men and women, meeting on Saturday afternoons to study certain books, and discuss the social questions involved.

The London Positivists—another ganglionic centre of moral impulses in the intellectual life of England,—were, a generation or so ago, a knot of brilliant young Oxford men, captured by the great *Guru*, Congreve, the English clergyman who renounced so much to follow the faith of Auguste Comte.

And the Mediæval movement in English Art,—its most notable development, probably, during the nineteenth century,—began with young men, Rossetti, Morris, Burne-Jones, Simeon Solomon, and others.

No. The old may have justice on their side in deprecating their own powers. But the young have no right to doubt themselves. The future is theirs. They, and no others, are born to inherit the earth.

Now, Universities are built up of thought and hope, not out of mere organisation alone. Let two men take up the study of art in the right spirit, and they will change the whole art-world of India. Let the men of a single art-school understand comprehensively the problem before them, and the new art is already born. For of life comes forth life, but without the quickening of the spirit, there can be nothing but death.

But how can a man be a painter of Nation-

ality? Can an abstract idea be given form and clothed with flesh, and painted? Undoubtedly it can. Indeed if we had questioned this, Mr. A. N. Tagore's exquisite picture of "Bharat-mata" would have proved its possibility. But it cannot be done all at once. Such an achievement lies amongst the higher reaches of artistic attainment, and would be impossible for the beginner, with his foot on the first rung of the ladder. How is he to proceed, that he may gradually rise to the delineation of such great ideal forms?

In the first place, it must be understood that art is concerned with the pleasure which we derive from sight. Not with the knowledge. The picture that ministers to *that* need is a scientific diagram, merely! The fundamental requisite, then, is a truthfulness of sense. Without the ability to decide promptly and finally that we *like* or *dislike* a certain delineation, a certain situation, we shall inevitably go wrong in art. Not every scene is fit for a picture. And this truth needs emphasising in modern India especially, because here an erroneous conception of fashion has gone far to play havoc with the taste of the people. In a country in which that posture is held to be ill-bred,* every home contains a picture of a fat young woman lying full length on the floor and writing a letter on a lotus-leaf! As if a sight that would outrage decorum in actuality, could be beautiful in imagination! In a country in which romantic emotion is never allowed to show itself in public, pictures of the wooing of Arjuna and Subhadra abound.

These errors proceed from a false ideal of correctness, which leads us to be untrue to the dictates of our own feeling. Under the influence of such misconception, I have seen an Indian girl pick out of a collection of photographs the most unattractive rudities of Puvis de Chavannes, from the Paris

* I ought to state here, that I do not know of any country in which a young lady may stretch herself on the floor in public.

Sorbonne, and declare that of them all she liked these best. It was evident to kindly on-lookers that she had not taken the pains to examine her choice closely, but imagined—poor child!—that they must be the correct thing because of the number of inches of bare flesh exposed. Similarly, it is not uncommon to find in the guest-room of an Indian bungalow, pictures of ladies smoking cigarettes and otherwise comforting themselves, the exposure of which, in a European house, could only be intended as a deliberate insult to the guest.

In all these cases alike, the mistake arises from the cold-blooded endeavour to make ourself like a given thing because it is supposed to be 'high art', instead of for the simple reason that it affords pleasure. Pictures of the nude and semi-nude are always best avoided in India, since it is almost impossible here, at present, to attain the education necessary for their true discrimination, and mistakes in taste on such a subject are dangerous to moral dignity. There is, nevertheless, a certain grandeur of reverence—a sense of the impersonal—in such ancient works as the Venus of Milo, in the mediæval 'Girl taking a Thorn out of her Foot' by Donatello, and in the modern Triptych of Love by G. F. Watts, which lifts the human form out of the realm of the merely physical, and suffuses it with spiritual meaning. But to those who find in themselves no perception of this fact, and to those, who have had no experience in foreign art, such a statement must sound like wordy vapouring, and the expert rule undoubtedly is that the nude be passed by altogether.

This training and heightening of sense-perception, till the eye becomes like a perfectly regulated instrument, reliable as to what it chooses and what it rejects, is more important and more difficult than would readily be suspected. In Indian art, particularly, there is a tendency to become too intellectual,—

or too technical, which is apt periodically to override the artistic instinct, and destroy art. Thus in the Lahore Museum, after a long series of exquisite ancient sculptures which may or may not show the influence of Bactria or Chinese craftsmen, we come with a gas upon the emaciated figure of the *Fastidius* Buddha. In Jaypore, also, we hear of a skeleton Kali. Now these things are wrong. They mark the dying power of an art-period. Art is not science. The pursuit of the beautiful—not necessarily the sensuously beautiful, but always the beautiful,—is her true function. The artist has a right to refuse, as not suitable to his purpose, all that to his particular temperament appears as unbeautiful. Indeed we instinctively assume him to have done this and believe that we may praise or condemn his taste and judgment accordingly.

In nature, then, there is much which is not beautiful, and the artist must judge continually between her diverse elements. In a picture we want neither the mean, nor the muddy, nor the confused. Hardly any scene can be counted lovely that is without light. Even water is as meaningless in a picture as a huddled crown of cocoanut palms, if it be unlighted. I had long admired certain Dutch pictures in the London National Gallery, without being able to discover the secret of their spell. They were by a man called De Hoogh and consisted of little courts and cooking rooms with red pavements. Nothing very striking in the subjects, for as a matter of personal taste, I immensely prefer Madonnas and Angels to kitchens. At last I took my puzzle to a great artist. "De Hoogh is one of the few people who have ever known how to paint sunlight", was his reply to my question. At last the mystery of the curious up-lifting of spirit was explained! I returned to De Hoogh and found it true. His red brick floor lay always in the light.

Contrast of various sorts, is, again, a great element in beauty, contrast within unity. f

of course is colour. Amongst studies by Indian art-students, I have seen many oil-paintings of dull unlighted tanks lined by thatched huts, the whole overshadowed by heavy forbidding trees, painted in blue-green. Now these depressing renderings of depressing scenes were true enough to the fact, even to the fact of many a place we love. In outline, they were good enough. Yes, but a single luminous touch, on house or pond or leaves, would perhaps have changed the whole, as by the stroke of miracle. There is another picture often seen, of the child Dhruva making his way into the forest. It is a picture of confusion, without one point of radiance. Wild undergrowth in muddy blue-green does not make a picture. To the child Dhruva, as he actually went by the forest-ways to his heart's desire, there was, it appears to me, some great sense of overarching loftiness, of spreading starlit sky, of open path, a wondrous call and invitation of the Infinite leading him on and on into the sleeping silence in the depth of the forest. These things are not suggested by the picture we know. Moreover, if the artist had realised that his duty was to paint what gave him *joy*, instead of that, merely, which he had often seen, that picture would have been very very different.

Thus a true picture must be luminous, and it must be suggestive. It must, moreover, have a beautiful subject, which at once rouses our

love and aspiration. Now Indian roads and streets and river-banks are full of subjects which would make such pictures, only we must have a *heart* to see them by. It is through the heart that the artist must do all his seeing. Indian women, with their incomparable draperies; the beggars with the staff and begging-bowl that hints of Siva; labour, beautiful in all lands, but here still further dignified by its wonderful gentleness and refinement; the priest in the temple, the boatman on the river, the mother with her child, the bride stepping forth to the bridal, do you Indian students of Indian art see nothing in any of these that you long to record? Can you not go through life seeking for the glimpses that open up the great vistas? They are seen oftener in this country than anywhere in Europe! In almost any home one might find the group from which one could paint the Nativity of Christ and the *Nanda-Utsab* of Krishna. Have you not felt the beauty of the little earthen lamp set alight at evening beneath the *tulsi* plant? Have you not breathed the peace of the *Sānti-jal* ceremony in the gathering dusk? Is there for you no mystic significance in the *Baran dālā*? Believe me, without some such interpretation, some such appeal, the mere technical excellences of which you learn to prate in English schools, are bone without flesh; they are worse than valueless.

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

PRIMARY EDUCATION AND PRIVATE ENTERPRISE

DURING the last year or two there has been a remarkable change of note in the aspirations of the Indian community. The cult of self-help has been strenuously advocated and has been at least theoretically accepted by the great majority of thoughtful Indians. There are signs that we are at last beginning to realise that in many spheres of life a very substantial progress can be achieved without the direct help or intervention of the State. During the last thirty or forty years we have frequently claimed varying degrees of share in the administration of the country, but until quite recently, there was very little active desire to govern ourselves in those spheres which the State could not or did not touch. Now that there is a trend of public feeling in the right direction, it may not be out of place to direct attention to a branch of social work which has so far received very scant consideration from the different sections of the Indian people.

It is not my object to fill the pages of this magazine with platitudes about the great part that must be played by education in the social and industrial regeneration of this country. It is a truism to say that all progress is the result of education. The examples of Japan and of the most forward countries in Europe, are sufficient for the purposes of illustration. The new doctrine of self-help in this country has been expounded mainly in connexion with the improvement of industry and commerce. It is needless to point out that in this age of competition the efforts to improve our position in the scale of industrial nations must be doomed to failure without a vast improvement in the educational condition of the country. Without more education throughout all the

different strata of society we shall learn neither to produce nor to consume. (It may be observed parenthetically that it is a fallacy of elementary economics to hope to increase our powers of production indefinitely without a corresponding increase of our powers of consumption. The latter depends upon what economists have variously termed "standard of comfort" or "standard of life." In raising the standard of life education should be the principal factor). Germany, which is at present the most notable country in Europe for its almost military industrialism, is also in the vanguard of nations for educational progress. Belgium, which is now politically unimportant, may be described as the most prosperous industrial country. Competent observers have declared that Belgian prosperity is to be ascribed mainly to the excellent educational system that prevails there, more particularly the system of primary education. The remark applies with almost equal force to the adjacent country of Holland. It should, therefore, be our endeavour to build industrial progress on educational progress.

Leaders of Indian thought have not been entirely oblivious of this aspect of the question. Indeed from comparatively early days in the nineteenth century, generous benefactors have come forward to encourage the spread of education in the country. The Hindu College of Calcutta (the forerunner of the present Presidency College) and Jainarain's College in Benares were, I believe, private foundations. The origin of the Mohsin Trust is too well-known to require repetition. In our own times we are witnessing the establishment of a Research Institute through the princely munificence of a single donor, and of a Medical

College as a provincial loyal offering to the heir to the throne. In Bengal, an organisation has existed for several years past to encourage youths of the country to learn technical arts and handicrafts in foreign lands; another society has recently formulated an elaborate scheme of studies and examinations. The Mussalmans have yearly convened an educational conference, and the splendid foundation at Aligarh is an exemplar for other communities. There are several other private endowed institutions which are too well-known to require mention here. It is, therefore, evident that, although much yet remains to be done, and what has been done is but very little compared with the achievements in the same direction of the United States of America, and of European countries, a certain degree of private enterprise has been displayed in this country in the departments of secondary and academic education.

On turning, however, to the field of primary education our achievements appear to be nil. I am excluding Burma from consideration. At first sight it would have seemed that in a country like India, where religion has such a close hold on the people and where there is such a diversity of creeds and customs, denominational primary schools, the result of private effort, would be the rule and secular State schools the exception. We are, however, confronted with the spectacle that in the matter of primary education, practically all the work is monopolised by the State, which professes tolerance coupled with non-interference with all religions, and that private enterprise is conspicuous by its absence. It is true that in Mussalman towns and villages there are many "Qoran Schools," but it is no reflection on the piety of the supporters of such schools or the devotion of the Maulavis who teach there, to say that they are practically useless for all modern purposes and may be safely left out of consideration. Among the Hindus there is not even a counterpart to the Qoran Schools,

if we exclude the infinitesimally small number of Sanskrit *pathshalas* where only a few Brahmans are usually taught. In Bengal at least, there was an indigenous system of primary education which perhaps served its purpose in the early days. No sooner, however, did the Government recognise that it should take a share in the primary education of the country, than the Bengal system also disappeared. In the United Provinces the authorities have in recent years made earnest endeavours to encourage the system of aided schools, but all who have had anything to do with the practical educational administration of a district are agreed that so far aided schools have not proved their efficiency. There is no spontaneous private effort to establish such schools. An officer of Government visits a village with a large population, finds there is no school in it or within a reasonable distance, and with the aid of the educational officers an attempt is made to establish an aided school. The teacher receives very little from the villagers to eke out the slender pittance he gets from Government, and the villagers are keenly solicitous to have the schools converted to a District Board State School, at the earliest possible opportunity. I do not think it is any exaggeration to say that in not more than ten per cent. of the aided schools in existence in the province do the residents take any pride or interest. The school meeting is held in a room or a verandah reluctantly lent by a villager, there are no furniture or appliances, and the teaching, as might be expected, is of the most perfunctory character. There is no attempt whatever at any religious or denominational training and the teacher never departs from the methods and courses of study prescribed by the Department. The aided schools in existence in this province cannot, therefore, be described as in any way representing private effort or enterprise. They are merely a cheaper variety of State schools.

It may perhaps be argued by extreme advocates of the industrial cult that for the present all our efforts should be directed to the development of the trade and industry of the country and consequently attention should be devoted principally to industrial and technical education. Without any desire to disparage technical education it may be safely asserted that a highly organised system of technical schools is bound to fail in a country which has yet so little of the leaven of primary education. The countries where technical education has been carried almost to perfection, Germany, Belgium and the United States, are also the countries where primary education received very early and careful attention. It is now a commonplace that an artificer or handicraftsman who has received the rudiments of a general education is a much more valuable "producer of wealth" than an illiterate man. Besides, primary education in this country really means very little more than the three R's, and no technical school would or could instruct boys who had not acquired this irreducible minimum of general knowledge. Moreover, as I have already stated, without a rise in the standard of life, the production of wealth cannot go beyond a certain point, and without education permeating all ranks of society the standard of life will not rise. It is hardly necessary to labour this point but an apposite illustration of its truth is to be found in the present labour problem in India. Mills in Calcutta and mills in Cawnpore complain of the scarcity of labour. Labourers from the congested districts of Bihar, South Oudh and the Benares Division, will not go to the uncongenial work of the Calcutta or Cawnpore mills, because their wants are very few and in a year of favourable agricultural conditions are easily satisfied in their own homesteads. In other words, the standard of life of the teeming millions of these districts is low. The only means of raising their standard of life or

diversifying their wants is education. As soon as new aspirations are inculcated in them by the process of education they will begin to produce more wealth than they do now. Superficial observers may also argue in this manner: at present we import a large quantity of articles from foreign countries. At any rate industrial revival and development will reduce these imports. It is not, therefore, essential for the purposes of industrial revival to create new wants or raise the standard of life. Here the fact is lost sight of that after all the countries from which we obtain the imports consume some of our goods in return. If we cease to import because we can produce *equally good and cheap* articles at home, our exports will also decline. The cost of carriage will be saved in both directions and the goods produced at home will sell proportionately cheaper than they did before. Unless, therefore, people buy larger quantities or more various kinds of things than formerly, the volume of production will have to be reduced. This can be avoided only by an amplification of the wants of the consumer, that is to say, by a rise in the standard of life of all classes of society. We, therefore, come back to the original proposition that a very extensive spread of primary education is essentially necessary for the industrial and commercial development of the country.

A much more forcible argument is that primary education for the masses is the business of the State, and private enterprise should be confined to technical, secondary and academic education, where class interests are at stake. With this theory in the abstract I have no quarrel, and the principle appears to have been so far accepted by the Government that they have in recent years earmarked for the purposes of primary or vernacular education a much larger proportion of the annual allotment than was the case formerly. We have, however, to deal with things as they are. It is not the province of this article to

discuss whether Government is in a position to grant more money for primary education than it does now. It is, however, useful to remember that one cannot burn a candle at both ends. We cannot get both a reduction of taxation and an increase of State expenditure. Taking facts as they are, the question for consideration is whether we should be satisfied with what Government is doing for primary education* or whether the people should also be doing something in the same direction.

It is unnecessary to quote statistics to prove the well-known fact that India is one of the most backward countries in the matter of primary education, and that the United Provinces is the most backward part of India in this respect. In the countries of Western Europe, practically all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen attend school. In India it may be assumed that the necessary modicum of knowledge may be imparted between the ages of six and ten. But what a small proportion of boys of this age do actually attend school! It is useless at present to institute comparisons in the case of girls. I admit there has been a great progress within the last few years, but the progress is great only because the figures in previous years were small. I have heard it stated that there really is no great demand for any large expansion of primary education. This opinion can be unhesitatingly contradicted. It can be safely asserted that given efficient schools and a low rate of fees, there is really no limit to the development of primary education in the rural parts of India. It is idle to deny that a low rate of fees is essential or that a certain proportion of scholars must be educated altogether free of charge. In a country where the Government has recognised that a reduction of a rupee a maund in the

salt-tax implies a substantial relief to the labouring classes, the payment of even a pice per month is often an appreciable hardship. In the wealthy and advanced countries of Western Europe the principle has been long recognised that fees in the elementary schools should be as low as possible and that indigent parents should be entitled to a free education for their children. In India, moreover for ages all education was free. Even now no fees are levied in the Qoran Schools or the Sanskrit *Pathshalas*. Proposals have occasionally been made for the introduction of a system of compulsory education in India. It does not really seem necessary to insist on compulsion if the two conditions, efficiency and low fees, are secured. The question, therefore, of giving primary education to all boys of school-going age in the country is the question of provision of funds. Because Government is unable to find adequate money for the purpose, it does not behove us to sit still and do nothing ourselves.

Much stress has been laid in recent years on the necessity of imparting a sound moral and religious training as a part of education. Many denominational colleges have sprung up in the country and denominational universities have also been talked of. Opinion is divided whether it would really be conducive to national welfare to introduce a system of academic and scholastic education in water-tight compartments, specially in a country where there are already so many races and creeds. There can be no question, however, that the partisans of denominationalism have begun at the wrong end. Only an extremely small proportion of boys reach the academic stage of education, and they do so at an age when the mind and character have already been partially formed. Religion to be a living force must be taught from childhood. I do not depreciate home influence, and there is much of the noble and beautiful that can be learnt by a boy in the humblest Indian home; but

* This article was written before the publication of the Government of India Resolution on the practicability or otherwise of imparting free primary education.—ED., M. R.

it is needless to point out that the average illiterate parent of the lowest classes in India is incapable of imparting the principles of his religion, be it Hindu or Islamic, in a right and rational manner to his children. Now, it is patent that the State school in this country must be strictly undenominational. Nor is it possible with the diversity of beliefs and customs for private communities to make adequate provision for the teaching of their respective religions as an adjunct to the undenominational teaching of the State schools. On the other hand it is quite feasible for almost every section or community which desires its own religious beliefs to be inculcated in the minds of its children to have separate primary schools. The ordinary preceptors will in such cases teach religion also.

Of all countries India perhaps presents the unique spectacle of a purely secular system of primary education. In Western Europe attempts have been made from time to time to effect a complete divorce between primary education and religious training by the enactment of laws forbidding public grants to schools where scriptural teaching of a sectarian character is compulsory. These attempts have usually led to the establishment of a widely ramified system of voluntary schools by different sects. The struggle has generally ended in a compromise whereby such voluntary or confessional schools have been entitled to State grants on fulfilling certain conditions. It is noteworthy that in countries like Belgium or Holland a large proportion of voluntary schools have refused to accept even such grants. The great controversy now going on in England over the Education Bill is mainly concerned with the question how far denominational schools are entitled to support from the State. Is it due to the irreligion of India or to the indifference of the various sections of the Indian community that we do not see denominational primary schools in this country? No one would

call Indians non-religious. The explanation lies in the want of attention on the part of the community to the subject of primary education.

We are so far fortunate in India that the State has not displayed any desire to prohibit religious teaching in aided primary schools. If private enterprise is successful in establishing denominational schools which are efficient according to the rules of the Department (and the rules do not impose an extraordinarily high standard), there is no reason why they should not receive Government aid.

Progress in any direction can be attained by a society only by a variety of efforts. At present there is a very great danger of all primary education for the masses being stereotyped according to Government methods. I fancy Government officers will be the last to claim perfection for their particular educational methods. So far all the attempts of Government have been in the nature of experiments. It would be a very great misfortune for the country if private enterprise did not devise new methods and courses for primary study to enable the nation to progress along several parallel lines towards the educational goal. Even if some of these efforts fail, a useful lesson will have been learnt. Thus even if such voluntary schools do not receive any support from the State, it is the duty of the citizens to supplement Government work in the matter of primary education. Another reason why the attention of social workers should be drawn to primary education is that comparatively large results may be obtained in this field at a trifling cost of money and labour. You cannot establish a secondary school or an academic college without a very large endowment. A mill or a factory cannot be started without a substantial capital and an elaborate organisation. A good primary school of one hundred boys can, on the other hand, be maintained on an annual expenditure of about three hundred

rupees. A small portion of the cost will probably be met by fees, and if the school fulfils Departmental conditions, it is likely to receive liberal aid from the State or local authorities. Only a moiety of the expenditure will probably have to be borne by the individual or the society maintaining the school. It will thus be seen what a vast amount of work can be done with limited means.

The field of primary education should have a special attraction for those who aspire to be the leaders of the people. For in no more convincing way can you satisfy the people that you really have at heart their well-being and advancement. Confidence will be generated where there is at present distrust, and jealousy will give place to co-operation.

To begin work it is not necessary to resort to any canvassing or to equip an elaborate machinery. Many of those who are now-a-days willing to devote time or labour to social work live in towns. They will find plenty of

opportunity for useful endeavour in their own immediate neighbourhood, for there are few towns in India where all the boys of school-going age, say from six to twelve, attend school. A landholder can start institutions on his own estate and bind his tenants by closer ties to him. (I commend this method more specially to those landlords who have acquired new estates and find the tenants turbulent or refractory.) Religious or caste societies can establish schools for their own communities in the large centres. Education in agriculture, arts and trades may be given by courses supplementary to primary education.

Finally a widely developed system of voluntary schools managed by societies organised in accordance with creed or locality will give a splendid opportunity for learning how to manage affairs jointly. A step will also have been taken in performing the duties and thereby establishing the rights of citizenship.

A. C. CHATTERJEE.

THE SWADESI MOVEMENT—A NATURAL DEVELOPMENT

THE Swadesi movement is synonymous with the national movement. It is the necessary outcome and growth of the Indian National Congress. The causes and conditions that led to the establishment of that great political movement, have also led to the all-comprehensive movement of service to the motherland. As the Congress is the expression of the revolt of the Indian people against their present political condition, so is the Swadesi movement a revolt against their state of dependence in regard to their industrial condition, in fact, against it in all branches of their national life. It is not enough

that we obtain from our rulers a few paltry concessions of political liberty. A few more members in our Legislative Councils, one or two Indians in our Executive Councils, and even a number of new offices conferred on Indians—though these are very important and are calculated to raise the general condition of the people—cannot satisfy that great feeling of national self-respect that has been planted in their minds during the last years of the 19th century. The history of India since its contact with the West has been no less a period of complex growth than that of Europe since the French Revolution. The

consequences of a common Government with all its liberating and progressive influences have been evident in the changes that have come over the thoughts and institutions of the people, and these consequences have been accentuated by what has happened in different parts of the world within the last few years. It is a mistake to suppose, as some English men do, that these consequences have touched only the classes educated in the English language. That education has, no doubt, produced a class, which though comparatively small in number, is steadily increasing numerically and is acquiring, naturally, an ever widening and deepening influence over the masses. But the masses have not remained stationary. They have also been touched by the leaven of the new emergence of their country from its old state of isolation. Does anybody think that what has taken place in South Africa, in Japan, and in Russia has had no influence on the minds of the Indian people? Nor are the momentous indications of discontent in other countries, such as Egypt, Persia, China and even in Afghanistan without their effect on the feelings and tendencies of the Indian people.

Conditions have been ripening for such a movement during the past 25 years. The Indian National Congress has taught us our own strength as a united nation, animated by common ends and sustained by common conditions. Political Reform was the first move along the line of least resistance, then came the Social Reform movement, and the movement for industrial regeneration. Latterly a movement for educational reform has been visible. The Swadesi movement, while directly striving for liberation from industrial dependence, recognises it only as a means to a great national end, to an all-comprehensive programme of reform and re-construction in the modern life of the people of India. Need we say that the Swadesi movement has come to stay and grow from place to place and

dimension to dimension? Its full force and significance are evident in the wonderful progress it has made not in Bengal alone, nor in any single province, but throughout the country bringing into play unsuspected fresh energies and opening up fresh prospects of national expansion and prosperity. The tide is not of the same force or height everywhere; but it sweeps touches the extremities as well as the heart of the nation.)

"I have heard," said the veteran patriot of Bengal, Babu Surendranath Banerjee, speaking the other day in Bombay, "that the Swadesi movement is described as being in the domain of economics what the Congress is in the domain of politics. I venture to think it is a good deal more than that. It is not merely an economic or social or a political movement, but it is an all-comprehensive movement, co-extensive with the requirements of our national life, one in which are centred the many-sided activities of our growing communities. Therefore, gentlemen, it seems to me as if some spirit has whispered into the ears of the genius of our motherland that the aspirations of our nation are industrial and political salvation. It is really the growing need of India - of our multitudinous races and peoples. It appeals to all, the richest and the poorest. It is understood by all. The Deccan peasant or the Bengali rustic may find some difficulty in understanding the merits of a scheme for representative Government, or the subtle issues involved in the question of the separation of the judicial from the executive functions. These questions are difficult to be solved by men of untrained minds. But when you tell such men that the wealth of the country must be kept in the country and that it is to their advantage that this should be done, and that in order to do so they must purchase country-made articles, in preference to foreign articles, they would open their eyes and ears wide. No intelligence is

required to illumine their thoughts on the subject. They recognise that this is to them the problem to solve, the removal of the poverty of themselves and their fellow-countrymen. They will stand by your side and salute you as their deliverer."

That these are words true and wise, will be known to anybody that has ever moved to advocate the Swadesi cause. So far as Southern India is concerned, the most striking evidence of this fact is furnished by the success of the "National Fund" movement. The appeal made on its behalf to people of all places and of all ranks and stations, has met with a response so general and spontaneous that it should carry conviction to the most sceptical mind. It is not the capital city and important district stations alone that have responded to the appeal, but some of the poorest and most obscure villages have willingly contributed their mite to this Fund. The National Fund movement is entirely divorced from all politics; it is exclusively designed to help the industrial regeneration of India. The writer of this article has had opportunities to move with people in villages as well as in towns, and everywhere the importance and full scope of the movement were understood with a readiness and intelligence hitherto unsuspected by our public men living in large centres of educated thought. The inroad of foreign enterprise has so thoroughly covered the personal, domestic and public wants of the people, that they have only to be reminded of that fact before they realise the whole scope and significance of the Swadesi movement and gladly come forward with their mite to help it. The Congress has inspired the educated classes with the lofty sentiment of patriotism and of devotion to the elevation of their motherland; but in the minds of the great masses it is the Swadesi movement that is planting the seeds of National self-consciousness. It is teaching them to reflect on their present condition, on their

common grievances and on the common remedy of union and self-sacrifice. If the Congress was open to the charge of concerning itself with the aggrandisement of the educated classes—an unfounded and sinister charge, no doubt,—Swadesism cannot possibly be charged with any such defect or weakness. The classes and the masses suffer equally from foreign ascendancy in our industrial as well as political status, and they can feel and act in unison and mutual sympathy. As Mr. Surendranath Banerji said, if the Congress has brought the educated classes on the same platform, Swadesism is bringing the classes and the masses together on the same platform. One chord of love for the motherland is not to be touched without causing response in all; and so, Swadesism, though it appeals to the daily felt, ever present material needs, appeals virtually to the sense of the people in regard to all aspects of their national existence.

It is the foolish belief of some Western people that the East is incapable of introspection, change and progress. That the constitution of oriental nature is not after all so different from that of the occidental as is imagined by ambitious statesmen and greedy merchants of the West, is now evident. Countries outside the boundaries of Europe are as capable of the noble sentiment of rational discontent as European countries, and in these countries the people are opening their eyes and discovering a goal towards which their impulses guide them. Everywhere education, knowledge and intelligence give rise to discontent, which only grows keener and deeper in proportion to the interference of foreign powers. Not to speak of Japan, other countries, China, Turkey, Egypt, Persia and Afghanistan, feel the humiliation of their subjection to foreign influences. Only a short time ago, European countries and America were looking forward to an early day when they could complete the subjection of these countries to their

influence. They hoped to supplant their native Governments and exploit their revenues as well as their natural resources for their own benefit. But the moral law governing human evolution has begun to vindicate its justice and impartiality. Japan was the first to rise in rebellion against this sordid claim of Europe, and its success has not only once for all set back the tide of European aggression, but has besides taught other Asiatic nations the material and moral evils of foreign dependence, and the priceless virtue of self-respect and independence.

In India itself, as a recent writer in the *London Times* said, England has been the direct cause of discontent. She has been educating India in European learning and in European ways of feeling and thought for over three generations. That education has created a class of highly cultivated men who have learnt in their schools and colleges, the glories of British citizenship and their share in its rights and privileges. To have imparted this education was one of the first conditions of British rule. It would be impossible to carry on the administration without the service and co-operation of a large Indian class educated in English. Many an Anglo-Indian now wishes, openly as well as at heart, that England had not committed the initial error of educating the Indian people in English books. But they forget the practical difficulties in employing an alien agency exclusively in all the ranks and in all the details of the administration. A liberal modern education was a necessary return for foreign dominion. Each educated Indian, as the writer in the *Times* says, spreads abroad about his own village and amongst his own neighbours his own impressions of the state of political and industrial subjection that the country is subject to in consequence of a foreign rule. It is impossible that the continued breach of England's most solemn pledges and promises given to us can do anything but enhance this

feeling of discontent. To-day the helplessness of England to protect our countrymen living the honest and honourable life of loyal citizens, against the barbarities of a colony of some civilised white men—is adding to the exasperation of foreign tyranny in the popular mind. Every Indian that has experienced the tyranny and returned to India, becomes an apostle of the gospel of discontent. “A more dangerous body of missionaries of discontent (than the Indians that have thus returned) can hardly be imagined, and they must increase in number and in influence with the spread of education and of travel. This conflict of rights and of interests is naturally and necessarily inflaming passions and prejudices in the Colonies and in India, which sap and blast that imperial patriotism that must bind the Empire together, if the Empire is to last.” So long as India continues to be treated by England as a step-daughter among her numerous colonies and possessions, so long will this discontent last and grow, and will render Imperial patriotism an unreality and a hypocrisy, and Swadesism, we venture to say, will be the visible embodiment of this discontent.

The growth of the national movement in India is not the result of resistance to foreign aggression, or of an internal revolution born of bloody conflicts or violent displacement of social order. It is the result of peaceful progress, of the latent germs of nationality that lay imbedded in the past history of the people but were evoked into life by the healthy impact of foreign influences. The people of India are in a position to reflect leisurely on their condition and wants and to proceed with the task of national elevation with deliberation and forethought. That the initial efforts should be directed towards political reform was inevitable; but as it happened in European countries, so in India, the spirit and forces of progress are gradually coming to close quarters with economic wants. The one supreme fact dominating

the condition of the Indian people is their subjection to a foreign power and the trammels it imposes on their progress. To emancipate themselves from these trammels along all lines where a forward march is possible, is the inevitable tendency of an awakening community. Political and social reform, in fact reforms of every description, are a means to an end, the end being the comfort and happiness of the people; at all events, with regard to the great bulk of the community. Good Government, good education, and good morality, are all subservient to the great object of relieving the people from suffering and of promoting their material happiness. The history of Europe during the whole of the 19th century is an illustration of the culmination of political progress in the establishment of industrial well-being. "The history of politics loses its supreme importance", says Mr. Weir in his interesting work on the "Historical Basis of Modern Europe," "as the fundamental forces of social life gain freedom from external bonds. Political association, with its necessities, becomes but one aspect of a many-sided organisation by which men produce for themselves the necessities, comforts and embellishments of life. When tradition drops its prescriptive right, and either disappears or establishes itself on expediency, the history of peoples embraces all other kinds of history; and is itself the outcome of men's actual efforts to live and enjoy under certain material and intellectual conditions. As this point is approached, therefore, the true basis of historical study is formed by industrial and economical events. The first condition of human existence, the first object of human association is the production and distribution of wealth; and when men's status is left unregulated by social tradition or religious subordination, every movement in other fields of activity, in ethics, science, speculation, or art, however significant they may seem in themselves, must

sooner or later come into connection with the economical foundations of society, if they are to effect great and lasting results."

Freedom from rigid tradition and from general ignorance and also the creation of conditions favourable for free progress were secured by the establishment of British rule; and it is natural that, after the initial stir of the liberated social forces in the direction of political reform, they should move in the direction of relief from a state of industrial subjection and stagnation. In the assimilation of Indian conditions with those of Europe—a process that is now imperceptibly going on amidst us—public opinion rallies round the importance of redressing anomalies in the system of the production and distribution of wealth. The unlimited sources of India's wealth belong to her people, and it is they that have a right to their enjoyment. But, as a fact, they are ruthlessly exploited by a foreign people for their own chief benefit. The fact presents a phenomenon as unique as it is melancholy. The awakened intelligence of India is determined to attack and redress this anomaly.

That Swadesism is the chief weapon available to the Indian people in their present condition in the accomplishment of this object, is obvious. Independent countries have adopted a system of protection to resist the competition of foreign countries as well as to improve their own industries. But this remedy is not open to India. So long as England rules India for her own good as well as for the good of the country ruled, nothing will be done by the ruling nation to restrict her trade with it. India is the chief market for England's manufactures, and any measure calculated to restrict India's demand for them, would be regarded as suicidal from the ruling country's point of view. Even while the imports and exports of India increase, and on her expanding foreign trade the British officials congratulate themselves, the people are impoverished and their impatience under

such a condition grows keener. India has, therefore, to seek her own remedy, a remedy which she can apply in spite of the foreign Government controlling her fiscal relations. "Circumstances", said Burke, "are what render every civil and political scheme beneficial or noxious to mankind;" and thus the circumstances of India have suggested a system of spontaneous and popular support of indigenous industries. In Germany, America and other countries, the State taxes the people with a view to the protection of Industries and to future industrial well-being. In India Swadesism will involve a system of voluntary taxation for the same ends. The theory and origin of the modern protective system in European countries are the theory and origin of Swadesism in India. In all European countries as well as in the British colonies, the main idea of the upholders of the theory of restriction is to secure national development. It is political as well as economic. The precise doctrines of English economists are no more applicable to the conditions of India than they are deemed to be in the case of European countries. Continental writers hold that the fact that a certain measure promotes or retards the growth of wealth, does not prove it to be beneficial or the reverse; the other conditions in the problem must be taken into account. Indian political economists

follow, in this sense, more closely the well-known German economist Frederick List, than Adam Smith or Mill, and there can be no doubt that the conditions of India at present bear greater affinity to those of Germany at the time that List wrote than they do to those of the only free trade country in the world at the present time. Wherever we turn—the United States, Germany, Russia, or the British Colonies—economics are brought within politics in the wider sense, and the dominant idea is not the increase of wealth so much as the development of the nation. To create new industries, to place struggling ones on a firmer basis, to secure employment for labour, to increase population and wealth, to stimulate the productive powers of the nation, and to raise the country to a scale in civilisation worthy of its past history and its present resources,—such are the objects aimed at by the leaders of the Swadesi movement in India as well as by List and the later writers of his school in Europe. The Swadesi movement is political as well as industrial in its spirit and scope. It is the child of the discontent of the modern Indians under their present condition of subjection and dependence—a discontent perfectly healthy and legitimate and due to causes which England herself set at work and which it is no longer in her power to arrest without mischievous consequences.

G. SUBRAMANIA IYER.



THE WORK OF THE THEOSOPHICAL SOCIETY

IN the last half of the nineteenth century two movements took place in the intellectual world, both clearly defined and each diametrically opposed to the other. The one was initiated by Professor Huxley, and proclaimed that man, by his nature, was incapable of knowing anything more than his senses can perceive and his intellect can induce or deduce from sense-observations; this attitude was named by Huxley AGNOSTICISM. The other was initiated by H. P. Blavatsky, and proclaimed that man, by his nature, was capable of rising beyond the senses and the intellect, and, being essentially a spirit, could know the Universal Spirit; this attitude was named by H. P. Blavatsky THEOSOPHY. The one was the embodiment of nineteenth century science; the other was the embodiment of the essence of all religions. Theosophy was the response to the challenge of Agnosticism, the re-affirmation, in the face of science, of the most ancient and the most vital of truths.

Theosophy, in itself, is nothing more than this: the affirmation that man, being a spirit, can directly know God; the affirmation was made among the Hindus under the name of Parâ Brahma-Vidyâ, the Supreme God-science—in contradistinction to the Aparâ Brahma-Vidyâ, the Lower God-science, or science in general, science as understood in the West, together with Literature and Art. Among the Greeks it was known as the Gnosis, the Science, and the Gnostic, like the Brahmaid, was the man who knew God directly, not believing on the authority of Scripture or Priesthood, but knowing by his own experience. Among the later Greeks—the post-Christian—it was known as Theosophia, the God-Wisdom, and this name re-appeared from time to time

in European thought, ever connoting the same idea of direct God-knowledge, and used rather to denote the mystic-*philosopher* than the mystic of emotion; of rapture, of ecstasy. It was probably this recognised usage which led H. P. Blavatsky to select this name as best expressing the essence of her message to the world.

Thus Theosophy pure and simple is nothing more nor less than this supreme affirmation of the possibility of God-knowledge, in virtue of the fact that there is but one Supreme Self, the Life Universal, and that the Spirit or Self, in man is a portion of that Supreme Self, identical with Him in nature. This affirmation is, in truth, the one Universal Religion, the Religion of the Spirit, whereof all the separate religions are intellectual and partial representations, seeking in divers ways, by reasonings, by rites and ceremonies, by methods of prayers and meditations, so to purify the body, the emotions, and the intellect, that the majesty of the Self in man may be revealed, and man may know himself divine.

From this One Truth, the intellect derives logically certain facts, which take their place as doctrines, or affirmations of secondary truths, derivations from the One Truth; such are: Re-incarnation, Karma, super-physical worlds, Immortality, Brotherhood, etc. These are commonly spoken of as theosophical teachings, and the study of religions proves that they are all included in the teachings of the great religions, although one or another may occasionally for a time be submerged and lost sight of. Hence the work of the "Theosophical Society" in the world, as an organised expression of Theosophy, comes to be the re-affirmation of the One Truth, and the

teaching of these secondary truths as integral parts of all religions, the explanation of them wherever they have been obscured or distorted, the restoration of them where they have vanished out of sight.

By the constantly re-iterated proof that these secondary truths are the common property of all religions, the exclusive property of none, the Theosophical Society comes to be a peace-maker in the religious world, and, admitting freely to its fellowship and to its platforms, men of every faith, it smoothes away their antagonism, creates mutual understanding, and thus draws them out of the atmosphere of controversy into the atmosphere of peace. In the Theosophical Lodges men of all religions and of none meet as brothers, and demonstrate practically the fact that there is One Universal Religion, of which all the religions are branches, or sects. As Vaishnavas and Saivas are branches of one Hinduism, Shiahs and Sunnis of one Islâm, Roman Catholics, Greek Catholics and Protestants of one Christianity, so are Hinduism, Islâm, Christianity, and all other religions, branches; or sects, of the One Religion, the knowledge or wisdom of God, the realisation of God-consciousness in man.

Out of this also flows the fact that the Theosophical Society everywhere is the helper of the religion of the country in which it finds itself, justifying that religion against attacks, and helping it to protect its juniors against aggression and interference. It has thus become a great educational agency in all countries in which Christianity, outstepping its duties, seeks, as a conquering political power, to impose itself on subject races and to seduce the children of these races from their ancestral creeds, ruining domestic life, stirring up antagonisms between parents and children. In Ceylon, it came to the help of the down-trodden Buddhists, and has revolutionised the school system, by inspiring Buddhists to erect and support their own schools, instead

of sending their children to the missionary schools. Colonel Olcott, the President of the Society, inspired, led and guided the Buddhist population, until more than half the school-going population now attends Buddhist schools.

In India, similar propaganda is being vigorously carried on; its first fruits is the Central Hindu College at Benares, which, in eight years, has risen to a leading position, and now numbers 850 students. A daughter College and school have arisen in Srinagar, and other schools have been built in various parts of the country, which will gradually attain collegiate rank and cluster round a Hindu University. Girls' education is being formulated on Hindu lines, and already several schools are at work with hundreds of pupils, in Benares, Delhi, Lahore, Madura, and other places. An attempt is also being made to rouse the Parsi community to a sense of its duty in this respect towards its children. In Madras, five schools have been opened for the Panchamas, the despised outcastes of the South, and a large number of children are being trained under the immediate supervision of Colonel Olcott, to be useful and respectable, if lowly, members of society.

In social matters the Theosophical Society works on moderate and educational lines seeking to bring about changes in the direction of liberality, justice, and brotherhood without needlessly outraging local conventions, and thus arousing the opposition of the leaders of each society. In this way it has gained re-admission to caste of foreign travelled Hindus, laboured for the raising of the marriageable age, promoted inter-marriage and interdining among sub-castes of the same caste, etc. These things it does, not as a Society, acting as a whole—for it sedulously guards itself against committal to local and temporary conditions—but by its active members, whom it trains in sound principles and inspires with the sense of social duty, leaving each free to choose his own ways and means.

Such very briefly is Theosophy, as the Universal Religion, and such is the Theosophical society in its work and tendencies. In these days of science it proclaims religion, and uses science as religion's hand-maid; in these days of luxury it asserts the value and nobility of simple and self-sacrificing life; in a society whose standard is wealth it raises the stan-

dard of character, and declares that a man's value should be measured by what he is, not by what he has. Peace-making, refining, spiritualising, it carries on its beneficent work in every civilised country, content to be ignored and despised so long as its ideals permeate every civilisation.

ANNIE BESANT.

THE DRINK PROBLEM IN INDIA

NEARLY eighteen years have passed away since [the late] Mr. Samuel Smith and the late Mr. W. S. Caine drew the attention of the House of Commons to the fact that the increasing consumption of intoxicants was becoming a serious problem in India. The resolution which they brought forward condemning the excise administration was carried against the Government in a Conservative Parliament, and ever since that time a well organized movement has been sustained for the purpose of obtaining further reforms and also with a view to enlightening the people themselves as to the evil of intemperance.

There has been no remarkable triumph to register in recent years, and we are still confronted with certain facts and tendencies that may well create misgiving; but on the whole the statement may be safely made that the work of the temperance societies as impressed itself upon the people and the Government of India in such a way as to discourage sanguine anticipations of progress in the future. The numerous references to the subject in the press, on the platform, and in official publications are an indication of the fact that the problem of intemperance in India is attracting increased attention from those who are concerned with the moral and material welfare of the people. It is now

realised that the problem, although less widespread in its ramifications, is becoming as pressing in India as it has long been in England.

A few figures taken from official publications of the past year point to the disquieting conclusion that the drink traffic in India is a growing and not a diminishing evil. In 1902-3 the total number of liquor, opium and drug shops of all kinds was 118,472. In 1903-4 the number had risen to 120,875—an increase of 2,403 shops in one year. Country spirit shops showed an increase of 586. Shops for the sale of European liquors, 256; toddy and rice-beer shops, 931; opium shops, 71; shops for the sale of other intoxicating drugs, 311.

Having regard to these figures, it is not astonishing to find upon examining the revenue returns that the income derived by the Government from these sources rose during the same year from £4,741,000, to £5,211,000. This is an advance of nearly 12 per cent. in one year, which is the largest increase on record. Thirty years ago the total excise revenue of India amounted to only £1,755,000.

It has been the custom of Government apologists in the past to ascribe this remarkable growth of the excise revenue to causes other than an increased consumption of

liquor and drugs, such as higher duties, improved administration, increase of population and greater spending power of the people. A careful examination of these excuses has convinced me that they are insubstantial; and if the Government is going to maintain, year after year, that improved administration and a more effective detection of illicit sale account largely for the increase, they are surely confessing that the administration in the past has been miserably inefficient. Moreover, if it be true (which is very doubtful) that the spending power of the people has increased, the statement implies the admission that much more is being spent on intoxicants than was formerly the case.

The most reliable evidence which I have been able to gather points to the conclusion that the increased revenue must, in the main, be attributed to the multiplication of facilities and the consequent spread of the drinking habit. The Government of India are also now, apparently, conscious of the seriousness of the evil, for, instead of repeating the explanations which have been made in former years they have thought it necessary to make a pronouncement that "the Government policy is to discourage drinking and to do all that is possible, without undue interference with the liberty of the subject, to suppress the degrading and demoralizing habit of intoxication."

We have never doubted the good intentions of the Government. Our complaint is that with an unlimited control of the entire system so little has been done to carry their declared policy into practical effect. The tardiness with which reforms are initiated is due to the fact that the excise system is inseparably connected with the executive. As the *Statesman* has remarked—"It is unfortunate that the interest which Government has in the sale of intoxicants should be so direct, since this creates a temptation to forget the harm that may be done by measures designed solely in the interests of revenue."

The readiness of the authorities to listen to expressions of public opinion as to the number of liquor-shops seems to vary in different places. In the Madras Presidency last year even the collectors recommended reduction in many towns and districts, but the Board of Revenue over-ruled their recommendation. The reason given was that no great reduction in the number of shops was possible, as the number had already been fixed with care and was not excessive. Several instances could be given, from different parts of the country, of petitions being ignored and shops being opened in defiance of the wishes of the inhabitants. One of the reforms most urgently needed in India, it seems to me, is a separation of the licensing and revenue authorities.

In the Punjab, on the other hand, one is glad to notice that a different spirit is beginning to pervade the Excise administration. The Excise Commissioner of that province has recently issued instructions to the effect that there ought not to be two shops of the same class where one would suffice, "unless it is necessary to introduce competition in the interests of the consumers"; and, again, the local officers are informed that "no facilities should be given to men to obtain intoxicants which their fathers did without." In pursuance of this wiser policy, I am glad to learn, as I write, that in Amritsar alone the number of shops is to be reduced forthwith from fourteen to six—three for country spirits and three for imported liquor.

The most important event in recent years and one which shows that the public ventilation of this subject has not been without effect, was the appointment of an Official Committee in August, 1905, "to consider the progress of the Excise administration and to promote reforms therein." The Government of India announced that there was no intention to modify the general lines of Excise policy previously enunciated, but the Committee was instructed to examine the admin-

administration of each province and to consider how far it was calculated to give the fullest practical effect to the general policy of the Government, and to suggest such alterations as might seem desirable in view of local conditions and in the light of what has been found successful elsewhere.

Indian Temperance reformers have long advocated a searching enquiry into the administration of the Excise laws with a view to the more effective restriction of the traffic in intoxicating liquors and the protection of the people from the evils of intemperance. The object of this official enquiry (the report of which has not yet been published) falls far short of what is required to meet the circumstances of the case. The terms of reference preclude the recommendation of reforms which would be likely to check substantially the growth of revenue from the liquor traffic; and, having regard to the composition of the Committee, consisting as it does entirely of officials of the Excise Department, the investigation can hardly be expected to issue in any considerable change of policy or system. Notwithstanding the limited nature of the inquiry, the Temperance Societies of India took great pains to lay their case before the Committee. The investigations undertaken by many workers in various centres—notably Calcutta—were most thorough and complete, and it is to be hoped that their labours will be rewarded by the adoption of some of the suggestions which these temperance witnesses have made to the Committee.

The suggestions (which were, as I have said, limited by the terms of reference) may be summarised as follows:—

1. A new shop should not be placed in a district at present free from shops, either by transfer or otherwise, without the public opinion of the locality being overwhelmingly in favour of it.
2. In certain districts where existing shops are proved to be the source of immorality

and crime they should be materially reduced.

3. Greater respect should be paid to local opinion in regard to the continuance of existing shops and the opening of new ones.
4. No shop should be established in the vicinity of places of worship, schools, and other public institutions.
5. All side doors and back rooms should be abolished.
6. Holders of licences should be held responsible for disturbances arising in or around their shops as a result of the drunkenness of their customers.
7. Greater publicity should be given to applications for new licences in order that the objections of the inhabitants of the locality may be effectively made.
8. The prohibition of the sale of liquor and drugs to persons under 14 years of age should be made to apply to the whole of India.
9. No woman should be employed in liquor bars.
10. Outstills and the farming system should be entirely abolished.
11. No booths for the sale of liquor should be opened at religious and other fairs.
12. A more numerous and more efficient inspecting staff should be appointed for the enforcement of the law and the suppression of illicit sale.
13. Separation of the licensing and revenue authorities.

I believe that public opinion in India would endorse a much more drastic programme than I have outlined above, but if the long-delayed report of the Committee only recommends some of these modest proposals, Indian Temperance reformers will be thankful, and they will not be precluded from asking for more in the near future. The changed condition of affairs in England should also count for something. The present Secretary of State and

Under Secretary* for India are known to be in sympathy with the general principles of the Temperance movement. We may fairly expect that some of the fruits of this sympathy will be seen in India where the Government is all-powerful in the sphere of legislative and administrative reform. In any case, the

legislation which is promised for Great Britain cannot fail to have some beneficial influence upon the same movement in India, and keen disappointment will be felt by Indian social reformers if a considerable advance is not speedily made in connection with this great and important question.

FREDERICK GRUBB

THE BHUIYAS

A monograph or a special ethnographic note on such a tribe as the Bhuiyas of Chutia-Nagpur, may prove interesting to those who may feel inclined to collect or study the facts which are necessary as building materials for the construction of a history of our country.

The Bhuiyas are very rightly considered to be a Hinduised sect of the Mundas. But this description, I fear, does not convey any intelligible meaning to the general reader. I must explain what I mean by the word Munda, and must narrate under what circumstances a section of the Mundas became Hinduised. What I propose to do, may be helpful in throwing a ray of light on the history of a dark age of Bengal,—eventful though that age is, because of continuous lawlessness and strife.

The word Munda is being used now-a-days by some ethnologists, as a generic term, to designate all the tribes which are supposed to have sprung from one and the same stock. On the basis of the evidence of the language they speak, and the physical type they represent, the Bhils of Western India, the Korkus residing on the high plateau of Pachmari, the Birhors, Hos, Mundas and Juangs of Chutia-Nagpur, and the Santals of the Santal

Pargana, are regarded as representatives of the Munda races. It is also supposed that the Veddas of Ceylon and the aborigines of the Andaman islands belong to these Munda races of India.

Munda means a rich landholder in the Mundari dialect. This term, I think, was very rightly appropriated by one section only as its tribal name, which settled in a comparatively open country in the district of Ranchi, where agricultural life could be easily pursued. Those Hor-s or Ho-s (meaning *men*) who settled in the forests (*Bir*) of Hazaribag, and who still subsist mainly upon the forest produce, are called Birhors; and those among them who drove away the previous settlers, and fortified themselves against all foreign intruders in the Kolhan tract of Singbhum, are known as Ho-s or Ladka-Kols (fighting men).

It is interesting to note, that those who took to forest life, are where they were. The Ladka-Kols never agree to leave the Kolhan tract, however tempting a prospect may be held out before them, for even a temporary settlement elsewhere. The Mundas however thrive well in the open country and multiplied considerably. Thus it is, that in the course of time they had to establish new colonies in Bamra, Sambalpur, Rerakho and Sonepur.

* This was written before the resignation of Mr. J. E. Ellis.
—Ed., M. R.

The name Munḍa, is not familiar to outsiders generally. Not the Munḍas alone, but even the Oraons (a Dravidian tribe) and such other tribes are indiscriminately called Kol people by their Hindu neighbours. The word Kol however was not coined by the outsiders; the Ho-s of Singbhum, who acknowledge that they belong to the race of the Munḍas, are proud to call themselves Ladka-Kols. What this term "Kol" signifies, the Kols themselves do not know; nor could I trace it to any word of their dialect, which, I may say, I know a little.

The Bhuiyas who live in and around the district of Manbhum, are not much ashamed to admit that they are Kol people; and Bhumija-Kol is the name which has been coined by the Hindus for their tribal name with reference to the term Bhuiya by which they designate themselves. The Munḍas and the Ladka-Kols agree in this tradition, that they established their colonies by driving out the Bhuiyas; and that the Bhuiyas had to remove themselves to Southern Manbhum—between the Suvarnarekha and the Kosai. Testing by the geographical distribution of the Bhuiyas one would be inclined to accept the tradition to be true.

Judging by external appearance—the general physical type,—one is sure to mistake a Bhuiya for a Munḍa. The Bhuiyas, it is true, do not speak any Munḍari dialect; but it is to be noted that they have not got now any dialect of their own. They speak the dialect of the people amongst whom they live; and so they speak Oriya in Bamra, Ganghur and Sambalpur. But when we look into the inner details of their domestic life, when we compare their social and religious institutions with those of the Munḍas, we cannot but be convinced, that their habits and customs are essentially Munḍari. Like the Munḍas, the Bhuiyas of all the different sects, claim to belong to Naga-vamsa. Even the thoroughly Hinduised Bhuiyas of Bamra, tell us in giving their history and

origin, that it was mother Earth who brought forth their first ancestor, and it was the great snake of snakes which fostered and protected him. Under no circumstances will a Bhuiya kill a snake of the Nag species (cobra). Religious and domestic ceremonies are things of great detail, and cannot conveniently be analysed here. What is, therefore, most likely is, that the Bhuiyas formed the first batch of the Munḍa immigrants in Chutia-Nagpur. It was perhaps because they were small in number in their new colony that they became Hinduised very soon.

What is most interesting to us is, the time when these things happened. Kokra was the old local name of the Chutia-Nagpur tract, and in the Hindu Purans of very late date we find this tract included in what is called Jharkhanda. The name Chutia-Nagpur is traced to the tribal name of the legendary heroes—the Chutias—who once conquered the country. That once the Chutias had a dominating influence there, cannot be doubted. We do not find these Chutias, who impressed their name indelibly on the country, throughout the length and breadth of Chutia-Nagpur. We shall trace the course of these Chutias later on, after establishing one or two more important facts.

The Chutias, one may naturally infer, must have been driven away from their old home by the Munḍas. Yes, it must have been so; but when? I shall therefore first of all see whether any evidence can be obtained regarding the time of the Munḍa immigration into Chutia-Nagpur. Certainly there is a tradition amongst the Munḍas that they came to their present home from the Behar side. I think that nothing is more likely. Since the Bhils of Western India and the Korkus of the highlands of Central India, represent the Munḍa races, all these tribes must once have been somewhere far away from Chutia-Nagpur. Let us first of all see, if our old literature can render any help in this direction.

It is the name Munḍa--and not *Mundá*, which we meet with in the Gaṇa-ratna-Mahodadhī (p. 157 of Eggeling's edition). But it is the Kambojas and Yavanas who have been given the name Munḍa in that book. Only in the Puranas of very late date do we get the name Kol for some tribe; but as to the geographical situation of the tribe we get no information.

Referring to the list of the non-aryan tribes of India, in the Aitareya Brahmana we get the Pulindas to the south-west of Aryavarta. The list of the aboriginal tribes given by Ptolemy, supports rather the Mahabharata than the very old statement in the oldest Brahmana. Justice Pargitar appended an excellent map to his very able paper on 'Ancient Chedi, &c.' (J. A. S. B., 1895). This map was very carefully prepared to show the situation of different places and tribes, following closely the description of them in the Mahabharata. On reference to this map it will be seen, that the Pulindas had their home to the south of Chedi (Modern Saugar, Damo and Jubbulpur) and that this home extended to the north bank of the Narmada. The Pundras who subsequently occupied the plains to the west and to the north-west of Bengal, were living in those days to the south of Magadha, between Gaya and the Sirguja hills. The Savaras (including the Gonds) dominated an extensive country—even so late as the 9th century A. D.—to the south of the Vindhya hills, and the whole of the Chattisgarh Division and Orissa proper to the east were within the range of their influence. (*Vide* Harsha-Charita and Dasakumara-Charita and the Orissa Gupta plates).

After this brief survey of the geographical distribution of the hill tribes, let us refer to one great political event of the 4th century A. D. The Gupta Rajas became very powerful in those days, and have left many inscriptions which are excellent materials for the history of our country. When the conquering

arms of the Gupta Rajas extended their kingdom all over Malava, Dasarna, Vidarbha and Karusha, we find Aryan homes where once the Pulindas were. The Pulindas must have run on to the east through the forest tracts, as it was not possible for them either to enter into the stronghold of the Savaras, or to make any colony where the Aryans were powerful.

There is a distinct mention in the Vishnu Purana that in the Kaliyuga, the Pulindas and Kaivartas would become ruling chiefs near about the Magadha country. Now, the Pulindas whom we found previously to the south of Chedi must have immigrated to the south of Magadha in the 6th century A. D. to make this state of things possible. It is we find the old country of the Pundras where the Pulindas came and became powerful. We get evidence of the fact that in the 6th century A. D. the Pundras were not in their old home, but effected a settlement in the rich plains of Bengal. Then again, if the Munḍas of Chutia-Nagpur, were not once where the Pulindas had their home, it cannot be explained how the Bhils and Korkus who belong to the Munḍa races, are now where they are. The cumulative effect of the whole evidence is in support of my theory that the Munḍas are the Pulindas of Hindu literature.

We get now some idea as to the time when the Munḍas commenced to pour into the tract of country called Chutia-Nagpur. For the first batch of the Munḍas to have become Hinduised in Jharkhanda it must have taken at least a century if not more. Then when fresh bands of the Munḍas and Ladka-Kols appeared in Chutia-Nagpur in great force in their pristine savage glory, it is but natural that the Bhuiyas failed to withstand them by having become less rude and hardy for having followed for a long time a peaceful agricultural occupation.

When swarms of these new Munḍari tribes effected a lodgment in the country brought

under cultivation by the Bhuiyas, the latter moved—so goes the tradition—northwards, and settled themselves between the Suvarnarekha and the Kosai. But was it possible for that narrow strip of new land to afford full accommodation to the whole number of the Bhuiyas who must have by then thriven and multiplied greatly? The Bhuiyas were not certainly strong enough to repel the attack of the Mundas, but they were surely sufficiently rude and hardy to be able to overcome their neighbours in the plains of Bengal. It cannot be believed that the whole number of the Bhuiyas crowded into the space between the Suvarnarekha and the Kosai. Was it not natural for them to advance in their turn, towards the plains of Bengal to be masters of the rich alluvial tracts then owned by very tame and timid Dravidian tribes?

Here turns up a question of importance for the history of Bengal. The part which the “Baro-Bhuiyas” played about this time, in Bengal and Assam, is well known in history. The sudden appearance of the “Baro-Bhuiyas” in Bengal, can be satisfactorily explained, if we believe that the Bhuiyas made, what was very natural and tempting for them to do, an inroad into the plains of the “Samatata” country. Dr. Wise wrote in the years 1874 and 1875 in the pages of the Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, that the “Baro (12) Bhuiyas” had no connection with the Bhuiyas of Chutia-Nagpur. I must, therefore, discuss the question carefully.

The Bhuiyas of all sects are subdivided into 12 Gotras or septs. This is a fact which was not known to Dr. Wise. The Bhuiyas tell us, that when they formed colonies in Bamra and Sambalpur 12 villages were owned by their 12 clans; and Katarboga and Koraboga are two villages of those twelve. Wherever we find them, they speak of their body as formed of twelve clans. The reason why “twelve” is found invariably joined to the name of the Bhuiyas, could not be explained by Dr. Wise.

He guessed, for want of proper material, that perhaps the Bhuiya Chiefs in Bengal had always twelve advisers with them, though there was no ground for such assumption.

As for the name “Bhuiya,” Dr. Wise tells us, that it is a common Bengali word to signify a zamindar. This is not at all correct. The word Bhuiya may be traced to a Sanskrit origin, and the meaning of it may be equivalent to the Persian word zamindar, but it cannot be shown or proved that “Bhuiya” was ever a *Desi* word, either in Bengal or in Assam, to signify a zamindar. There is not a single Hindu zamindar, in Bengal or Assam, who called himself a Bhuiya, by reason of his becoming a zamindar. The term has never been used in the Bengali language to mean a zamindar. Once when the “Baro-Bhuiyas” acquired distinction in Bengal and Assam, the term Bhuiya could be understood to mean those *Bhui* (land)-holders who became supreme; but it is not an *accepted Bengali term* for a zamindar.

Let me notice another fact along with it. The Bhuiyas of Chutia-Nagpur tell us, that once the whole land of the country belonged to them; and being master of lands (*Bhui*) they were called Bhuiyas. Many other tribes, such as the Gonds and Kandhs, prefer similar claim to lands, and designate themselves as zamindars. There is no doubt also of the fact, that the high lands of central India and the hilly tracts of Bengal, were once possessed by those aboriginal tribes. The Hinduised sect of the Mundas were called Bhuiyas in Chutia-Nagpur for having owned lands. Could it be possible for a provincial word to take exactly the same form in Bengal as well as in Assam, though the local dialect of Chutia-Nagpur differed and differs so widely from the dialects of Bengal and Assam? In no other Sanskritic dialect—even in the neighbourhood of Chutia-Nagpur—do we get the term Bhuiya to mean a zamindar; nay, more: we do not at all get the term in any *Desi* lexicon. In old Bengali literature

we get the term, only as associated with the "Baro-Bhuiyas." When the Baro-Bhuiyas became supreme in Bengal, others also could use the term as a title for many reasons. But besides being thus used as a title or surname, the word has no other use in the language. The rise of the Baro-Bhuiyas in Bengal shortly after the time when the Mundas became supreme in Chutia-Nagpur, should be borne in mind.

I shall set out some other facts in support of my proposition. The Chutias and the Nag-worshippers gave the new name to the country called Jharkhanda by the Hindus. Where the Chutias went when the Mundas immigrated, is another question of importance. Let us refer to the history of Assam for them. Mr. Gait of the Bengal Civil Service has recently published (1906) an excellent history of Assam. The learned author is now Commissioner of Chutia-Nagpur Division; and we fully hope that when the 2nd edition of his book will be brought out, the fragments of historical facts lying almost buried in his Division, will be unearthed and pieced together, and joined on to the history of Assam. We learn from it that Assam was once conquered by the Chutias and Baro-Bhuiyas; that when the Ahoms came to conquer it, the Chutias and Bhuiyas had a great dominating influence; and that even now the Chutias number about a 12th of a million in Assam. The learned scholar has rightly observed (in connection with another fact) that the origin of a tribe cannot be settled by the language it uses, for a language may and does easily change with the change of habitat. Consequently the fact that the Chutias speak the Bodo dialect, may be overlooked. This much at least we get, and the historicity of it cannot be doubted, that the Chutias and Bhuiyas were found in Assam sometime after the growth of the Munda power.

I have stated before, that Koraboga and Katarboga are two villages in Sambalpur said

to have been established by the Bhuiyas. It cannot be positively asserted that the names of those villages were given by the Bhuiyas. But it is very significant that Muraboga is the name of a place in Assam where the Chutias and Bhuiyas resided (Gait's History, p. 99).

It is again very curious that some words which are not at all Sanskritic in origin, and are in use in Sambalpur Oriya, are also in use in the far-off valley of Assam, while they are unknown in the intervening big province of Bengal. I give here a short list of about a dozen such words only:—

1. *Jui* ... Fire.
2. *Au* ... A sort of fruit called *chalda* in Bengal.
3. *Karchali* ... Ladle used in cooking. (Hindi *karchhu*. Even if Hindi in origin, the form in Assam and in and near about Chutia Nagpur is exactly the same).
4. *Odá* ... Wet; not dry. (Very likely from the Sanskrit *ardra*. But the Prakrita form in Oriya and Assamese is the same).
5. *Gudá* ... Dust; specially, dry grass reduced to dust.
6. *Olag* ... Bowing down. The form of this word in Sambalpur is slightly changed. "Mu *Ulgi* heuchi" = I bow.
7. *Topá* ... Drop.
8. *Dáng* ... A stick, or stick-like piece. Ek dang Kusari = one piece of sugar-cane.
9. *Phál* ... (1) A portion of a thing, after being split into two. (2) Side, as in Assamese—*i phal* or *si phal* = this side or that side; corresponding to Oriya "*e phal* and *se phal*."
10. *Ofrá* ... A cast off or flung off thing. In Sambalpur—unnecessary thing.
11. *Málihá* ... The Oriya form is Mahalia. To get a thing Maliha or Mahalia conveys the same meaning, i.e., to get it for nothing.

In the Ahom vocabulary of Dr. Grierson (J. R. A. S., 1904) there are some words which may be noticed. Ahoms are a Mongolian people

and in their language *Mau* means thou, and *Pu* means a fallow deer. The secondary or second meaning of the compound *Mau-pu* is wife's sister; and this meaning has not been shown to be Mongolian in origin. The word *Mau-po* or *Maipo* has the meaning wife in Oriya. *Ao-shaw* is a Oriya word which means shampooing. The prefix *Ao* may be a contraction of Sanskrit *Anga*, but *shaw* remains stiff and cannot be Aryanised. We get the word *shaw* to mean "to shampoo the body" in the Ahom vocabulary; and the Mongolian origin of it has not been traced. Is it not very likely that the Chutias and Bhuiyas who gave these words to their Hindu neighbours of Orissa, carried them also to the valley of Assam through Eastern Bengal?

The Bhuiyas in Chutia-Nagpur and Sambalpur have for their priests or wizards the *Deheris* and *Kalos*. Now the Baro-Bhuiyas and Chutias, and so also some other tribes of Assam, have for their priests or wizards the *Deoris*. That the words *Deori* and *Deheri*

do not differ much, need not be pointed out. Can all these be considered accidental?

In the District of Sambalpur there is a sect of the priestly Bhuiyas who call themselves *Rikhman* or *Rikhvan* Bhuiyas. What the term signifies they do not know. The Ahoms performed a ceremony at the installation of a new king which was called *Rikhvan* ceremony. (Gait's history, page 86). As I could not get the word in Mr. Grierson's list, it is doubtful if *Rikh* or *Rikhvan* may mean long life in the Ahom dialect. As the ceremony was performed by the *Deoris*, I suspect that it was a thing of local adoption by the Ahoms. As a sect of the *Deheris* is called *Rikhvan* in Sambalpur, I only bring the fact to the notice of scholars.

The facts I have set forth cannot but lead one to conclude that the Bhuiyas of Chutia-Nagpur, who are always subdivided into 12 clans, were the Baro-Bhuiyas of Bengal and Assam.

B. C. MAZUMDAR.

THE WANDERING GUJARATI

OF all the Indian communities, the Gujarati shews in the greatest degree a tendency to wander, and is possessed by what I believe in German is called the *Wanderlust*. Though its language forms the vernacular of but a small portion of the great Indian population, still it has managed to go to and be recognised as an important factor in the administration and domestic economy of distant countries. Taking the case of India itself, I suppose, it is matched only by the example of the North Indian *Bhaiya* or *Hindustani* who has overrun the whole country, in such large numbers, and in such useful walks of life,

that it has forced those who had to come in contact with him, to recognise his tongue. In no corner of India, is the language of the *Bhaiya* ignored or unknown or not understood. The same high place cannot be claimed for Gujarati, within India, but so far as the regions outside it are concerned, perhaps the language of the Gujaratis scores over that of the *Bhaiya*. The meaning of this would become clearer, the further the reader proceeds.

The Gujarati-speaking population consists of those who inhabit Gujarat proper, Kathiawad and Cutch. This population is made up of various communities, Hindus, Parsis, and

Mahommedans, including Khojas, Memons, and other minor (Mahommedan) sub-divisions. Hindus include the higher castes, such as Brahmins, Baniyas, Lohanas, and Bhatias, and the lower classes of fishermen and Kolis. Portions of Cutch, Kathiawad and Gujarat have a long sea-front opening on the Indian Ocean, and hence from time immemorial, all classes of the inhabitants of this part of the country have been familiar with the sea and have tempted its dangers. This roving habit, prompted no doubt by business instincts, is crystallised in the proverb, "Those who go to Java never return; but if they do return, they bring wealth enough to last for generations." People at Porebandur and Veraval talk of Aden and Muscat as a Bombay man would of Broach and Surat. This habit, therefore, originating in marine neighbourhood, by being persevered in from generation to generation, has scattered the inhabitants of Gujarat broadcast over the world. You will find him in China and Japan, in London and New York, in Zanzibar and Pretoria, in Manila and Mauritius.

As has been noted above, the key to the situation lies to a large extent in the commercial instinct of the Gujarati, and in his marine neighbourhood. Even before the facilities of modern locomotion, the railway and the steamboat, were introduced into India, the Parsi had voyaged forth to distant Shanghai and the Bhatia to Zanzibar, and the Bohra to Mauritius, but not in very large numbers. Now the common bond that connects the Hindu, the Parsi and the Musalman in Gujarat, is one of language. They all learn, read and write the Gujarati language, the Musalman only at times superadding a knowledge of Urdu or Persian for religious or domestic purposes. Wherever the Gujarati went, he carried with him his own tongue, his aptitude for learning other languages not being very remarkable. This kind of intermittent emigration went on for some time,

but it was too weak to make its effects felt in any place inside or outside India, till the railroad and the steamboat came, till the *Pax Britannica* was imposed on India, and till security and order reigned wherever British influence could be felt. South Africa and Zanzibar, for instance, have under the shadow of British protection witnessed such an influx of Indians, that it has roused feelings of jealousy in various quarters. However, owing to these two reasons, the individual who before left his home in Gujarat, alone, for distant places, now ventures to take with him his family, and a large combination of such families has ripened into colonies of Gujaratis, in sufficiently imposing numbers, compelling now the State to recognise their existence and their wants, and now the colony itself to provide for the education of its children and the supply of its religious and other peculiar wants.

Take the instance of several towns and cities in India itself—Cawnpore, Delhi, Calcutta, Hubli, Madras, and Rangoon in Burma. The Gujarati-speaking traders of these places are so numerous that schools for teaching Gujarati have had to be opened there, and they flourish. Government has had to recognise the existence of the community by attaching to the Courts of Justice at many of these cities special interpreters of Gujarati, and men conversant with the system of account-keeping in it. The same is the case outside India. In Asia, Aden, Muscat, ports on the Persian Gulf and on the Mekran Coast, Manila and Singapore, and large towns in China boast of a large Gujarati-speaking population and have located in them such institutions as schools and teaching classes, and mosques and temples and towers of silence, which provide for the spiritual wants of the various communities tied by the bond of a common language. In Africa, Zanzibar, Mombasa, Uganda, and the East Coast furnish another illustration, where the Bhatia and Lohana, Khoja and

Memons have congregated, and gone to stay. The whole life of Gujarat is re-enacted there. There are temples and burning grounds, mosques and cemeteries there, as in the Gujarat home of the emigrant. There are the same sort of caste dinners and caste squabbles there as here; the Brahmin priest, and the Brahmin beggar, as the Maulvi and the Fakir, infest those places as at home, and Vaishnava Maharajas and Jaina Sadhus, have been known to visit these places, not to mention the recent visit of H. H. the Aga Khan. South Africa is undergoing the same process of transformation, though under great difficulties, with a majority of inhabitants representing a social scale a little lower than their brethren of Zanzibar. The cultivator and the labourer of Gujarat proper has swarmed into South Africa, in greater numbers than the higher class, and even there schools for teaching Gujarati have sprung up, and a powerful Anglo-Gujarati journal maintained, which is a unique phenomenon for any Indian vernacular in a far-off continent. Mauritius is yet another place where the Bohra has made his home. In London, there is a large colony of

Gujaratis, Parsis predominating, and in Paris too, there is just the budding forth of a close, consisting of Jain jewellers, which, if the same brisk business in pearls as obtains now continues, promises to blossom into a permanent colony, in a short time. At present there is nothing like a school or any other distinct institution there, mainly intended to accentuate the presence of the Gujarati in their midst, but it is not impossible that in the years that pass, the process in Zanzibar and Mombasa may be repeated there.

The moral pointed by this movement is clear: the business instinct of the Gujarati, more than that of any other Indian community, has led him out of his home in the past as well as to-day, he has planted himself in sufficiently large numbers in places to make his presence felt. This enterprise has resulted in benefit to him, and that being so, relying on the past, he must make greater endeavours, now that the tide is with him, to capture other places, and be he a Hindu, a Parsi or a Musalman, make his language and his name something which the world should count with.

KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

ONE YEAR UNDER THE LIBERALS

IT is one year since the Liberal administration came into power and Mr. John Morley was installed upon the *gadi* at the India Office. Naught is eternal in the world, said the poet a hundred years ago, except the Liberals not coming into power; and even if the Liberals chanced to exchange places with the Unionists, it is still more rare to get a man of the position of Mr. Morley to take up the portfolio of the Secretary of State for India.

It is too early to forget the enthusiasm and fervour with which the Liberal success at the polls was received in India. Some went even the length of wiring to the Prime Minister to give us Lord Ripon or Mr. Morley as our minister. The appointment of Lord Ripon would have been received in India, throughout the length and breadth of the country, with unbounded enthusiasm. True, Lord Ripon did nothing which some of his predecessors had not

initiated; at all events he did not actually do anything which should call forth such a jubilation as is always created in India whenever his name is mentioned and his administration recalled. But Lord Ripon stood for true and unadulterated Liberalism: his regime was a revolt from the bastard imperialism of Lord Lytton, and presented a striking contrast to his predecessor's. That explains the appeal to the Premier for appointing him as our Secretary of State. But that was, of course, an appeal which could not be entertained. Even if Lord Ripon were willing to take up the task, he would have found it no easy matter to cope with the problems that would have confronted him. The spirit might have been willing, but the flesh was too weak indeed.

Under the circumstances, the appointment of Mr. Morley was hailed with universal gratification. There were, of course, wailings from the Anglo-Indian press, the enemies of Indian constitutional movements. They feared that he would set the Ganges on fire and proceeded therefore to warn him against deviating from the path laid down for all Secretaries to follow. He must accept the India Office policy and play second fiddle to the thirteen old fossils that direct or misdirect the affairs of India from Downing Street. All the same, our faith in him never wavered. It was true that the *Spectator* informed us that Mr. Morley had been studying Indian problems for a long time; and it was also true that he had made important pronouncements on the Indian Army policy. He had opposed very strongly the "forward policy" by describing it as the "rake's progress." He had endorsed the policy of Sir John Lawrence, of masterly inactivity at the frontiers and internal reforms. But it was also true that he had described the Indians as semi-barbarians, though he had modified his views subsequently to a little extent. But we welcomed him, because he is an upright statesman whose leanings are decidedly on the side of peace, harmony and progress.

He has fought the battle of righteousness, truth and justice, for years, standing staunchly by the side of Gladstone, so much so that the latter described him as "the only stay I have. We hoped that the student of Mill, the biographer of Burke and the disciple of Gladstone would be a valuable accession and that under his wise guidance, the era of departmentalism would end and that the country would enter on a career of material, moral and intellectual progress.

However honest, upright and independent a statesman may be, he cannot carry out reform unless he has the moral support of his party, and unless the country is prepared to endorse his policy. We have passed through twenty years of oppression, reaction and repression; we have hardly recovered from the slough of Lord Curzon's reactionary rule, the darkest page in Anglo-Indian administration. The Jingo, or what has been in more dignified language called, the imperial spirit had dominated the administration. Little wars and punitive expeditions on the frontiers, attempts to expand the "sphere of influence" beyond the natural limits of the frontiers, heavy and increasing taxation to meet the bills for the forward movement, the starvation of educational and sanitary reforms, these sum up the policy of the Anglo-Indian administrations which the Liberals would, it is hoped as it was hoped, repeal. For reversing such a policy the moral sanction of the people of England was required and that sanction it is which they gave by the magnificent majority which Sir Henry Campbell-Bannerman commands. The Parliament breathes a genuine democratic spirit; the country has cast off the slough of jingoism and resumed its normal prudence and wisdom. The astounding majority which the Liberal Government commands is a happy augury as much for us as it is for the British workman. We rejoiced and rejoice in the Liberal victory, for we are assured that if justice is ever to be done to us in a full

measure, it must be done by the Liberals. It was, therefore, with high hopes and with a heart full of enthusiasm that we received the results of the last general election.

Disappointments are always the keener, the greater the expectations. If we had hoped that Mr. Morley would bring in a bill to amend or repeal the Government of India Act of 1858, we should have placed before ourselves very high hopes. If we had hoped that Mr. Morley would give us Home Rule, we should have hoped for the impossible. But we did not expect that Mr. Morley would do the one thing or the other. But we hoped that there would be a modest attempt at reform in all branches of administration, and we have a right to entertain that hope. We hoped that Mr. Morley would take definite steps in reconciling public opinion to the methods of administration, and it is a Liberal principle that where a majority are opposed to a measure, the voice of the majority must be paid heed to, if the rights and privileges of the minority are not too much entrenched upon. We also entertained the hope that the administration would be nationalised. At present the administration is entirely in the hands of an alien and unsympathetic bureaucracy. That had been protested against by many eminent statesmen, including Lord Hartington, the present Duke of Devonshire. It was hoped that the "white caste" would be slowly abolished and that an earnest would be given us of the reversal of the dictum laid down by Lord Curzon that the character of the administration being British, it must be entirely in British hands. Lord Curzon even proceeded to the length of ridiculing the Queen's Proclamation as giving us a charter of liberty and held that Indians are not capable of claiming equality with the British, as they do not possess those qualities which are the exclusive possessions of the "whites." In short, it was hoped that these and similar abuses would be removed and an era

of conciliation and co-operation would commence.

One naturally expects the query whether anybody is justified in hoping that all or even a major portion of all these hopes could be realised in the short space of one year. The reply is clear. Nobody expected any such revolution. Mr. Balfour accused the Government the other day of having, by ten years' exclusion from office, developed such a keen appetite for legislation, that they brought before the Parliament a number of crude and ill-digested Bills to be passed into law. No Bill, we knew, would relate to India and no such Bill stands any chance of being introduced in the life-time of the present Government. In fact those who have taken a more than ordinary interest in British politics know, that the government ceased to be as Radical as they were while in Opposition, even in regard to Home and Colonial measures. The huge uproar and cry Sir Henry Campbell Bannerman and his colleagues raised while in opposition against the swelling and ever-increasing expenditure on the Army and the Navy has resulted in the reduction of a million or thereabouts in this year's budget and the standard of the seventies and the sixties of the last century are hopelessly beyond sight. Another cry raised by the Liberals related to the employment of Chinese labour; they called for the immediate repatriation of the coolies; they denounced slavery. But slavery has now become a "terminological inexactitude", and the forcible repatriation which their unofficial conscience cried for has been abandoned. It was too much to hope that the Liberals who had come to understand the limitations which the exercise of power imposed upon their genuine sentiments and principles, would set the tide of reaction rolling back in India all of a sudden. All that we hoped for was the indication of some measure of their willingness to introduce liberal principles in their dealings with us, and in Mr. Morley we hoped the

democratic government had given us an earnest of their genuine desire to do justice by us.

How far have our hopes been realised and where do we stand to-day? So far as sympathetic pronouncements are concerned, it is scarcely possible to find out a predecessor who spoke as fine things as Mr. Morley has done. Lord Randolph Churchill in his brief tenure of office as Secretary of State for India gave expression to almost equally sympathetic statements. He wanted to manipulate the India Office, which he said was the stumbling block in the way of all his ideas of progress being realised. Instead of manipulating the India Office, the India Office manipulated him and he resigned shortly a sadder and a wiser man. How far Mr. Morley is being manipulated as Lord Randolph Churchill was, we shall probably not know. We may have to wait till his biographer tells us something. But for a truly kind and sympathetic speech, conceived in the true Liberal spirit, we must certainly go to Mr. Morley's pronouncement at the last Budget debate. He laid down principles which if acted upon would be of immense help to us in our onward struggle for political emancipation. We do not propose to quote at length from that speech; our readers must be familiar with it as being the pronouncement of a first-rate statesman who ought to have been Chancellor of the Exchequer but for Mr. Asquith. What it is proposed to do is to examine how far those principles have been acted upon by Mr. Morley as opportunities were afforded to him to translate his sympathies into action.

The first problem of great consequence that Mr. Morley was called upon to tackle was the departmental change which cost Lord Curzon his Viceroyalty. The problem that confronted Mr. Morley was no doubt a difficult one; but it was not new to him. He had studied it completely and formed his opinions about it. He had absolutely little sympathy with the change insisted upon by Lord Kitchener, and

burning with a virtuous indignation against what he really conceived to be the triumph of Military over Civil administration, he exclaimed that never since Charles I. lost his head was such a preposterous concession made to the military. He condemned in strong terms the late Government for yielding to Lord Kitchener. When Mr. Morley came into power, he had an opportunity of showing his true statesmanly courage by curtailing the influence of the Military department in the Council of the Government of India. But instead of either reverting to the *status quo* as it existed before Lord Curzon's resignation or doing the best thing that Indian conditions required, which strange to say had the approval of Lord George Hamilton, namely removing the Commander-in-chief's position in the Government of India, by making him purely an executive officer as recommended by the Army Commission, he made a patch-work which keeps Lord Kitchener the Military Dictator he is. This decision of Mr. Morley is not significant otherwise than in being the first indication of the fact that Mr. Morley the critic from the Opposition benches is a different being from Mr. Morley the Cabinet Minister.

This view has only been strengthened by his *obiter dicta* relating to the "settled fact." The Bengal partition scheme in itself is not as important a measure as the many administrative and political problems that await solution. It is not as important as the administration of the Land Revenue or the closing of the mints for the free coinage of silver. It is not more disastrous than over-assessment, the increasing taxation paid in an inflated currency, the growing and ever-growing military burdens and the complete paralysis of internal reforms. These affect thirty crores of people while but seven crores of people are affected by the partition. Whether the partition remains or is undone, it will not materially affect those outside Bengal. But what does affect them is Mr. Morley's defence of the mea-

sure and the precedent he has set for use for less scrupulous successors at the India Office. Any reactionary measure has only to be given effect to and it must stand because it is a "settled fact." Mr. Morley has admitted that the initial errors of the partition are great; he does not approve of the way in which it was carried out; he recognises that it goes against the will of the majority. Still he cannot modify it so as to secure for it the approval of the people affected. The only reason that has been advanced for partition is that it is carried out for the sake of administrative convenience. If the doctrine which Mr. Morley has laid down is to be accepted no measure of administrative reform can be carried out at all. What exists is a settled order which cannot be disturbed. The union of the executive and judicial functions is a long standing settled problem and it cannot be grappled with by any reformer. So also every administrative reform. It may sound odd that the Home Ruler of Ireland, before Mr. Gladstone was converted to Home Rule, should have laid emphasis on the theory of "settled facts" in a department which is nothing if not changing. Lord Lytton's Vernacular Press Act, if Mr. Morley were there, would not have been repealed! To what mischiefs this doctrine would lead in the future we cannot possibly guess; but if the year of grace 1906 presented us only with this strange philosophy, it would surely be an epoch-making year even in the twentieth century.

If the partition has not been undone, and if the theory of settled facts remains, the after-math of the partition is both cheering and disconcerting. The oldest living men among us say that never after the Mutiny, was the country thrown into such a state of ferment and agitation and bewildering excitement, not even in the days of the "White Mutiny" precipitated by the Ilbert Bill, as during the last year. The partition was no doubt the cause in Bengal; but the reactionary mea-

sures of Lord Curzon were at the bottom everywhere; what actually precipitated the crisis was, however, the Barisal incidents. They are too notorious to need repetition here. The executive vagaries stand unparalleled in the annals of Anglo-Indian administration. The persecution of school-boys, the prosecution of citizens, the levying of the punitive Police, the dispersing of political gatherings, the forbidding of the innocent cry of "*Bandê Mâtaram*"—all literally set the whole country ablaze. The verdict of the thinking public has been pronounced upon it, which is scarcely complimentary to the authors of the Partition measure. The incident has shown how the gulf between the Indian and the Anglo-Indian is widening and how the Anglo-Indians would mutiny if any disposition were shown by the authorities to sympathise with the "Natives." These are the disconcerting features. But the cheering feature was the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller. In deference to public opinion never before was a Lieutenant-Governor recalled. If the Unionist Government were in power, would Sir Bampfylde have been recalled? His faults would have been condoned and he would have been canonised as a saintly administrator.

There is no minimising the magnitude of the victory. If evidence were wanted, we could refer to the letter of "I. C. S." in the *Pioneer*, which would remain a classic example of Anglo-Indian arrogance and the sense of discipline which binds the "heaven-born" civil service to the Government of India and the Secretary of State. The fall of Sir Bampfylde, as he himself admitted, is the penalty which the authors of the partition measure had to pay for enforcing it. But it is not a case for jubilation except as showing that Mr. Morley has not yet been completely manipulated by the India Office.

But these are minor matters. What is Mr. Morley's contribution to the solution of larger

problems? First comes his acknowledgment of the fact that simultaneous examinations for the services cannot be held in England and India. He abides by the decision of Sir Henry Fowler. How that decision was arrived at it is not our purpose to enquire at present. Suffice it to say that, as Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji admitted, it was a case where the Executive robbed him of the fruits of his labour. There is no doubt that Mr. Gladstone's Government were willing to stand by the resolution of the House of Commons moved by Mr. Herbert Paul; it is the Executive who stood in the way. Mr. Morley's reply is, therefore, very unsatisfactory, not to use a stronger expression, and there is no doubt that he has not carefully studied the subject. It was only another instance of the application of the theory of "settled facts." It was settled by Sir Henry Fowler and so it must remain! The second is his appointment of Mr. Theodore Morison to the India Council, the supercession of Mr. K. G. Gupta in the acting Lieutenant-Governorship of Bengal and of Mr. C. Sankaran Nair in a High Court Judgeship, which post Mr. Nair thrice held. The last two instances

are too glaring to need any comment and the first appointment would not have evoked comment but for the fact that it was given out that Mr. Gokhale was given the refusal and he transferred it to Mr. Dutt. This is how Mr. Morley has responded to the call made on him to apply liberal principles to the Government of India. These are the opportunities afforded to him and this is how he availed himself of them. But we have yet to refer to the most important of Mr. Morley's pronouncements. We mean his declaration that "For as long a time as my poor imagination can pierce through, for so long a time our Government in India must partake, and in no small degree, of the personal and absolute element." This shows the difference between theoretical and practical Liberalism. To sum up, we have the resignation of Sir Bampfylde Fuller to our credit; in no other respect have we gained, and there is little to differentiate the present regime from the regime of the Unionists. But we are asked to wait and be patient. That we shall, of course, do and see what 1907 brings about.

S. K. SARMA.

THE VEDIC FATHERS

TO students of the Rigveda an accurate knowledge of the *Pitris* or the Fathers is of very great importance. Without it a number of historical facts mentioned in that unique collection of hymns, will remain for ever enshrouded in darkness. There are customs descended from the Vedic times to our own, that can only be explained if we first understand who the *Pitris* were. Again, the clue to the origin of an important class of gods in the Vedic pantheon can only be discovered if

we first rightly grasp the beliefs of the *Rishis* about the position the *Pitris* occupied after their death. Yet the subject is not in itself a very difficult one. Whatever difficulty it appears to involve, is the creation of those scholars who would not take things in their ordinary simple and easy way. I do not think that there is any warrant in the Rigveda itself to say with western scholars that the *Pitris* were mythological beings—objects of nature personified; *e. g.*, that Yama

represents the setting sun (MaxMüller). The view first started by the author of the *Taittiriya Bráhmāna*, again, that Prajapati created the *Pitris* and human beings separately is based on a wrong interpretation of a *rik* of the 130th hymn of the tenth *mandala*. It is discredited by the meaning of the term 'Pitris' itself. The *Rishis* themselves believed the *Pitris* to be their ancestors. According to them the *Pitris* were human beings who begot children as men do and died like men. While on earth, they founded the institutes of sacrifice and worshipped the gods with the *soma*-juice offered with hymns in praise of them. After death, along with Yama they discovered the path to the highest heaven and are now drinking the ambrosial *soma* in his company in the cool shade of a *palás* tree.

1. *The Pitris were men.*—When speaking of the *Pitris* as men I am perfectly aware that I take a view different from that held by the Indian commentators beginning with the author of the *Taittiriya Bráhmāna* as well as by many western scholars. In the T. B. (II. 3-8-2) the *Pitris* have been spoken of as a class distinct from men having been created by Prajapati—lord of creatures, separately:—

प्रजापतिरकामयत प्रजायेयेति.....
सोऽसुरान् सृष्ट्वा पितृवामन्यते तदनु पितृन्सृजत ।
स पितृन् सृष्ट्वाऽमनस्यत् तदनु मनुष्यान्सृजत ॥

Prajapati desired to have creatures.....After having created the *asuras* he thought himself as a father. Then he created the *Pitris*.....After having created the *Pitris* he meditated (thought as a man). Then he created the men.

Succeeding Brahmanas and the Puranas have all adopted this view. It appears to be based on a misinterpretation of the 130th hymn of the tenth *mandala* of the *Rigveda*. The 5th and 6th *riks* of this hymn run thus:—

विरान्मित्रावरुणयोरभि श्रीरिन्द्रस्य त्रिष्टुबिह
भागो अहः ।

विश्वान्देवाञ्जगत्या विवेश तेन चाक्लृप्त ऋषयो
मनुष्याः ॥ ५

चाक्लृप्ते तेन ऋषयो मनुष्या यज्ञे जाते पितरो
नः पुराणे ।

पश्यन्मन्ये मनसा चक्षुषा तान्य इमं यज्ञम्यजन्त
पूर्वं ॥ ६

Sayana thus explains these verses on the authority of the *Taittiriya* itself:—

Mitra and Varuna were born from Prajapati with the metre *Viraj*; Indra with the *Tristup* metre and the All-gods with the *Jagati* metre. By that sacrifice were created the *Rishis* and men—5.

On that old sacrifice being performed, by it were created the *Rishis*, men and our fathers. I think I am seeing with my mind's eye them who formerly performed this sacrifice—6.

Mr. R. C. Dutt's translation follows neither Sayana nor grammar, but it has the merit of avoiding a self-contradiction. I take the liberty to differ from both these authorities. The root *klp* in these *riks* does not convey the idea of creation but that of one thing becoming another thing or one thing being altered into another. Moreover if the interpretation of Sayana be accepted it would land us on an absurdity. For the 2nd line of the first *rik* of the hymn says:—

इमे वयन्ति पितरो य आययुः ।

These fathers who have come here wore the garment of sacrifice.

If it was this sacrifice that created the *Pitris* then we come to this that the *Pitris* were created in the very sacrifice which they themselves performed. If it be replied that the 3rd verse says that the sacrifice was performed by the All-gods, we do not escape from the absurdity. For according to T. B., Mitra and Varuna and other gods were also born in this sacrifice. It should be noticed here that the T. B. is not without its authority. The 13th *rik* of the 90th *sukta* of the Xth *Mandala*—the celebrated *purushasukta* says:—

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षुः सूर्यो अजायत ।
मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत ॥ १० । ९० । १३

From his mind was born the moon; the sun from the eyes. From the mouth were born Indra and Agni, and Vayu from his breath.

Unless read with proper care so as not only to understand the letters but along with them to enter into the spirit of the poets, hymns 90 and 130 would appear to be full of contradictions and absurdities. But really they are not so. The fact is these two hymns do not speak of the creation at all. They are somewhat pantheistic but not fully so. They speak of a *purushah*, person, who is three-fourths transcendent—"त्रिपादस्यासृत् दिवि" and one-fourth all this world—"पादोऽस्य विश्वा भूतानि". A sacrifice is conceived as being performed either by the All-gods or the *Pitris*. There is also no contradiction in this, for towards the end of the Rigveda the *Pitris* being more or less deified were regarded as gods or All-gods.

महिम्न एषां पितरश्च नेशिरे देवा देवेष्वदधुरपि
क्रतुम् । १० । ५६ । ४

The Fathers also attained the glory of these (gods). Themselves gods they sacrificed to gods.

This was the first sacrifice. Then comes the idea of conceiving the whole world as the *पुरुषः*. It is in connection with this idea that the question was raised, what was his mouth, &c.

मुखं किमस्य कौ बाहू काऊरू पादा उच्येते ।

Notice that the question is not what came out of the mouth—what out of the arms, &c. The first part of the answer is given in the proper form.

ब्राह्मणोऽस्य मुखमासीद् बाहूराजन्यः कृतः ।
ऊरू तदस्य यद्वैश्यः..... । १० । ९० । १२

Then happened a sad thing, which shews that none can escape from the consequences of a transgression of justice—not even a Vedic rishi. After speaking of the Brahmins, Kshatriyas and Vaisyas, the *Rishi* wanted to speak of the Sudras. He would not make them a part of the *पुरुष*, not even his foot. For what is

the difference between the mouth and the foot when these parts are of the Great Person? But are not the Sudras non-Aryan *dasys*? So he added पद्भ्यां शूद्रो अजायत;—the Sudra was born from his feet. As soon as he had done this the *Rishi* forgot his whole idea and instead of saying the moon was his mind; the sun his eyes; Indra and Agni his mouth and the wind his breath, आत्मा ते वातः । ७ । ८७ । २, he said these gods were born from different parts of his body.

चन्द्रमा मनसो जातश्चक्षुः सूर्यो अजायत ।
मुखादिन्द्रश्चाग्निश्च प्राणाद्वायुरजायत ॥
२० । ९० । २३ ।

But we must not make too much of what was a mere slip. Barring this the *purushasukta* is a grand hymn the like of which is not to be found till we come to the time of Nanak, the realisation of the *Sapta Sindhavah*, whose *ārati* is the grandest hymn ever composed.

Remembering that the *पुरुषसूक्तः* does not describe the creation but conceives the world as the Great Person, as the sacrificial horse was so conceived at the beginning of the *Bṛihad Aranyaka*, or the Great Person himself was again conceived in the *Bhagavad Gita* (Chapter XI, verses 15 to 40)—remembering also that hymn 130 has been composed on the model of the *पुरुषसूक्तः*: I hasten to give below my translation of the 5th and the 6th *riks* of the 130th hymn:—

The metre adhered to Mitra and Varuna. In that sacrifice the *Tristup* was Indra's portion day after day. The *Jagati* entered into the All-gods. By this those who were men became rishis.—5. By this, on the old (=the first) sacrifice being performed, our human fathers became *Rishis*. I think, I see, by my mind's eye, them who first performed this sacrifice.

The force of the word *tena* (*tena hetuna*)—by this—in the 2nd line of the 5th verse and in the first line of the 6th verse will clearly appear if we consider the double meaning attached to the word *Jagati*. It is derived from the root गम to move, by reduplication. *Jagati* means a metre of that name. Of all Vedic

metres it contains the greatest number of syllables. Of the five primary Vedic metres

1. Gayatri contains 24 syllables.
2. Anustubh „ 32 „
3. Viraj „ 40 „
4. Tristubh „ 44 „
5. Jagati „ 48 „

The word *Jagati* also means moving—living—human beings. The metre *Jagati* also may be said to represent the *vis*—the people, owing to its containing the greatest number of syllables. As *Jagati* is the metre proper of the *visvedevāh suktas* it may be said to have entered into the All-gods—to have become in a manner the All-gods. Hence the *Pitris* who were mere men—*Jagati* at first, became *Rishis*—the All-gods on the performance of the great sacrifice. This may not be reasoning of a logical order but that the Vedic poets reasoned in this way appear from numerous instances to be met within the Brahmanas and the Upanishads.

Hymn 130 of the Xth *mandala* leaves no doubt that the composers of the *riks* believed that the *Pitris* were born as men who afterwards became *Rishis*. There are other hymns in support of this conclusion.

**अस्माकमत्र पितरो मनुष्या अभिप्रसेदुर्द्ध-
तमाशुषाणाः ।**

**अश्मवजाः सुदुघा वने अन्तरुदुसा आजन्मसो-
हुवानाः । ४ । १ । १३**

Our human fathers while here (on earth) having performed religious rites went towards the place. Having invoked the Ushas liberated the easily milking milch cows that had been confined in a rocky pen from out of the cave.

It appears that the fathers were not all even worshippers of gods.

प्रनुवोचासुतेषु वां वीर्यायानि चक्रथुः ।

हतासो वां पितरो देवशत्रव इन्द्राग्नीजीवथ युवम् ।

६ । ५९ । २

In this sacrifice I shall soon recite your those heroic deeds that you formerly did. By you, O Indra

and Agni, those fathers who opposed the *āvas* were slain,—you survived.—VI. 59. 1.

I may say here in passing that these fathers—the enemies of gods—*devāsatravah pitarah*—were the Iranian *Rishis*—the ancestors of our kinsmen, the Parsis, who on account of the excesses in connection with Indra-worship lost faith first in that modern god and ultimately in all gods—Dyaus and his sons, and worshipped Ahura Mazda—the Great Asura—the Supreme Spirit (see my article on Indra in the “East” of Dacca).

2. *The Pitris begot children like men.*—If one is not sceptically inclined beyond all measure, the expression “*nah pitarcē*” itself ought to be sufficient evidence of the fact that the Vedic poets believed the *Pitris* to be their ancestors. But there are *riks* in which this fact has been expressly stated. Here is one:—

**सहोर्भिर्विश्वं परिचक्रमू रजः पूर्वाधाम न्यमिता-
मिमानाः ।**

**तनूषु विश्वा भुवना नियेमिरे प्रासारन्त पुरुष
प्रजा अनु ॥ १० । ५६ । ५**

With might they (the fathers) travelled over all regions and measured places unmeasured before. By their bodies they encompassed all the world and in many ways spread the creatures.—X. 56. 5

It will be seen that the *rik* speaks of the spreading and multiplication of the forefathers of the Vedic rishis in different countries. It is a very important fact, and I shall make use of it later on.

—तृतीयेन कर्मणा ।

**स्वां प्रजां पितरो पित्र्यं सहः आ अवरेषु अदधुः
तनुमाततम् ॥ १० । ५६ । ६**

By their third act the *Pitris* gave their own descendants paternal strength and placed them on the lower region (earth) as a thread spun out.—X. 56. 6.

3. *There were different clans and families among the Pitris.*

**तमु नः पूर्वे पितरो नवग्वाः सप्तविप्रसो अभि-
वाजयन्तः ।**

एक्षद्दामं ततुरिं पर्वतेष्ठांमद्रोघवाचं मतिभिः
शविष्ठम् ॥ ६।२२।२
मातलो कव्यैर्यमो अङ्गिरोभिर्बृहस्पतिः ऋक्वभिर्वा-
वृधानः ।

याँश्च देवा वावृधुर्यं च देवान्त्स्वाहान्ये स्वध-
यान्ये मदन्ति ॥ १०।१४।३

अङ्गिरसो नः पितरो नवग्वा अथवीणा भृगवः
सोम्यासः ॥ १०।१४।६

ये नः पूर्वं पितरः सोम्यासोऽनूहिरे सोमपीथ
वशिष्ठाः ॥ १०।१५।८

Our fathers of old, Navagvas, the sages seven went to him to obtain strength—Indra who resides on mountains (=clouds), who overcomes opponents, who is most active, speaks truth and has grown mightiest by hymns.—VI. 22. 2.

Matali (=Indra) is magnified with the Kavis, Yama with the Angiras, Brihaspati with the Rikvans—whom the gods magnified and who magnified the gods—some exhilarated with *sváha* and some with *svadhá*.

X. 14. 3.

Our soma-loving fathers—the Angiras, the Navagvas, the Atharvans, the Bhrigus.—X. 14. 6.

Our Soma-loving fathers of old the Vasisthas who offered soma-drink (to gods).—X. 15. 8.

There are other families and individuals mentioned elsewhere. After I have given a general account of the *Pitris* I shall take up some illustrious families and individuals and give a short account of each.

4. *The Pitris were the founders of the religious institutes.*—This point will be clearly established when we come to deal with individual *Pitris* such as Manu, Yama, Atharva, &c. In the meantime I place before my readers a few *riks* containing general statements.

ते दशग्वाः प्रथमाः यज्ञमूहिरे । २।३४।१२

They the Dasagvas were the first to institute sacrifice.—II. 34. 12.

यो यज्ञो विश्वतस्तन्तुभिस्तत एकशतं देवकर्म्ये-
भिरायतः । इमे वयन्ति पितरो य आययुः ॥ १०।१३०।१

That sacrifice that was extended on all sides by yarns,—that was extended by a hundred divine acts. That these fathers who have come to our sacrifice wove.....—X. 130. 1.

ये चित् पूर्व ऋतसाप ऋतावान ऋतावृधः
पितृन् तपस्वतो यम ताँश्चिद्देवापि गच्छताम् ॥ १०
१५४।४

Those fathers who were the first to follow Law—who were full of truth—who grew by truth and were full of holy fervour, O Yama, even to them let him go X. 154.

We have already seen that the *Pitris* were *somayásah*, fond of soma, and offered som libations to gods. They also sang hymn while performing sacrifices.

नवग्वासः सुतसोमास इन्द्रं दशग्वासो अभ्यर्च्य
त्यक्तैः ॥ ५।२९।१२

The Navagvas and the Dasagvas who were fond of Soma, adored Indra with hymns.—V. 29. 12.

5. *Some memorable acts done by the Pitris while on earth.*—These will better be stated when dealing with individual *Pitris* and particular families of them. Here I give one or two *riks* about an event which the Vedic poet never tired to relate. This was the victory of the *Pitris* of the Angirasas family under the leadership of Ayasya, Brihaspati and Indra over the Panis—the Phœnicians of European history under their king Val—the ‘Baal’ of the Jewish historians, and the winning of the cows [See my article on Indra in the “East” and “The Rigveda a History” by Rajeswar Gupta.]

त्वां हीन्द्रावसे विवाचे हवन्ते चर्षण्यः शूर
सातौ । त्वं विप्रेभिर्विपण्यैरशायस्त्वोत इत् सनित
वाजमर्वा ॥ ६।३३।२

You indeed, O, Indra, the tillers of the land (= the Aryan people) glorify with hymns and invoke in battles for succour—with the help of the wise (Angiras) you slew the Panis. Those protected by you also obtain the booty.—VI. 33. 2.

हंसैरिव सखिभिर्वाचदद्भिरश्मन्मयानि नहनाव्य
स्यन् ।

बृहस्पतिरभिकनिक्रदद्गगा उत प्रात्तौदुह
विद्धाँ अनायत् ॥ १०।६३।३

With the help of his hymn-uttering friends like so many geese Brihaspati broke open the stony hidin

place, made the cows low loudly and recited hymns and sang psalms.—X. 63. 3.

6. In course of time the Pitris died, some were cremated and others buried.

ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा १०।१५।१४

(Of the Pitris) those who were burned by Agni and those who were not burned.—X. 15. 14.

That the disposal of dead bodies by burial also existed either simultaneously with cremation or before cremation came into vogue, the following *rits* will shew:—

मेषु वरुण मृन्मयं गृहं राजन्नहं गमत् । ७।८९।१

May I not yet, O King Varuna, go down to the house of clay (= grave).—VII. 89. 1.

उपसर्प मातरं भूमिमेतामुख्यचसम् पृथिवीं सुशेवाम् ।

ऊर्णप्रदा युवतिर्दक्षिणावत एधा त्वा पातु निर्रुते-
रुपस्थात् । १०।१८।१०

उच्छ्रवंचमाना पृथिवी सुतिष्ठतु सहस्रं मित
उप हि श्रयन्ताम् ।

ते गृहासो घृतश्च्युतो भवन्तु विश्वाहास्मै शरणाः
सत्त्वत्र । १२

उच्छ्रवंचस्व पृथिवि मा निबाधथाः सूपायनास्मै
भव सूपवंचना ।

माता पुत्रं यथा सिचाभ्येनं भूम ऊर्णहि । २२

Enter into the mother earth—she is far spreading and giver of happiness. This young dame soft as wool—may she save you who had freely given donations to priests, from destruction's lap.—X. 18. 10.

Heave thyself, O earth, do not hurt him. Be easy of access and friendly to him. Cover him, O earth, as the mother does her son, with the skirt.—11.

May the heaving earth stand still; may a thou- sand and clouds protect him above. May they be his but- ter-exuding houses; may they be, from day to day, his place of refuge.—X. 18. 12.

7. Along with Yama the Pitris made the path to the next world:—

यमाय मधुमत्तमं राज्ञे हव्यं जुहोतन ।

इदं नम ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः पूर्वैभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः ॥

१०।१४।१५

Offer to King Yama a libation full of sweetest honey. This salutation is to the oldest first-born *Rishis* who made the path.—X. 14-15.

यमो नो गातुं प्रथमो विवेद नैषा गन्धूतिरप-
भर्त्तवा उ ।

यत्रा नः पूर्वे पितरः परेयुरेना जज्ञानाः पथ्या अनु
स्वाः ॥ १०।१४।२

Yama first found the path for us; his path none can avoid. Our fathers of old have gone by this path; going by it they have found their own places—X. 14. 2.

8. The Pitris now live in the sun where King Yama rules over them. They drink soma juice and revel in his company in the cool shade of a *palās* tree.

पितृन्सुविदत्राँ उपेहि यमेन ये सधमादं जदन्ति ।
१०।१४।१०

Go to the wise fathers who revel in company of Yama.

यस्मिन्वृक्षे सुपलाशे देवैः संपिबते यमः । अत्रा नो
विशपतिः पितापुराणान् अनुवेनति ॥ १०।१३।१

Under that good *palas* tree where Yama drink with the gods—there our father—King of the people, wished me to go after the old ones.—X. 13. 1.

यत्र ज्योतिरजस्रं यस्मिँल्लोके स्वरहितम् । तस्मि-
न्मां धेहि पवमानामृते लोके अक्षित इन्द्रायेन्दो
परिस्त्रव ॥ ७ ॥

यत्र राजा वैवस्वतो यत्रावरोधनं दिवः ॥
१।११३।८

Place me in that immortality—undecaying world—where there is light without ceasing—where the sun is held, O Pavamana. Flow, O Indu, for Indra's sake.—7. where the son of Vivasvan is king—where is the house of heaven.—IX. 113. 8.

महो द्यौः पृथिवी च न इमं यज्ञं मिमिक्षतां ।
पिपृतां नो भरीमभिः । १।२२।१३

तयोरित् घृतवत्पयो विप्रा रिहन्ति धन्तिभिः ।
गन्धर्वस्य ध्रुवे पदे । १।२२।१४

May the mighty heaven and earth bestow this sacrifice of ours and may they fill us with nourishment.—I. 22. 13.

Their butterlike milk the sages (= *Pitris*) taste with hymns, in the eternal abode of the Gandharvva (= Vivasvan identified with the sun).—I. 22. 14.

सहस्रणीथाः कवयो ये गोपायन्ति सूर्यम् । ऋषो न
तपस्वतो यम तपो जाँ अपि गच्छताम् ॥ १० । १५४ । ५

The sages of a thousand hymns who protect the sun, the Rishis full of austerity, whose strength is austerity, O Yama, even to them let him go.—X. 154. 5.

तद्विष्णोः परमं पदं सदा पश्यन्ति सूरयः । दिवी च
चक्षुराततम् ॥ १ । २२ । २०

The highest abode of Vishnu the sages ever see like an eye spread in heaven.—I. 22. 20.

[i. e. The sun which is the eye of Varuna and spread in the sky is the highest abode or step of Vishnu].

इदं यमस्य सादनं देवमानं यदुच्यते, इयमस्य
नापीर्यं गीर्भिः परिष्कृतः ॥ १० । १३५ । ७

This is the house of Yama which is famed as the home of the gods—where the flute is being always played—glorifying Yama with hymns.—X. 135. 7

9. After death the Pitris united with the rays of the sun.

इमे नु ते रश्मयः सूर्यस्य येभिः सपितृन् पितरो न
आसन् । १ । १०९ । ७

These are those rays of the sun with which our fathers obtained union.

It was a common belief among the Vedic Rishis that after death the essential portion of man united with light and some illustrious

Pitris united with particular heavenly bodies. This subject will be taken up again when dealing with Vivasvan, Vishnu, Brihaspat and the Saptarshis.

इदं त एकं पर उत एकं तृतीयेन ज्योतिषा सं
विशस्व । संवेशने तन्वश्चाहरेधि प्रियो देवानां परमे
जनित्रे ॥ १० । ५६ । १

तनूष्टे वाजिन्तन्वं नयन्ती वाममस्मभ्यं धातु
शमेतुभ्यम् ।

अहुतो महो धरुणाय देवान् दिवी च ज्योतिः स्वमा-
मिर्यायाः ॥ २ ॥

त्वां प्रजां बृहदुक्त्यो महित्वा वरेष्वदधा-
दापरेषु ॥ ७ ॥

This is your one portion [the Rishi Brihaduktha addressing the spirit of his dead son—Bajin]—thi another ; with the third enter into light. By s entering obtain a beautiful body and by this highest birth be dear to the gods.

May the earth, O Bajin, accept your body and give us wealth and happiness to you. You lived a right life, for refuge unite with the great gods, as light in heaven.....By his greatness Brihaduktha placed his son on earth and in heaven — X. 56, 1-2 and 2nd line of 7.

A. C. SEN

(To be concluded.)

IN MEMORIAM RALPH THOMAS HOTCHKIN GRIFFITH

INTELLIGENCE of the death of the renowned oriental scholar, whose name heads this article, was published in the *Pioneer* in its issue of the 12th November, 1906, in the following telegram:—

"The death is announced of Mr. Ralph Thomas Hotchkkin Griffith, a well known oriental scholar, who was Principal of Benares College for fifteen years and Director of Public Instruction in the North-Western Provinces and Oudh from 1878 to 1885. Deceased was eighty years of age and a keen horticulturist."

This eminent orientalist, the educator of generation of Indian youths in the Benares College, who spent his whole manhood in advancing the cause of Sanskrit in various ways—chiefly by popularising the gems of Sanskrit poetry among the English-speaking scholars of the East and the West through the medium of elegant translations in verse—the distinguished Oxonian who made India his home and having lived in it for more than half

a century laid his bones here, whose death will be mourned by a large number of admirers, pupils and friends;—Mr. Griffith should receive a fuller notice in the land of his adoption and work.

Mr. Griffith's claim to our gratitude and admiration is based on two grounds: first, his excellent work as the Principal of the first College in his time in Upper India; second, his authorship of beautiful poetical translations of the best specimens of Sanskrit poems—sacred and profane, epic and lyrical.

Let us first look at him in his capacity of a Principal. But before bringing him on the scene of his educational work in the Benares College it were as well to have a view of the educational condition of the Province at the time he began his Indian career. He came here when the Universities had not come into existence and before the formation of the Department of Public Instruction under Educational Directors. The only rival institution for the imparting of high education in these provinces at that time was the College at Agra, that at Bareilly being the third in order of seniority and rank. The College at Benares, even in the early fifties, had acquired a high repute due to the eminence of the professors who were successively on its staff. Like master like pupil. The College turned out some of the best scholars in those early days of English education, and the fame of the College spread wherever its ex-students were in evidence.

The Benares College is a composite institution. It began as a purely Sanskrit College and is a centenarian like its old co-temporary the sister College at Calcutta. The English Department was a later addition, but, though comparatively young, is still not less than three score years and ten. This composite College first attained its eminence under the Principalship of Dr. James Robert Ballantyne. He was a versatile scholar and had teaching experience in England before he came out to India. He encouraged the Pandits to have a peep into

European philosophy and science, and the Anglo-Sanskrit Department was established with the view of imparting some English education to young Pandits. He prepared for their use Anglo-Sanskrit manuals on various subjects of study, including Political Economy and Chemistry. One of his clever pandits, the late Vithwala Sastri, had learnt so much of Latin as to be able to translate a portion of Bacon's *Novum Organon* into Sanskrit. The late Pandit Bapu Dev Sastri earned his celebrity for his translations of Sanskrit astronomical works into English during the regime of Dr. Ballantyne. But the indefatigable Scotch Principal did not exhaust his energies in the Sanskrit side of the College. He prepared a batch of scholars in the English Department who were the pioneers, so to say, of higher English education in these Provinces. The late Babu Ramchandra Sen, the first Indian Inspector of Schools in Oudh, the late Pandit Mathura Prasad Misra, the first and most efficient Indian Head Master of the Benares College, the late Hon'ble Ram Kali Chowdhury, who was a distinguished member of the Subordinate Judicial Service and who might have become a High Court Judge under more favourable circumstances, these and several other men of distinction were the first fruits of his educational work. That was before the University system of education had come into existence. Their number was few in comparison with the horde of graduates that the University is manufacturing every year, but the quality produced bore evidence of the master-hand of the educationist.

It was during the latter half of Dr. Ballantyne's Principalship that Mr. Griffith joined the Benares College as his colleague. He came out not as a new-fledged graduate of an English University with little educational experience, as some are sent now-a-days by the Secretary of State to train Indian youths in Science and Arts. He had distinguished himself as a Boden Scholar of Sanskrit at Oxford, had served as an

Assistant Master in Marlborough College and had brought out a volume of "Specimens of Indian Poetry" and also "The Birth of the War-God." The first-mentioned work contained choice specimens from the Vedas, the Ramayana, the Gita, the Sakuntala, the Mahabharata, the Meghaduta, together with a short account of the "Figures of the Indian Rhetoric." The second work is a translation of Kalidasa's poem, the Kumara-Sambhava. Such was the scholar whom the College at Benares had secured as its Professor and Head Master. It was the height of prosperity for the old Benares College to enjoy the services of two such scholars as Ballantyne and Griffith on its staff. Dr. Ballantyne retired in about 1861 and became the Librarian at the India Office in London. Mr. Griffith stepped into the Principalship. For over fifteen years he held this office with remarkable success. His *forte* was the teaching of English poetry. He felt a conscious superiority in his own mastery of English, and his great pleasure was to make his pupils excel in it. They were always afraid lest they gave offence to him by their bad English or defective pronunciation. Dictating notes was not his practice. He would refer his pupils to the College Library. The reading of books outside the class courses was the strong point of the students of his time. Hence the information of the undergraduates of those days was wider than that of the present average graduate. The first Head Masters of the Zilla Schools in Oudh were mostly Mr. Griffith's pupils, appointed by the lamented Mr. Handford, the then Director of Public Instruction of that Province. They were simply Undergraduates. Both Mr. Handford and his successor Mr. Nesfield bore testimony to the excellence of their teaching. Secondary education in Oudh owed its existence to them. Most of them are dead or retired, but it is doubtful whether Oudh Zilla schools have better Head Masters now in these days of an abundant supply of Bachelors and Masters of Arts.

Mr. Griffith was a linguist. He knew well his Greek and Latin and had an acquaintance with several modern European tongues. German criticisms of Shakespeare and German translations of the great dramatist's plays were kept on his table for occasional consultation. His translation of Jami's poem "Yusuf and Zulaikha" is an evidence of his knowledge of Persian. He took pleasure in summoning now and then a lower class to the Principal's room and making them read and translate their vernacular text-books in Urdu, Hindi and Bengali. Mr. Griffith's mind was thus stored with the knowledge of the leading languages of the East and the West—ancient and modern. There was in him a refinement of manner and speech that was striking. His presence inspired a sense of awe in the students of the College. His appreciation, in turn, of the merits of his students was attended with unstinted and substantial rewards. He would not grudge to grant two or even three scholarships at once to a good student. He was generous and liberal, both as a man and as an official.

His great ambition as a Principal was that the Benares College should be glorified by the greatness of its students. And he witnessed the realisation of his wishes. In his time the College gave to its alumni the hall-mark of superior culture and scholarship. To possess Mr. Griffith's testimonial was a passport to official patronage. Such was Mr. Griffith, the principal of Queen's College at Benares.

En passant it may be stated here that it is not known to the public at large that the change of name from Benares College to Queen's College was due to Mr. Griffith's desire to have the Benares College called after his own College at Oxford. The Government had so much respect for his wishes that they granted his request and thenceforth the new name has been officially and publicly used.

He rose to the Directorship of Public Instruction after more than fifteen years of distinguished service as Principal and was

made a C. I. E. in recognition of his long and meritorious career of usefulness.

Mr. Griffith had not neglected his leisure hours in the midst of his official educational occupations. He brought out his 'Idylls from the Sanskrit' in 1865 and his 'Scenes from the Ramayana' in 1868. His great work, the metrical translation of the Ramayana of Valmiki, was composed between 1870 and 1875 and his 'Yusuf and Zulaikha' came out in 1882. The translations of the Rik, Sama and Atharva Vedas were rendered during his retirement and abode in the Nilgiris in Southern India. He has not left any original composition, but all his translations are poetical. The smaller pieces are delightfully charming.

Space would not permit longer extracts to be reprinted here for the perusal and delectation of our readers. We cannot, however, resist the temptation of placing one or two specimens of ancient Hindu thoughts reproduced in Mr. Griffith's measured and musical lines :—

THE SUPPLIANT DOVE.

Chased by a hawk, there came a dove
With worn and weary wing
And took her stand upon the hand
Of Kasi's noble king.
The monarch smoothed her ruffled plumes
And laid her on his breast
And cried, 'No fear shall vex thee here,
Rest, pretty egg-born, rest !
Fair Kasi's realm is rich and wide
With golden harvests gay,
But all that is mine will I resign
Ere I my guest betray.'
But, panting for his half-won spoil,
The hawk was close behind,
And with wild eye and eager cry
Came swooping down the wind.
'This bird,' he cried, 'my destined prize,
'Tis not for thee to shield :
'Tis mine by right and toilsome flight
O'er hill and dale and field.
'Hunger and thirst oppress me sore,
And I am faint with toil ;

Thou shouldst not stay a bird of prey
Who claims his rightful spoil.

'They say thou art a glorious king,
And justice is thy care ;
Then justly reign in thy domain
Nor rob the birds of air.'

Then cried the king : 'A cow or deer
For thee shall straightway bleed,
Or let a ram or tender lamb
Be slain for thee to feed.

'Mine oath forbids me to betray
My little twice-born guest ;
See, how she clings, with trembling wings
To her protector's breast.'

'No flesh of lambs,' the hawk replied,
'No blood of deer for me,
The falcon loves to feed on doves
And such is Heaven's decree.

'But if affection for the dove
Thy pitying heart has stirred,
Let thine own flesh my maw refresh,
Weighed down against the bird.'

He carved the flesh from off his side,
And threw it in the scale,
While woman's cries smote on the skies
With loud lament and wail.

He hacked the flesh from side and arm,
From chest, and back and thigh,
But still above the little dove
The monarch's scale stood high.

He heaped the scale with piles of flesh,
With sinews, blood and skin,
And when alone was left him bone
He threw himself therein.

Then thundered voices through the air,
The sky grew black as night,
And fever took the earth that shook
To see that wondrous sight.

* * *

They* set him on a golden car
That blazed with many a gem ;
Then swiftly through the air they flew,
And bore him home with them.

Thus Kasi's lord, by noble deed,
Won Heaven and deathless fame ;
And when the weak protection seek
From thee, do thou the same.—*Mahabharata*.

* They, i.e. the gods.

Mr. Griffith sincerely appreciated the national virtues that characterised the people whose sacred literature he studied. Chief among these is the regard for animal life and compassion towards the distressed. It is illustrated in bold relief in the story quoted above, in which a noble prince sacrifices his own life to give protection to a lowly refugee.

Mr. Griffith resented the unwarranted attacks of some of his ignorant and thoughtless countrymen on the character of the people whom destiny has placed under their rule. One such favourite fling against the Hindus has been, that the word 'Gratitude' is not to be found in their dictionary. Mr. Griffith's annoyance at such baseless calumny has found expression in the following lines in which the Hindu moralist anathematises ingratitude with all the authority of the Shastras:—

INGRATITUDE.

O Monarch, hear with mind and ear
The words that Bramha spake :
'The thankless man lives under ban,
Who will, his life may take ;
Man for all sin may pardon win,
How deep soe'er the guilt ;
Yea, for the stain of Bramhan slain
Whose blood must never be spilt.
Slave to the bowl that kills the soul,
He turns and gains relief ;
The liar yet may pardon get,
The perjured and the thief.
But never can the thankless man
Be pardoned for his crime ;
Disgrace and shame shall hunt his name
Through life and endless time.
When reft of friends his days he ends
In profitless remorse,
E'en beasts of pray shall turn away
And scorn his loathed corpse.'

We are afraid lest by any addition to the above we exceed the limit of the present article. But the following from Jami's 'Yusuf and Zulaikha' compels quotation : the thoughts embodied are so characteristic of Persian

poetry, and the translation has so faithfully reproduced the original in a style at once superb and lofty and heroically measured.

LOVE.

No heart is that which love ne'er wounded : they
Who know not lover's pangs are soulless clay.
Turn from the world, O turn thy wandering feet,
Come to the world of love and find it sweet.
Heaven's giddy round from craze of love was caught
From love's disputes the world with strife is fraught.
Love's slave be thou if thou would fain be free ;
Welcome love's pangs, and happy shalt thou be.
From wine of love come joy and generous heat ;
From meaner cups flow sorrow and deceit.
Love's sweet soft memories youth itself restore ;
The tale of love gives fame for evermore.
If Majnun never the cup of love had drained,
High fame in heaven and earth he ne'er had gained ;
A thousand sages deep in wisdom's lore,
Untaught of love, died, and are known no more.
Without a name or trace in death they sank
And in the book of Time their name is blank.
The groves are gay with many a lovely bird ;
Our lips are silent and their praise unheard ;
But when the theme is love's delicious tale,
The moth is lauded and the nightingale.
What though a hundred Arts to thee be known :
Freedom from self is gained through love alone.
To worldly love thy youthful thoughts incline,
For earthly love will lead to love divine.
First with the Alphabet thy task begin,
Then take the Word of God and read therein.
Once to his Master a disciple cried :—
"To wisdom's pleasant path be thou my guide."
"Hast thou ne'er loved?" the master answered, "learn
The ways of love and then to me return".
Drink deep of earthly love, that so thy lip
May learn the wine of holier love to sip.
But let not form too long thy soul entrance ;
Pass o'er the bridge : with rapid feet advance.
If thou would rest, thine ordered journey sped,
Forbear to linger at the bridge's head.

His Anglo-Sanskrit monthly journal "The Pandit" was founded and conducted by him for many years, more to utilise the labours of the Pandits of the Sanskrit College for the editing and publishing of rare manuscripts than to open a medium for the presentation to the public of his own writings.

His long life—he lived to the age of four score years—was occupied in the authorship of some readable work or other that has added to the store of Anglo-Sanskrit literature.

Now that we have sketched him both as a Principal and an Author, the reader, perhaps, would be curious to know what he was as a man. “An English gentleman” would be the shortest description in which his character may be summed up.

As one devoted to poetry he had a love for flowers and in his time the College garden was the best in the town. He carried his love of flowers to the end of his life. In a letter to an old pupil written from Kotagiri when he was verging on his eightieth year, he says:—

“Thanks to your kind enquiry as to my health. It is still very good, everything considered, and I can enjoy life in this excellent climate with a large and beautiful garden full of lovely flowers.

“I am sorry that I cannot at present send you a photograph of myself. I had only two, and one of them I sent at his request to the late Professor Max Müller. I will remember your wish when I have one to spare.

Yours sincerely
Ralph T. H. Griffith

In the same letter occurs the following passage:—

“I take very great interest in the careers of my old pupils and am happy to see that many of them are occupying high and responsible positions in the service of the Government.”

Well may his grateful pupils idolize their past master.

When he retired from the service, his pupils, friends, and admirers raised a fund to perpetuate his memory. The late lamented Syed Mahmood, then in the zenith of his official eminence, was the life and soul of that movement. Mr. Mahmood was a pupil of Mr. Griffith before he went out to England as a

State-scholar to complete his education in the University of Cambridge. He got a committee formed at Allahabad to raise subscriptions and himself contributed a handsome donation of Rs. 1,000. The committee issued an appeal to the people from which the following extract may now be quoted here:—

“The committee beg to invite all the old pupils and friends of the learned scholar, as also all admirers of the Sanskrit language to come forward and co-operate with them in raising the requisite funds, in honour of a gentleman who during a long and distinguished career, while entertaining a deep but unostentatious sympathy with our countrymen, has nobly done all in his power to promote the study of our ancient Literature and Philosophy and by his excellent translation of the Ramayan and other poems has rendered the poetical imagination and moral refinements of the ancient East accessible to European readers unacquainted with the Oriental classics.

“It has been determined that the proposed memorial should take the form of an endowment for scholarships and medals for students pursuing the study of Sanskrit in the Benares College. The committee are of opinion that a sum of Rs. 10,000 be raised and invested in Government securities for this purpose.

“It cannot be denied that at the present time our ancient classics like other ancient Literatures, having ceased to be the practical means of earning livelihood, require large and liberal endowments to keep them alive, so that while doing nothing but our bounden duty in honour of Mr. Griffith's eminent services, we shall in establishing the proposed Memorial have advanced the cause of encouraging the languages and learning of the Rishis and Munis of ancient India.”

The pupils and friends of Mr. Griffith at Benares followed the example of the Allahabad committee and in response to this appeal, held a meeting at Benares. The subscriptions raised both at Allahabad and Benares were made over to the University of Allahabad, which accepted the trust of the Fund. In the Allahabad University calendar we read the following words:—

“The ‘Griffith Memorial Fund’ shall consist of Rs. 6,329-4-4, already realised for the purpose of

establishing and maintaining a Memorial of Mr. R. T. H. Griffith, M. A., C. I. E., together with such further sum as may hereafter from time to time be collected for the said purpose."

It will be seen from the above that provision was made at the time to add further sums to the fund. That amount was raised at the time of Mr. Griffith's retirement from

the service. Now is the occasion to pay our last debt to the illustrious deceased. The originally proposed amount of Rs. 10,000 was not raised. May not his pupils and admirers once more come forward and complete the commemoration of Ralph T. H. Griffith?

ADITYARAM BHATTACHARYA.

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

[Folklore is a comparatively new science. What is now considered as its working definition is that given by Mr. Gomme. His definition of the science is—"the science which treats of the survivals of archaic beliefs and customs in modern ages." His divisions of the materials on which this science is based are: (1) *Traditional Narratives*: (a) Folk-tales, (b) Hero-tales, (c) Ballads and Songs, (d) Place Legends; (2) *Traditional Customs*: (a) Local customs, (b) Festival customs, (c) ceremonial customs, (d) Games; (3) *Superstitions and Beliefs*: (a) Witchcraft, (b) Astrology, (c) Superstitious Practices and Fancies; (4) *Folkspeech*: (a) Popular Sayings, (b) Popular Nomenclature, (c) Proverbs, (d) Jingle Rhymes, Riddles, &c.]

The task of the folklorist is to construct the philosophy of primitive man from his still surviving relics. It was not till after the beginning of the 19th century that the value of folklore for the elucidation of the social history of mankind became apparent to thinkers, and its systematic study seriously began. The brothers Grimm in Germany were the first to study folk-tales scientifically. It has since been found that the history of a story is often more interesting and more instructive than the history of a campaign. The literature of folklore has already attained vast proportions. The library of folklore and folk-tales actually extends to thousands of volumes. In Europe and America there are many Folklore Societies, and many journals devoted to the science. So widely popular have folklore studies become in France that a special congress of its students was held at Paris during the great Exposition of 1889. However puerile or absurd a folk-tale may at first appear, it is really a fit subject for scientific investigation and capable of

yielding scientific results. We in India, however, have left even the collection of folk-tales to be done by foreigners for the most part, considering these stories to be unworthy the attention of so metaphysical a race as ourselves. But we must, if we want to survive, take our place by the side of the progressive races of the world in all departments of scientific study and research. The writer of the *FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN* is simply contributing materials for the folklorist. Their study must be left to other hands.

There may be others who may undertake the task of accumulating similar materials in different parts of India. These would-be collectors of folk-tales may take the Grimms' method of editing as their canon: 'our first aim in collecting these stories has been exactness and truth. We have added nothing of our own, have embellished no incident or feature of the story, but have given its substance just as we ourselves received it. It will, of course, be understood that the mode of telling and carrying out of particular details is principally due to us, but we have striven to retain everything that we knew to be characteristic, that in this respect also we might leave the collection the many-sidedness of nature'.

"The Grimms early found a startling similarity in the substance of these stories, and it only remained for later workers to discover the same identities when the comparison was extended far beyond the range of Aryan affinities. It was found that certain incidents, plots, and characteristics occurred everywhere—as the ill-treatment of the youngest son or daughter, who is eventually successful, and is often the heir; the substitution of a false bride for the true; the abduction of a bride by a youthful hero, and the pursuit by

her giant (or supernatural) father, who is outwitted by cunning; a supernatural husband or wife, who is for some cause obliged to abandon a human mate; forbidden chambers, and the disasters that follow from their being opened; descents into the world of gloom, and the danger of eating there; husband and wife forbidden to see each other or name each other's names; the souls of the dead entering animal forms; and the interchange of kindly offices, as if on equal terms, between men and beasts." Ed., M. R.]

1. THE STORY OF THE SEVEN PRINCES.

IN days gone by, long long ago, there was a king who had seven sons, all very brave, handsome and well-educated. They were all greatly loved by their father and were always treated with equal love. The old king, who was a wise man, never showed any undue preference of one to another, but distributed his love evenly amongst them all. They were dressed alike, equipped alike, and received the same allowances; and when they had grown up, separate palaces were assigned for their residence, which were built on one and the same plan and were all richly furnished. In fact if one saw one house it was as good as seeing the rest, so exact was the uniformity which prevailed in them all. Under such impartial and just treatment the princes lived very happily and loved one other dearly.

When they had reached marriageable age, the good king sent ambassadors all over the world to search for them seven brides of equally distinguished beauty, talents and birth. The messengers of the king went all over the world, saw many princesses, but failed to find seven such brides. At last they all returned to the king and, prostrating themselves before His Majesty, said:—"Your most august Majesty, we have wandered over the *saptadvipa* (seven-islanded) world, crossed vast seas and high mountains, seen many kingdoms and empires, have been to courts as well as to cottages, but nowhere could we find seven brides of the same accomplishments, same qualifications, same temper and same beauty. In fact it is an impossibility to get brides for

the princes worthy of them." When the king heard that the messengers had returned unsuccessful, he was greatly annoyed and perturbed. The grand vizier, who was a very sagacious statesman, finding that the king was becoming despondent and gloomy, cogitated in his mind to find some means to cure him of his melancholy, and hit upon the following plan to effect his purpose. He went up to the king and making a deep bow said with his palms joined:—"Your Majesty need not be so very anxious over the matter. Surely it is impossible to get seven such brides for the princes as Your Majesty would have, but when *tadbir* (human effort) fails wise men consign the matter to *taqdir* (destiny). Let your Majesty call the princes, and ask them whether they agree to select their partners by chance. If they do, then the matter can be very easily settled." The princes were at once sent for, and asked about it, and the princes, to the king's great surprise and relief, agreed. Whereupon they were conducted to the highest tower of the fort which overlooked the whole city and many a mile beyond. Then seven bows and seven arrows were placed before the princes and they were told to shoot in any direction they chose; each binding himself to marry a girl out of the house whereupon his arrow should fall, be she the daughter of a prince or peasant, noble or plebeian. Then the princes taking up the bows, shot arrows in various directions and all the arrows excepting that of the youngest prince fell on the houses of respectable and noble men. But the arrow shot by the youngest went out of the city and out of sight. Servants ran in all directions for the arrow and after much search found it sticking to the branch of a tree, on which was sitting a—she-monkey.

Great was the sorrow and regret of the king when he found that the youngest prince's arrow had made such an unfortunate descent. So he and the courtiers all advised the prince to try another chance, as a monkey cannot be

an object of human conjugal affection. But the prince most respectfully said:—"Father, all the other princes, my brothers, have got good and handsome wives, for such was their destiny. I also took my chance and I have got what was destined for me. I do not complain; I am not envious. Do not advise me to break the solemn pledge which I took before I shot my arrow. Do not ask me to take another chance. Our lives are like grass, we come and go like shadows but the word is eternal and remains for ever. Let me not break my word. I know the monkey is no object of marriage, but know ye all that I shall never marry. I will go and fetch this monkey and bringing her home tend and foster her all my life." Having said so, he went out of the city and brought the monkey home.

All the six princes were married with great *eclat* and pomp. The city was all ablaze with lights, and fireworks, and sweet music discoursed in all the streets. The citizens decorated their houses with mango and plantain leaves, the merchants painted their shops anew; and exhibited their richest stores to the admiring gaze of the spectators who crowded the streets. There was merriment and rejoicing all over the city, and all were happy and cheerful. The youngest prince alone remained in his palace rather melancholy and sad. He had already placed a diamond collar round the neck of the monkey, and placing her on a chair covered with a rich velvet cushion addressed her thus:—"Poor monkey, thou art as uncared for as I am in this day of great rejoicing. But I shall make thy life happy, thy confinement a pleasant one. Do not pull so hard at the golden chain that binds thee, for this is thy only place of safety. Poor creature! art thou hungry?" Saying this he placed a golden dish full of most delicious fruits before her and bade her eat them. Thus was he wont to talk with her and pass his days neglected by all on account of his choice, which some called folly, others madness and others obstinacy.

The king daily took counsel with his viziers and nobles as to the means of curing the prince of his strange infatuation and bringing him to his senses, and inducing him to marry in some suitable family. But to all the advice of his father, brothers, councillors and friends the prince would invariably reply, "I have given my word; the word of a man is more durable than mountains, and dearer than wives and worlds." Thus months and months passed away and there were no signs of the prince's changing his mind. On the contrary he appeared daily to become more and more fond of his monkey. The little creature also appeared as if she understood the prince, and showed her gratitude and love by every sign by which the lower animals can express their feelings.

At last the king one day called together all his seven sons and addressed them as follows:—"Dear children, I have seen you now all settled in your new abodes and living happily. Even you, my youngest, seem happy with your strange companion. You know, children, the happiness of a father consists in that of his sons and daughters. I wish to see my daughters-in-law and give them some presents." The eldest son coming forward said with great reverence:—"Your Majesty would confer the greatest happiness, if you condescended to dine with us to-morrow." The king gladly accepted the invitation. Great were the preparations that the eldest prince made for the royal reception and richly was the princess dressed, and much pains did the tire-women take to make her appear at her best. The king came at the proper hour to the palace of the prince, saw all the arrangements, and was greatly pleased with the entertainment provided for him by his son and his daughter-in-law. Then taking them both by the hands, he presented the princes precious and costly jewels, dresses and ornaments, and gave them, what was greater than all the wealth of the world, sound and wholesome advice as to how to live

happily and long: When he had stayed there long enough, he returned to his palace.

The next day, he was invited by his second son to his palace, where also he was equally well regaled, if not better; and came out equally pleased. Thus did he visit one after another his six sons, and everywhere was he received with great respect, love and splendour by his sons and daughters-in-law. Now the turn came of the last son—the lord of the monkey—to invite his father. The poor prince was greatly troubled: for how could he invite his parent to a house whose mistress was a monkey, though that monkey was a more gentle, docile and affectionate creature than many a high-born lady? So when he returned home, he went up to his pet and taking her up in his arms he addressed her saying:—"Poor speechless partner of my sorrows and hopes, tell me what I shall do now! Oh! how I wish that thou hadst a tongue to comfort me in this difficulty. All my brothers have shown their houses and their wives to father, what shall I show him when he comes here? I am even afraid of inviting him. How am I already ridiculed by all, and how much more ridicule will they heap upon me when I invite my father and present thee to him as my choice!" Thus did the prince go on for a long time talking with the monkey. He had unconsciously fallen into the habit of addressing her as if she were a rational creature. Nor could he have found a more patient and attentive listener than she, for she would sit with the gravest and most silent decorum all the while he poured forth his complaints, sighs and rhapsodies. Nor did he ever find her remiss in her diligence to please him, and he had often wondered at the extraordinary sagacity and instinct of the animal. But what was his astonishment when the monkey said:—"Do not grieve or be cast down. Go and invite your father as your brothers have done, but invite him with all his courtiers, army, and servants. Do as I entreat you." The Prince wondering and exclaiming, "Lord,

what mystery is this!" went out and invited the king, with his courtiers and army. The courtiers and the army were full of curiosity to know what the prince could mean by inviting them all; and much speculation was rife as to his motive, but all were unanimous in thinking that it was another example of his folly and that they would have another joke at his expense.

The Prince was sitting alone moody and thinking what to do next; when suddenly he heard a noise, and looking up saw that the monkey was calling him by her dumb gestures. The Prince said:—"Well my Shahzadi (for he used to call her jocularly by that name), you have brought me to a nice pass. I have invited the king and all at your bidding; and now where can I get men or money enough to give them a fitting welcome? Now tell me what I should do. Why don't you speak, have you lost your tongue?" But the monkey was as dumb as ever and the prince was almost persuaded to believe that he must have dreamt that the monkey had spoken. Then the prince again implored her to speak but without any effect, when he saw her holding a bit of broken pottery in her hands and earnestly making him signs to take it. The prince coming up to her took the broken bit and saw to his greatest amazement the following words written in a most beautiful feminine hand on it:—"Do not fret at my silence. Go to the place whence you brought me, and throw this piece into the hollow trunk of the tree and wait for the reply."

The Prince hesitated for some moments as to whether he should comply with the written reply of the Shahzadi monkey, but at last made up his mind to do as requested and see what it would come to. He no longer doubted that there was some mystery behind it, and he hoped to solve it by following the direction of his pet. Though he more than once doubted whether his Shahzadi could be

of any material help to him, he did not see any harm in going to the tree with the broken bit of pottery. So taking it up, he went out of the city, and after some search found out the tree. It was a remarkable tree—a large ancient Banyan many centuries old whose branches and pendent roots spread in a circle over half a mile in diameter and whose leaves and pillars formed many curious arbours and bowers. The trunk though hollow within was of the extraordinary thickness of a hundred yards in circumference. The prince going up to it, threw the bit into the hollow space and awaited the fruition of events. After some minutes a very beautiful lady of angelic form dressed in green came out of it, and asked the prince to follow her in, as the princess the queen of the fairies required his personal presence. The prince climbed up the tree, entered the hollow and after groping in the dark was soon ushered amidst a blaze of brilliant light into a most picturesque and wonderful garden, at the end of which there was an imperial palace. The trees were all of living gold, and the leaves of sapphire and precious stones. They were all planted in rows and between them flowed streams of water of such a sweet scent that one might mistake it for *amrita* (nectar). It was so transparent and pure that even the rubies and diamonds in the bed of the stream and the wonderful fishes of silver moving therein were perfectly visible as if depicted in a mirror. *Bulbuls*, *koils*, nightingales and other singing birds kept up a perpetual music. A pleasing wind fraught with perfume blew through the alcoves and groves made by the trees. Even the light which illumined this underground world was of a strange and unique kind.

Every five minutes it changed from one hue to another and the prince at first thought that he was witnessing some wonderful display of fireworks. At the end of the garden there was a large tank whose waters were of golden

hue and rose into the air in many a fountain and spout, and spread a pleasant coolness and fragrance all around. On the northern side of the fountain was a balcony of the whitest marble; it was a balcony having twelve doors called *Baradari*, to which the prince was conducted by a flight of stairs all of gold. Within the room the sight which met his wondering gaze filled him with inexpressible awe and astonishment. It was furnished with such taste and elegance as he had never before seen or imagined; but the greatest wonder of all which riveted his sight was a lady of incomparable and unapproachable beauty, sitting on a *masnad*. The prince remained long absorbed in admiration and contemplation of the beauty of this lady and did not dare announce his message. The lady beckoned him to take his seat and then in accents whose silver melody thrilled through his veins said:—"Prince, I know your message; be not anxious. Go home and you will find everything ready by to-morrow morning to receive your royal father and company. I have ordered my servants to do everything." The Prince with a deep bow returned with greater amazement than before.

When he reached his palace, he gave an account of his subterranean journey to the Shahzadi. All the night he had no sleep, for he was thinking, over and over again, of the gorgeous scenes he had witnessed, and the beautiful lady whom he had seen. When it was morning he went out to see whether the Fairy had fulfilled her promise or not; but as he issued out of his palace a wondrous sight met his view. Where the night before there was nothing, now it teemed with life and bustle. There stood two long colonnades of trees stretching from his palace to the palace of the king. Rich and mellow fruits hung on the trees; and fresh streams of water flowed on both sides. A costly carpet of the most beautiful velvet embroidered with gold and silk was spread the whole length of the

vay from the palace of the prince to that of his father. At short intervals there rose triumphal arches, emblazoned with appropriate mottoes and devices; while a row of various-coloured flags, banners, &c., fluttered and waved in the balmy air. Under the shades of the trees there were stalls and shops, where fruits, scents, sherbets, &c., were being sold; while on both sides were pitched tents and *canats* within which went on diverse kinds of *tanashas* and amusements. Here and there might be seen groups of men, women, and children playing or listening to music and dancing. The farther the prince proceeded, the greater and more pleasing were the surprises that burst on his view, so much so that he was well-nigh bewildered at what he saw and heard.

Then he returned and entered his palace where fresh wonders called forth his admiration. The house which an hour before he had left almost silent was now all activity and noise. Servants and lackeys in rich dresses, passed and repassed the halls, corridors and rooms. Large preparations were being made for receiving a company of ten thousand persons or so. Golden dishes and plates groaning under the weight of the nicest foods exhaled sweet odour all through the house. The preparations were all on a scale befitting gods and peris. Grand chandeliers of the purest quartz and precious stones hung from the roofs, and bands of musicians played delightful airs on various instruments, stringed and vocal. Here and there hung rich festoons of flowers, and filled the whole palace with a delightful perfume.

In the meantime, as the Prince was observing all these busy and wonderful preparations, a servant in gorgeous livery came running in and announced that the king with his courtiers, &c., was coming. The prince at once hastened out and conducted his father and other guests to the Diamond Hall, which was the most wonderfully decorated of all. There a sumptuous

repass was served to them; and when the feast was over, the prince told the guests to take away with them all the golden dishes and the diamond-cups in which they had taken their food. Their admiration grew great at this unparalleled liberality of the prince.

Then the king addressing his son said:—"Dear Prince, I do not wish to know whence you got all these riches which far surpasses all that I possess; nor am I anxious to know who prepared these delicious dishes the equal of which I had never tasted before in my memory, but I am desirous of seeing the partner you have chosen for your life, so that I may bless her." The prince bowing low and saying "your commands shall be obeyed," went into the inner apartments in search of the monkey. He had feared this crowning ridicule all the while, but what could he do? he must show his monkey to them all. In fact the king had hit upon the stratagem of visiting his sons, as a means of curing the youngest one of his obstinacy and opening his eyes to the folly which he was committing in sticking to the monkey.

The prince went slowly towards the room where the Shahzadi was kept; and coming to it, opened the doors: when a dazzling lustre almost struck him blind, and the whole apartment was a blaze of light. In the midst of this luminous flood, and on a gorgeous throne sat the Peri whom the prince had seen in his visit to the tree. The Prince looked on every side for his monkey but it was nowhere. The Peri seeing the bewilderment of the prince said:—"Prince, since I saw you last in the cave, I have thought of nothing else but you. I have sent away the Shahzadi monkey and come to offer my hand to you. Do you accept me?" The Prince hearing the fate of his pet, shed bitter tears and said most angrily, his voice choked with sobs:—"Cruel lady, what have you done? I have plighted my faith to my monkey and do you ask me to forsake her and break my solemn pledge for a pretty

face like yours? I had a better idea of you, when I first saw you, but I now find I was mistaken; Ah me!" Then the Peri with a smile, which the prince could not understand, said:—"Prince, if my beauty does not move you, let at least considerations of gratitude have some influence with you. See what pains I have taken to prepare this feast for your father and guests, a feast which no human being has ever enjoyed before and which is peculiar to our race of beings. Prince, be mine, and you shall have all the riches and the pleasures of the world at your command." The prince indignantly replied:—"Lady, I never asked these things of you, nor do I know what infernal plot is this to deprive me of my monkey. Restore me my Shahzadi, and I will serve you my whole life as your slave to pay off this heavy debt." Having said this the prince knelt down before the Peri. Then the Peri coming down from her throne and with a smile of ineffable sweetness, respect and love, said:—"Prince, behold in me your Shahzadi. I had taken the form of the monkey to test your faith and sincerity. My monkey's skin lies in that corner." And the prince looked in the direction pointed out, and saw in fact the skin of the Shahzadi monkey. O, who can now describe the happiness of the prince?

Then the Peri, taking hold of the prince's hand, raised him to the throne and both seated themselves on it. The Peri then thrice repeated "arise, arise, arise," and the throne rose into the air and floated to the Diamond Hall where the guests were assembled. The Prince then presented the Shahzadi to his father. The astonishment of the king and the guests might well be imagined. Those who had come to see a monkey and to laugh at the prince, now stood dumb and confounded. The king gave more than usual presents to his new daughter-in-law, and the whole country was soon ringing with praises of the truthfulness of the prince and the beauty of the Peri.

The other princes on seeing the good fortune of their youngest brother became envious, and conspired how to encompass his ruin. So on day they said to the prince:—"Brother your wife is a Peri belonging to a race of beings proverbial for their fickleness and want of purpose. We have heard that you have got the skin which the Peri had assumed before. Why do you keep it with you? God know when the Peri may change her mind and again become a monkey. Better destroy it." The Prince thought over this for sometime, and falling into the snare, took out the skin, and going to a blazing furnace threw it in.

At once there arose loud screams of "I burn I burn, I am roasted, I am roasted," and the Peri came out in the midst of a column of fire and rushed out of sight crying as before. The Prince was struck with horror and alarm and ran home to see what was the matter. The sight which met him confirmed his saddest misgivings, and he found that the whole palace, the Bazar, and every thing which the Peri had brought with her, had vanished with her disappearance.

Then the prince began to bemoan his folly and misfortune. The king and the minister consoled him, saying:—"What love can there exist between the son of a man and the daughter of the air? You must not grieve for her she was no human being; she was of the air aerial, and has vanished into it. Leave off weeping for her." But the prince was disconsolate and would not listen to any advice. The king fearing that the prince in his excess of sorrow might lay violent hands upon himself or run away, stationed a strong guard to watch over his proceedings and movements. Thus the prince became a prisoner in his own house and chafed at the captivity which prevented him from searching out the Peri.

One day, however, he gave the slip to his guards and went out of the city. He repaired straight to the old Banian tree hoping to find some trace of his Peri there; but when he

reached the spot there was no tree standing, but instead a large heap of ashes. So he went away from that place weeping and striking his forehead. For days and days he went on, eating the fruits of the trees, drinking water from the pools and sleeping under the canopy of heaven and crying, Shahzadi, Shahzadi. He crossed large forests, and travelled farther and farther and was very sore of feet and weary of spirit. At last one day he came upon a man who was standing on one leg and was crying:—"Once have I seen thee, appear once more." The Prince saw that the man was in equally bad plight with him; his body was emaciated, his eyes had sunken into their orbits, his limbs had become wiry, his unkempt hair and unshaven beard hung in bushy growth above and around: in fact he was a living skeleton. Struck with his appearance, as well as the words he uttered, the prince asked him to tell him his story. The man replied:—"Know, O kind-hearted traveller, that I am the son of a king. I had come out to hunt, and had straggled away from my retinue, when I saw a very beautiful and handsome lady passing this way. She was all a blaze of fire, and was crying:—"I burn, I burn; I am roasted, I am roasted." Since then have I been standing here in this sad state." Saying this the man heaved a deep sigh and cried out:—"Once have I seen thee, once more appear." Then the Prince said:—"Ah me, I am the unfortunate wretch who has burned that lady. I am the unlucky husband of that person. What way did she take?" The man pointed him out the direction. The Prince was about to go away, when he said:—"Traveller, I shall always pray that you may succeed in your search. But when you recover her, kindly show her once more to me. And that you may better remember me, take this iron rod as a token. It has this peculiar virtue that it obeys the commands of its possessor. Tell it to beat any person, and it will at once go wherever that person

may be, and pound him to a jelly. It might be of great help to you in times of danger." The Prince took the rod, and thanking the man for his kindness went his way.

For months and months again he travelled through dreary and dangerous deserts raising echoes through the air of "Shahzadi, Shahzadi." He crossed vast tracts of burning sand and the soles of his feet were all a heap of blister and sore. After suffering incalculable hardships and troubles, he saw a grove of trees—an oasis in the midst of that burning marl. He entered it, parched with thirst, and refreshed himself at a cool and murmuring stream. He sat down there for a while, when most delightful music fell on his ears as if some one was playing on a guitar. He went in search of the musician, and found him in the middle of the grove. He was a good-looking youth of thirty or so and was absorbed in playing on the guitar. So sweet was the music, that birds and beasts had thronged round him in a circle and stood transfixed as if they were pictures on canvass, without motion, without even so much as breathing. All were in a trance. When the young man finished his music he heaved a deep sigh and groaned out loudly:—"Once have I seen thee, once more appear." The prince was struck with this exclamation and asked him who he was. The musician said:—"I am the son of a merchant. As I was passing by this way, I saw a most beautiful lady rushing by, who was all ablaze and crying:—"I burn, I burn, I am roasted, I am roasted." Since then I am here. It is about six months ago." Then the prince discovered himself to the merchant's son and told him the object of his travels, telling him that he was the husband of that lady. Then the musician gave him the guitar which had the wonderful property of charming every living thing that heard it. The prince thanking him, and promising him to show him his Peri if he succeeded in his enterprise, took his leave and went forward.

Many insurmountable obstacles had the courageous prince to encounter and many difficulties to cope with, but still his resolution never wavered, nor did his brave heart ever falter for a moment. He pushed on through dangers which would have daunted the most valiant, and hardships before which heroes themselves would have quailed with fear. After many months he came to a mountain whose tall peaks kissed the sky. His path lay over the mountain, whose precipitous sides and deep chasms sent a thrill of terror through the hearts of the beholders. Perpetual snow covered its top with a mantle of white. The prince began to ascend the mountain, whose slippery surface gave but little foot-hold to him. But still he went on till he reached a very high peak where he heard some one crying in a very plaintive voice, "once have I seen thee, once more appear." The prince looked all round to find the person who was making this sad moan in such a place. But he could not see any one, though he found the spot whence the sound was proceeding. Then, raising his voice he said aloud :—"Whoever makest this sad lament in this solitary place, show thyself to a brother in affliction." No sooner had he made this exclamation, than he saw before him a youth pale and haggard and uttering the dolorous lament. On being asked who he was, he said :—"About a year ago, I saw a very beautiful lady, all in a flame, pass by this way. She was crying, 'I burn, I burn, I am roasted, I am roasted.' Since then have I been here crying and waiting for her." The prince said :—"I am that unfortunate wretch who has burned and roasted her. I am now going to find her and cure her if she be alive." The man of the mountain presenting a cap to the prince said :—"Prince, take this cap; it has the wonderful property of making one invisible, when put on, 'as' you saw me just now. It might be of some service to you in your travels." The prince accepted the gift,

and thanking him for the favor went forward.

Higher and higher did he ascend the mountain and more and more difficult became the passage. The cold began to pierce him through and through, he shivered all over, his blood was freezing and his breathing becoming short and difficult. Enduring all these sufferings with patience, he rose up and up till he came to a temple. It was a building of snow, the sides were of snow, the pillars of snow, the shafts, the roofs, all were of snow, solid and compact. He entered it and the inside was warm and pleasant. Within the room was Yogi immersed in trance, and seated on the air many feet above the ground, without any support. A halo of light surrounded his head and his whole body was resplendent. The prince stood with joined palms, with awe and reverence, in deep adoration of the holy saint. After some hours the Yogi opened his eyes and looking straight on the prince said "Young man, I know thy history. The object of thy search is the daughter of the king of the Peris, whose mansion is on the top of the Kor-kaf (Mount Caucasus). She is still alive but very ill. Take this pot of balsam, it has the virtue of healing the most dangerous burns. Take also this pair of wooden slippers which will transport thee wherever thou likest." The prince took the pot of balsam and the wooden slippers with many thanks and then wearing the latter desired to reach the land of the king of the Peris, when, behold! he at once rose high in the air, and was carried with incalculable speed through the atmosphere to the region of the Peris. The prince then alighted outside the city, in a lonely and out of the way place.

Then putting on his cap he entered the city and began to see the wonders of fairyland. Such were the virtues of the cap that no one saw him, but he saw all. The city was grand and glorious, laid out in a regular plan. The people were a strange and queer sort of

individuals, who, though having the outlines of men, were not exactly human. They were all very fair and good-looking. The prince went on observing all, and came to the palace. As he was invisible, he entered boldly by the main gate, and went straight to the inner apartments where the Peri, his wife, was. He found her stretched on a bed, feeble and ill.

The prince then came out of the city and dressing himself in the garb of a holy saint took off his cap, and began to play on the guitar. The music rolled on and on over the waves of the air, and sent a thrill of delight throughout the whole city. The fairy people all rushed out to hear this enchanting harmony. The news of the wonderful performance on the guitar by a yogi soon reached the Peri-king. The king came to the spot to verify the report and was charmed with the music. Then falling on his knees before the prince the king of the Peris said:—"Holy Saint, vouchsafe to hear the prayers of thy humble servant. My daughter is lying on a sick-bed, burned by some accursed son of man. Cure her, O mighty Saint, for she is the light of my eyes, and the hope of my old age. Cure her, and I promise to grant whatever boon your holiness may ask." The supposed yogi replied:—"King, we are servants of God and do not enter the threshold of any creature. Bring thy daughter here, so that I may pray for her and cure her." The king of the Peris said again most humbly:—"Most holy Sir, my daughter is too ill to move. It would be her death to bring her here. So condescend to accompany me to my humble dwelling and bless it with the dust of thy sacred feet." When the prince was sufficiently entreated to keep up appearances of his being a very pious and holy saint, he at last agreed to accompany the king, and was carried with great honor, in a golden chair borne by the Peris to the palace of the king. He was carried to the female apartments and was conducted to the room where his wife was. She was sleeping, when the prince

arrived; so he took out the balsam and told the waiting women to apply it on the burns. No sooner was it applied than she sat up on her bed, perfectly cured. At once the cry went forth through the city that the great yogi had performed a miracle.

As the Peri saw the prince she at once recognised him, and was going to call him by his name, when he signed to her not to reveal their relationship lest it might bring on trouble. When the king heard that his daughter was cured, great was his delight and gratitude, and he said:—"Holy Sir, ask any boon." The prince, who had waited for this moment, said:—"Most mighty king, grant me thy daughter in marriage. This is my prayer." The king was enraged at the audacity of the holy mendicant, and called out most furiously to his attendants:—"Seize that presumptuous wretch and throw him into prison. His insolence has cancelled all the gratitude which I owed him." As soon as the officers came to arrest him the prince put on his cap and became invisible. In the meantime he ordered his rod to give a sound thrashing to the false king and his courtiers. At once flew up the obedient rod, and began to fall in heavy blows on the backs of all. Great was the consternation of the fairies on thus being thrashed by a rod moved by no visible hands; and the king at last supplicated for mercy, saying:—"Great saint, have mercy on us; we have erred through ignorance. Show thyself to us and I solemnly promise that thou shalt get whatever thou desirest." Then the prince made himself visible and said:—"I regret that I had to use this iron argument to convince thee of my power and strength. Now give me thy daughter with three of the most beautiful damsels of thy realm to attend her and the costliest diamonds and jewels from thy treasury as a penalty for thy breach of promise. Give me also a flying car which Peris only know how to make, and let it transport us to my father's kingdom." Then the king of the Peris at once brought his daughter attended by the

three fairies and seated on a gorgeous throne. Then the prince also sat on the throne and they flew back through the air to their country. He stopped on his way to meet the Yogi and other friends who had helped him with the cap, the guitar and the rod. They were all very much pleased at seeing the prince return with his Peri. At the request of the prince, all of them except the Yogi, accompanied him to his kingdom, where they were married with

great pomp to the three Peris who attended the princess; and they all lived happily.

What became of the envious brothers? When the king their father came to know of it, he was very much enraged and disinherited them all, and would have thrown them into dungeons; but the youngest prince interceded for them and procured their pardon, and at his request suitable pensions were settled on them.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

SECRET SOCIETIES IN CHINA

PERHAPS very few of our countrymen have any detailed knowledge of the Secret Societies in China; but readers of newspapers are well acquainted with the name of the Boxers in connection with the memorable Boxer rebellion in 1900. Though the rank and file of the rebellious army largely consisted of the members of these Secret Societies, yet it could not be said that it was an organisation purely composed of those bodies; it was a national movement, a thoroughly organised patriotic movement, against the foreigners in China, headed and officered by some princes of the royal blood, amongst whom Prince Tuan was one of the prominent figures. Besides these princes, there were many high officials, who openly joined the movement.

The question is why princes of the royal blood and high officials joined the members of these so-called notorious Secret Societies? The answer is very simple. Because the Chinese Government and the people had been constantly harassed, day after day, by the Foreign Ministers of the Peking Legation, some demanding certain territorial concessions, some certain special commercial privileges, and

others perhaps pressing them heavily, demanding capital punishment for certain high officials as well as for payment of heavy indemnities on account of some foreigners having been murdered by some unknown persons, and so on. Besides these, there arose some other complications in inflicting adequate punishment on Chinese Christian Converts who had been convicted of crime, in the same way as on other criminals; because somehow or other foreign Missionaries stood in the way or rather interfered with the internal administration of justice. This state of things was going on for years. Owing to all these acts of high-handedness, the patient, passive Chinese grew impatient and at last broke out in open rebellion. But it appears, the Chinese Government itself was guilty of duplicity. On the one hand it was outwardly remonstrating with the leaders of the rebellious army, but on the other it had a heartfelt sympathy with the movement. The Government pretended that it was helpless and could not cope with the popular rising, while it afforded every facility to this people's movement. In fact most of the soldiers of the imperial army joined the people. The whole blame is, on

course, thrown on the Empress Dowager, Hze Shi, by the foreigners, some describing her as "blood-thirsty," some calling her a "tigress," and others "a tiger's soul in a woman's body," &c. But according to some impartial foreigners, there is no proof of Her Majesty being at the bottom of this rising. She was simply helpless, her influence within the palace



THE EMPRESS DOWAGER OF CHINA.

compound was not sufficient to cope with the angry and excited people outside. She had no chance of personally seeing the leaders of the movement, and whatever orders she used to pass on the matter, were transmitted through the anti-foreign officials; who either modified them or never transmitted them at all, if they were against the movement. It is true, Her Majesty, the Empress Dowager, had to yield as regards certain items in the popular demands, in those days of trouble; but that

was simply to get the leaders of the rising gradually under control.

When the infuriated Boxers marched towards Peking and seized the Legation, the first victim was the German minister, Von Kettler, who was brutally murdered; and this murder was followed by numerous other murders, the atrocity and cruelty of which were of an unspeakable character.* In this critical time, Her majesty, the Empress Dowager, hastened from her summer palace to the winter palace of Peking and exercised her great influence from behind to prevent the murder of the foreigners of the Legation. It is an admitted fact that had she not exercised her great influence over the infuriated Boxers, the foreign members of the Legation would have been killed to a man and there would have been none left to tell the tale of this horrible affair; because the Legation is situated close to the city-walls, and was quite undefended. An English gentleman who was then at Peking, told me that "the Boxers acted in a half-hearted manner; if they liked they could easily have killed every one in the Legation."

There are Secret Societies in every town and in every village in China; in a big town, there would be probably half a dozen such societies, whilst there would perhaps be only one among two or three small villages combined. They are formed by selected, well-tried and influential members of the community. They often meet at night, invariably in a temple, and conduct their proceedings in a very confidential manner, and no member is supposed to divulge any secret. If any member of any such society is suspected of having divulged its confidential proceedings, he often meets his death as a penalty at the hands of the other members, and nobody can prove this in a law-court.

Once during my residence at Blamo, a European Police Inspector told me, that he had

* One Missionary Father remained crucified for three days before he died, and another's limbs were cut off and set on fire with petroleum, and so on.

got several reports of murder in the Chinese street of Bhamo, but failed to trace the culprits, though he tried his best. The report came to the Police confidentially, through the Burmese wives of the unfortunate victims, but the women dared not declare themselves openly as reporters, for fear of themselves being murdered like their husbands. The object of these societies, is to cultivate friendship and unity among the members and to afford mutual help, either pecuniary, or physical. These societies often assume a political character, when there is a need for it, for the country. Of course, there are black sheep in every fold and so there are some black-guards in these societies owing to whose indiscreet actions, sometimes disgrace is brought upon them. It is due to the actions of these notorious characters, that the officials of late have greatly checked the development of some of these societies and this check has been markedly noticed after the Boxer troubles. But on the whole, when managed by good, honest and patriotic leaders, they serve a very useful purpose for the country and its people.

If a man wants to become a member of any such society, he must apply at first to the headman, who is called in Chinese *Tha-ko*, or eldest brother. The *Tha-ko* serves a notice on other members calling a meeting in some temple. When all the old members have assembled therein, at a certain hour at night, the headman introduces the new man in a short preliminary speech. The candidate immediately stands up before the assembly, having his fists closed together in front, and bows down three times, which is in Chinese called *Khaw-Teo*. In response to this *Khaw-Teo* the whole assembly stand up and repeat the same to the new comer and ask each member to take his seat, saying *ch'in-chaw*, *chi'n-chaw*. It is against the rules of good breeding to take one's seat before others, while they are standing. Thus a few minutes are passed in exchange of courtesies by saying *ch'in-chaw*,

ch'in-chaw, or take your seat, please. Every one gradually lowers his body looking at the others to see whether they are about to take their seats or not. When all have taken their seats, the headman presents to the new member a Chinese *hookka*, holding it in his right hand, while in his left he holds an ignited paper wick, used in China as fire for smoking. These *hookka* and paper wick, are presented in such a way, that the fore-arms cross each other at right angles, in front of the person who is to be offered a smoke. The new member before accepting this kind offer, bends both his index fingers almost at right angles and fixing them against each other pulls them forcibly in opposite directions showing the sign of his firm adherence to the society. He then takes the *hookka* and smokes joyfully, while the other members present before him the fists of both hands close together with each thumb in a stiff erect position. This is supposed to be highly congratulatory and a sign of the highest praise, which could not otherwise be sufficiently expressed in words.

After this the *Tha-ko* begins to read the rules and regulations from a code-book, to every one of which the new member has to agree and conform strictly.

Some of the rules are as follows:

1. That commencing from this day I become a member of this society of mutual brotherhood.
2. That I solemnly and sincerely declare that I shall not divulge any of this Society's secrets. Should I happen to do so, I may be punished at the sweet will of our *Tha-ko*.
3. That henceforth I shall reckon each and every member of this society as my elder or younger brother, according to seniority in point of age, education and position.
4. That I shall henceforth regard the *Tha-ko* as my eldest brother and also consider him as my spiritual guide and hereby bind myself to obey his orders and act according to his instructions.

5. That I shall try to help any member of this society, either pecuniarily or bodily, whenever any such member is in need of such help. I shall not hesitate even to sacrifice my life, when necessary, to afford such help.

6. That whenever any member of this Society is accused in the criminal court of any offence, whether real or imaginary, I shall try my best to obtain his acquittal, either by myself standing as a witness in his favour or by inducing others to do so.

7. That I solemnly take a vow that I shall try to exterminate all the common enemies of the country conjointly with other members or separately.

8. That in case, any one of us meets his death in performing such duties, I shall help his bereaved family with money and personal labour if necessary.

9. That if in my presence any member of this Society is attacked or assaulted by other people, I shall immediately join my brother against his enemy. If need be, I shall not hesitate to behead our common enemy or enemies.

10. That if anybody inflicts injuries either on myself or on any other member of this Society, I shall not take rest until I take revenge to my full satisfaction.

11. That if I fail in the performance of my duties according to the rules of this Society, I shall be punished by the *Tha-ko* and other members.

After this, these most solemn vows are written on a piece of paper, and then it is burnt, and the ashes are mixed in wine poured into a cup and then this wine is offered to be drunk by the new member. He drinks it to confirm his solemn vows, because there is no better proof of sincerity than this. And again, the man, in order to produce further proof of his sincerity and the solemnity of his vows, pricks his finger with a needle and draws out a few drops of blood from the punctured spot, which he mixes with tea and drinks it at once and gives it to others to drink.

Three or four heavy swords are hung up close together, with such thin silk strings that they can hardly bear the weights of the weapons. The points of these swords are kept downward at a height of about five feet from the ground. These swords are not the usual swords used by the European or Indian Army Officers, but they are heavy swords which resemble the "Ramdao" of Bengal, used in sacrificing goats. The "Ramdao" of Bengal has a comparatively shorter handle than the Chinese swords, the handles of which are two or three cubits long. These swords were formerly used in China in fighting, and required to be wielded with both the hands.

The new member of this society is ordered to stand under these swords, keeping his neck almost in touch with the points. Then the *Tha-ko* takes a handful of rice in his hand and begins to murmur some *mantras* from some sacred books and throws the rice forcibly against the swords, which at once begin swinging in full force. If the man under the points of these swords gets frightened and shows signs of nervousness, it is presumed by the members of the society that he has no sincere heart and would not be able to keep the vows already taken by him. Consequently he is liable to be rejected by the Society.

Sometimes it may happen that accidentally one of the strings gives way and the sword suddenly falls on the neck or back of the man, wounding him grievously; if not causing instantaneous death. What would be the attitude of the assembly present there, in such a case? Would they show sympathy with the unfortunate victim? No, they would grow impatient and angry and condemn the unhappy man for his insincere heart. Their belief is that a sincere man never meets with such an accident. It is the "black-hearted rascals" that meet with such an accident. The whole assembly, instead of taking care of him, would drive him out then and there, if possible.



MR. FONG.

When a man honourably passes this peculiar sword ordeal, he is greeted with acclamations

of joy, and then a dinner is served. After this the *Tha-ko* gives him a new name and teaches him some secret signals of the society and then the meeting is dispersed.

There are at present in Tengyueh two such societies, one of which is called *T'ung Ch'in Kung*. The head of this society is one Mr. Fong.* The people call him Fong Kau or tall Fong, because he is several inches above six feet in height, which is unusual among Chinamen. He is a very "respectable man", having six wives. Mr. Fong was specially photographed by the writer for the MODERN REVIEW. The name of the other society is *Ch'in Chi Kung*. Formerly a Military General of Tengyueh was at the head of this body.

There may be different kinds of rules and regulations in different provinces, even in different societies, but I have stated above what I could gather from local sources.

TENGYUEH.

RAM LALL SIRCAR.

* After this article had been written I asked Mr. Fong whether he was still the head of the society. He denied it, saying he was connected with it formerly, but at present had left the society.

THE PURSUIT OF CHEMISTRY IN ANCIENT INDIA

THERE is a general and wide-spread belief even among the well-informed classes in India and abroad that the Hindus of old were an easy-going, somnolent people, given to day-dreams and at their best lost in contemplation, thinking more of the hereafter and taking very little interest in the affairs and concerns of this world. A more extensive and thorough study of the various phases of activity in the intellectual life of ancient India

would go to prove that this belief is not supported by real facts. It is now generally conceded that ancient India was the cradle of the mathematical sciences; at any rate the science of numbers was materially improved upon and elaborated in India. Max Müller says:—

"If we remember that we owe the nought to that country (India), mathematicians will be ready to confess that this was one of the greatest discoveries

the history of mathematics and of all the sciences that depend on mathematics, one of the greatest benefits, in fact, that the East has conferred on the West."

Still it may be urged that the aptitude of the Hindu for mathematics only argues his innate love for the abstract. Can it be established that the Indians were ever given to the pursuit of the physical and experimental sciences in general?

The deeper one dives into the subject the more is one filled with wonder and admiration. In the *Chhândogya-upanishad* we find among the various branches of knowledge enumerated by Nārada, the *Rāsi* (the science of numbers), the *Nidhi* (the science of time), the *Nakshatra-Vidyā* (astronomy) and the *Śarpa* and *Devajñāna-Vidyā* (the science of serpents or poisons and the sciences of the genii, such as the making of perfumes, dancing, playing and other fine arts). Coming down a little later we find in the *Kāmasūtra* of Vātsāyana sixty-four "kalas" or arts and sciences distinctly referred to, which extend into the curricula of liberal education. The following branches are of special interest. *Suvarnaratna-parīkshā* or the examination and valuation of gold and gems; *Dhātuvāda*, chemistry and metallurgy; *Manirāgākarajñānam*, or a knowledge of the colouring of gems and jewels, as also of mines and quarries. In the *Sukranīti* also *Dhātusānkaryapārthakyakaramam* and *Kshāranishkāsanajñānam** —the art of alloying and separating the metals as also the art of extracting the alkali from the ashes are also included among the "kalas."

It may be averred by those who are a bit sceptic, that the incidental mention of these branches of science are by no means convincing in the absence of more positive and direct proofs.

Fortunately we are not left in the dark. Among the 16 philosophical systems describ-

ed by Mādhavācharya in his *Sarvadarsana-Sangraha* (written about 1350, A. D.) "Rases-varadarsana" or the science of mercury is one. In this we have extracts from various chemical treatises on the preparations of mercurial remedies, e. g., *Rasārṇava*, *Rasahrīdaya*, &c. Typical quotations from the former, with translations, have been given in the first volume of my *History of Hindu Chemistry*.

Now, Mādhava, who is a very discriminating writer, speaks of Govinda, the author of the latter, in terms of the highest veneration, and calls him an ancient teacher (*prāchīna āchārya*) on the subject. In order that this author might be regarded as "ancient" in the life-time of Mādhava, i. e. during the middle of the 14th century, he must have been at least 300 years old, in other words he could not have flourished later than the 11th century, A. D. After instituting a vigorous search for this supposed lost *Rasahrīdaya*, I have been fortunate enough to secure as many as three copies of its Ms. from different quarters, and it will receive special attention in the forthcoming second volume of my *History*. But our wonder need not cease here. Govindācharya gives detailed descriptions of the processes of distillation, sublimation, calcination, &c., with suitable apparatus; but this learned author with commendable humility acknowledges his indebtedness for the technical terms he uses to previous commentators (*Vārtikendrait*). Here, again, we have a curious side-light thrown on a dark recess. It is evident that at the time of Govinda again, i. e. in the 11th century, A. D. there was a vast alchemical literature extant with a rich terminology and gloss. We are all familiar with the *vārtika* (gloss) of Kātyāyana on Pāṇini. But the necessity for a *vārtika* can only arise when the original text fails to keep pace with the requirements of the time due to rapid and vast progress in a particular subject. We are thus justified in coming to the conclusion that even in the 9th and 10th centuries, and

* The Editor of the Hindi Scientific Glossary might with profit adopt the above technical terms.

perhaps earlier, chemical—call it alchemical if you will—science was cultivated in India. Let us adduce another solid historical evidence. Chakrapáni is well known for his standard work on medicine. He was court physician to Nayapála, king of Gaur, and wrote his celebrated treatise about the year 1050, A. D. He prescribes several metallic preparations of mercury, copper and iron. His description of the roasting of iron for making it suitable for administration as a tonic is very detailed and circumstantial. But Chakrapáni takes care to acknowledge that he simply borrows his process from the writings of the renowned chemist Nágárjuna.* The commentator of Chakrapáni, Sivadása, while explaining the minutiae of the process repeatedly quotes further “Lohasástra” or the science of iron of Patanjali. All these would go to prove that long anterior to the time of Chakrapáni many chemists were busy devising methods of subjecting different metals to such treatments as *sthálipáka*, *márana*, *pútapáka*, &c. in the *karmasála i. e.* workshop or laboratory. That the Hindus had a deep insight into the metallurgy of iron and other metals is also borne testimony to by the wrought-iron pillar close to the Kutub near Delhi and the huge iron girders at Puri,—glorious legacies of the past ages. Regarding the Kutub pillar Fergusson says:—

“It opens our eyes to an unsuspected state of affairs

to find the Hindus at that age (about 400, A. D.) capable of forging a bar of iron larger than any that have been forged even in Europe up to a very late date and not frequently even now.”

The Indians were equally noted for the skill in the tempering of steel. The blades of Damascus were held in high esteem, but it was from India that the Persians, and through them the Arabs learnt the secret of the operation. The Ritter Cecil von Schwarz, who was for sometime in charge of the Bengal Iron Works Company, thus speaks of the superior iron-smelting industry in India.

“It is well-known by every manufacturer of crucible cast steel how difficult it is sometimes to get the exact degree of hardness to suit certain purposes especially with reference to steel for cutting tools, blades, etc. With the ordinary process endeavours are made to reach the required degree of hardness by selecting such raw materials as on an average have the required contents of carbon in order to correspond with the exact degree of hardness as far as possible. The natives [of India] reached this degree by introducing into their cast steel an excess of carbon, and taking this excess gradually away afterwards, by means of the slow tempering process, having it then completely in their power to attain the exact degree by interrupting this decarbonising process exactly at the proper time in order to cast steel of a quality exactly suitable for the purpose.”

I need not pursue the subject further, nor need we inquire here in detail as to how the tide of progress was rolled back and the damage set in.†

P. C. RA

* नागार्जुनो मुनीन्द्रशशास यल्लोहशास्त्रनिगहनम् ।
तस्यार्थस्य स्मृतये वयमेतद्विशदाक्षरैर्ब्रूमः ॥

† The following extracts from the first volume of the writer's *History of Hindu Chemistry* may gratify the reader's curiosity to some extent.—Ed., M. R.

“In the Vedic age the *Rishis* or priests did not form an exclusive caste of their own but followed different professions according to their convenience or natural tastes, thus fulfilling the ideal laid down by Emerson : “Has he (man) not a *calling* in his character? Each man has his own vocation. The talent is the call.” But all this was changed when the Brahmins reasserted their supremacy on the decline or the expulsion of Buddhism.

“The caste system was established *de novo* in a more rigid form. The drift of Manu and of the later Puranas is in the direction of glorifying the priestly class, which set up most arrogant and outrageous pretensions. According to Susruta, the dissection of dead bodies is a *sine qua non* to the student of surgery and this high authority lays particular stress on knowledge gained from experiment and observation. But Manu would have none of it. The very touch of a corpse, accord-

ing to Manu, is enough to bring contamination to the sacred person a Brahmin. Thus we find that shortly after the time of Vágbhata, the handling of a lancet was discouraged and Anatomy and Surgery into disuse and became to all intents and purposes lost sciences to Hindus. It was considered equally undignified to sweat away at a forge like a Cyclops. Hence the cultivation of the *kalas* by more refined classes of society of which we get such vivid picture in ancient Sanskrit literature has survived only in traditions since very long time past.

“The arts being thus relegated to the low castes and the professions made hereditary, a certain degree of fineness, delicacy and deftness in manipulation was no doubt secured but this was done at a terrible cost. The intellectual portion of the community being thus withdrawn from active participation in the arts, the *how and why* of phenomena the co-ordination of cause and effect—were lost sight of—the spirit of enquiry gradually died out among a nation naturally prone to speculation and metaphysical subtleties and India for once bade adieu to experimental and inductive sciences. Her soil was rendered morally unfit for the birth of a Boyle, a Des Cartes or a Newton and her very name was all but expunged from the map of the scientific world.”

SELF-CONCEALMENT OF GENIUS IN LITERATURE*

A CONTEMPLATION of the poetry of Robert Browning in some of its aspects has often set me thinking upon this question: What, from the point of view of the literary artist himself, is the highest aim of literature? Is it self-revelation, or self-concealment? This thinking was stimulated some time ago by reading three very apt quotations found on the front-leaf of a nice, handy pocket edition of Shakespeare's sonnets. The first, of course, was the dictum from Wordsworth:

"With this key

Shakespeare unlocked his heart."

Then followed a quotation from that characteristic poem of Browning's, headed—"House":

"With this same key

Shakespeare unlocked his heart! 'once more!

Did Shakespeare? If so, the less Shakespeare he!"

And then comes the following line from Swinburne:

"No whit the less like Shakespeare, but undoubtedly the less like Browning."

This extreme sensitiveness about self-exposure, which marks a re-action against Byronism, is a very characteristic note in Browning, deserving, I believe, of a careful psychological study both in its own nature, as well as in its effect upon the influence of his poetry.

"Shall I sonnet-sing you about myself?"

* * * * *

"Outside should suffice for evidence:

And whoso desires to penetrate

Deeper, must dive by the spirit-sense—

No optics like yours, at any rate!"

The self-concealment which the poet seeks, by his own declaration, is not that which comes through anonymity. We may never know for certain who is the author of the "Imitation of Christ," but certainly there is no self-concealment in that! Each chapter and verse

and expression lays open to our direct vision, and gives us almost to feel the touch of the throbbings of the heart that beats within! What, after all, in the long procession of the centuries, is the *name* of a human being? It is with the *spirit* of a Plato or a Milton that *posterity* are concerned, his *contemporaries* might be interested in the actual man of flesh and blood and his *name*! It is this thought that seems to throw some redeeming light upon the ancient literature of India, particularly that part of it which, in the eyes of traditional orthodoxy, is looked upon as revealed. A literature without any known or distinctly specified authorship,—to the growth of which generations of authors must have contributed, and merged their individualities and names into the stream of the common spirit which alone lives for us. I believe the same thing is true about many of the psalms that tradition has connected with the name of David, and many another book or passage in the Old Testament. There is no uncertainty about the spirit which still lives, though the name may be lost.

Again, illustrations of the same fact will not be wanting if, from literature, we pass on to other departments of Art. The architect of the Taj shall be nameless, but not the spirit which breathes through that sanctuary of Beauty and Love, where dreams and memories and reveries can never grow cold upon that marble shrine. When I stood within the cave-temples at Ajunta where the cyclops that built them have sculptured and painted and inscribed ever so many things excepting only their own names, it seemed India could never really lose the spirit of those giant-builders, the yellow-robed monks and devotees, though their individuali-

*A paper read at a meeting of the United Free Church Literary Society.

ties are merged and lost in the silence of the centuries, in the bosom of the Infinite Unknown.

But this is not the sort of self-concealment that Browning seeks and speaks of. His is a more open defiance thrown out to his readers and the public. His reason is partly the prophet's reason :

"Therefore speak I to them in parables because they seeing see not ; and hearing they hear not, neither do they understand."

"He who smites the rock and spreads the water,
Bidding drink and live a crowd beneath him,
Even he, * * * * *
 * * * * * * *

While he smites, how can he but remember,
So he smote before, in such a peril,
When they stood and mocked—"Shall smiting help us ?"
When they drank and sneered—"A stroke is easy !"
When they wiped their mouths and went their journey,
Throwing him for thanks—"But drought was pleasant."
Thus old memories mar the actual triumph ;
Thus the doing savours of disrelish ;
Thus achievement lacks a gracious somewhat ;
For he bears an ancient wrong about him,
Sees and knows again those phalanxed faces,
Hears, yet one time more, the 'customed prelude—
"How shouldst thou, of all men, smite, and save us ?"
Guesses what is like to prove the sequel—
"Egypt's flesh-pots—nay, the drought was better."

 * * * * * *
Oh, the crowd must have emphatic warrant !
Theirs, the Sinai-forehead's cloven brilliance,
Right-arm's rod-sweep, tongue's imperial fiat.
Never dares the man put off the prophet."

We cannot forget, in reading Browning's poetry, that we are listening to one who wants above everything to speak to us with the voice of a prophet, and yet somehow or other the man has managed to keep behind and elude detection. His genius, as the critics tell us, is essentially of the dramatic type ; but the peculiarity in his case lies in this that he employs the subtle elusiveness of the dramatic form and style, while his object is to accomplish the purposes of a teacher. Shakespeare never wanted to *teach* anything, he had no *philosophy* to set forth. His is a many-tubed organ through which the voices of humanity utter

themselves forth, each in its own key, and group themselves together into various tune of a music which is the music of humanity itself. Browning on the other hand, has a few fixed tunes, chosen by himself, which, however, he would not sing with his own voice, but play out through instruments picked up or fashioned by himself as the case may be,—a flute or a violin, Cleon or Ben Ezra, Abt Vogler or Andrea del Sarto, Ixion or Fifine at the Fair.

The result is to produce an effect upon the mind of the reader which, I believe, it would be hard exactly to set forth or analyse. There is of course the admiration for the cleverness and power of the poet, together with the momentary uplifting that comes through a touch with any noble thoughts nobly expressed or any subtle moods subtly analysed ; but when that stimulation has subsided there seems to be something intangible, something illusory and evasive left behind for the mind to rest upon. Through every note of the performance the reader seems to listen to a repetition of the words of the poet himself :

"Would that the structure brave, the manifold
 music I build,

 * * * * * *
Would it might tarry !"

But vain supplication ! It is too ethereal, too much of the nature of a dream to be captured and put into an abiding shape. There is indeed the assurance given by the poet himself :

"All we have willed or hoped or dreamed of good
 shall exist ;

Not its semblance, but itself ; no beauty, nor good
 nor power

Whose voice has gone forth, but each survives for
 the melodist

When eternity affirms the conception of an hour.

But we doubt if this consolation of a transcendental philosophy can supply the sustaining food of the life of man, can give him the strength he wants in the actual battle of life. There is indeed a sense in which

"The high that proved too high, the heroic for
 earth too hard,
 * * * * * *

Are music sent up to God."

But that high and heroic in human life is a matter of *character* and not merely of *moods*,—not simply a matter of hoping and willing even, but a thing consecrated and confirmed even by the sacrifice on the cross!

It is the fact perhaps that this over-sensitiveness with regard to what is looked upon as self-exposure, this shyness in respect of communicating one's real self, is a thing that is not confined to Browning, though perhaps he is its embodiment in its highest and noblest form. Let us not call it cynicism,—a spirit of proud aloofness rather, akin to the kindly severity of the prophet, which would speak to the multitude only in parables! Combined with this, there is another subtle something, let us call it *the disease of culture*, which sets up a duality in man, and fabricates the illusion of a thought-life complete in itself which alone can realise the end of being. Hence we have this conception of literature for the sake of literature—the play-ground of Fancy, the culture-soil for Moods, the mill to manufacture thoughts—where the personality of the literary artist counts for nothing, and is kept steadily in the background. If we probe into the bottom of this feeling we shall find probably the fact is that there is no personality in the proper sense of the term to disclose,—no complete, rounded Self to communicate. But it is self-communication alone that gives power, and reality and life. No thoughts and moods and fancies by themselves can have a tenth part of the value, and charm, and subtle penetrating power of a single living soul. Saint or sinner, it matters very little, the genuine life-history of a living soul has infinitely more significance for humanity, than the *psychological history*; tragedy or otherwise, of a soul conjured up for the purpose by the imagination of any man. This is the secret of the deep and abiding influence upon life of books like the “*Imitatio Christi*,” and Bunyan's “*Grace Abounding*”; nay, I believe, it will even be admitted that there

is a dearer if not deeper place in the heart of humanity for Byron than even for Browning. Banish this element of personality from literature, and it ceases to be a power; it becomes a noble and beautiful dream.

Is it not personality, after all, that constitutes the centre of human interest? It is personality that shapes the course of history, that moulds the destinies of a nation, that is the goal of individual being. Any illusion or evasiveness with regard to personality may, I believe, in certain situations prove fatal. We want to know its essence, to study its conditions, to look upon it in its rounded perfection and glory. Nay, even an imperfect but complete personality is more to us than a mere fragmentary half-man, however brilliant. Think for instance of the feeling that comes into the mind whenever one recalls that noble poem—the “*Samson Agonistes*” of Milton. Here, certainly, there is no self-intrusion on the part of the poet, but no thought of self-concealment either,—but the personality of the poet illumines, without any effort or self-consciousness, the whole structure of the poem; nay, seems to have crystallized itself into a statuesque grandeur in the form of that poem which can never melt or pass away. It lasts, it abides,—a steady light for thought, a perennial source of inspiration for character. Let me also put here, by way of illustration, a short extract from another noble poem. I quote from the 4th canto of the *Paradiso*:

“ ‘This doth invite me, this assurance give me
With reverence, Lady, to inquire of you
Another truth, which is obscure to me.
I wish to know if man can satisfy you
For broken vows with other good deeds, so
That in your balance they will not be light.’
Beatrice gazed upon me with her eyes
Full of the sparks of love, and so divine
That, overcome my power, I turned my back
And almost lost myself with eyes downcast.”

Here also there is no hiding of personality,—but the simplest truth speaking through the highest art,—revealing by a single flash the

complete, rounded man,—an abiding reality and not a mere fancy or illusion. We have the same thing in Browning also, only he thought it was due to his art, and he made it the aspiration of his life :

"Once, and only once, and for one only,
So to be the man and leave the artist,
Gain the man's joy, miss the artist's sorrow."

One might just feel disposed to ask if it was absolutely necessary, for purposes of the highest art, to set up, in respect of the world at large, this duality between the man and the artist, particularly in the case of a poet who wanted to use his art with the aims of a teacher and prophet.

Personality *versus* abstractions—would be a good subject of thought from the point of view of modern culture, which seems to be drifting more and more towards the latter, and away from the former. It is almost inevitable perhaps in an age whose dominating idea is science, and science cares very little for personality. But if I am permitted to go a little deeper than what comes under pure literature in the technical sense, I would just refer to one very significant fact in the history of religions. It is characteristic of Christianity and Buddhism that each is centred in a personality, which can be looked upon by Faith as presenting a concrete, historical embodiment of the union of the Ideal and the real. This excludes all dreaming from the sphere of the highest aspirations and activities of life, and holds up a living Power before man which solves doubts that would be otherwise interminable, turns opinion into conviction and faith, and gives the necessary inspiration and strength to mould and develop character through sacrifice and martyrdom. Hinduism in the broadest sense has no one personal centre (in this specific sense,—unless we look upon Srikrishna and Rama as such,—but even they have grown muddled and dim in the national consciousness),—and all its lofty

philosophy, and noble scheme of life, and elaborate ceremonial, and marvellous social discipline, has not been able to save it from a dreamy transcendentalism or transform the quiet and composure of its social life into the strength and nobleness of individual character.

And yet after all, the question remains: What is personality? There is a personality in man; is there not a Personality in the centre of things? Is creation without a soul? Or let us ask rather: Is creation a process of *revelation* or of *mystification*? Is "the garment for God" which "the World-spirit weaves in the loom of time,"—a vesture or a veil? Is self-revelation or self-concealment the aim and purpose of the God of Nature? These are questions that take us into the deepest mysteries of things, and yet they are intimately connected with the subject which we are discussing. The spirit of man, we believe, is akin to the Universal Spirit, and the ways of its expression must be to us a clue to the ways of the expression of the other. In one sense, *self-concealment is an impossibility in the very nature of things; because all being and doing in themselves mean self-revelation*. And yet there is such a thing as the inner meaning of life and personality; and hence self-revelation itself is meaningless unless you presuppose the appropriate faculty of vision in the person to whom the revelation is made. Here what Browning says is indispensable :

"Whoso desires to penetrate
Deeper, must dive by the spirit-sense."

Only let us remember that in Literature as well as in Nature, *Personality* is the great, central fact, unfolding itself through the interaction of the many personalities into which the one is broken up, and perfect self-consecration on one side, responding to the perfect self-communication on the other can alone lead to a healthy and ever-brightening elucidation of this august, supreme Fact of creation.

BINAYENDRANATH SEN.



THE HON'BLE MR. JUSTICE SYED SHARFUDDIN.

THE MAHOMEDAN EDUCATIONAL CONFERENCE

THE All-India Mahomedan Educational Conference has done good educational work in the past. At its last session, too, some good proposals were brought forward for discussion and adoption. So far as the province where the Conference met this time is concerned, one of the most important proposals considered is that which laid down that while all Mussalmans should learn Urdu as a language, the medium of instruction should be the Vernacular of the province, which should be properly learned. Not to speak of Mussalmans, we think it would be desirable for all Indians to learn Hindustani as a possible indigenous *lingua franca* all over India.

We are glad to find that the Hon. Mr. Syed Sharfuddin, the President of the Conference, duly recognised and emphasised two of the essential means of progress in modern times. We quote from the English summary of his Urdu speech :

"The speaker next dwelt at length upon the advantage and necessity of acquiring by means of translation, all valuable information and stores of wisdom available in the languages of foreign peoples. This was necessary for the hastening of the advance of Indian thought and culture. In support he quoted from Sir Syed's speech of 20th September, 1868, at the Benares Institute. While on this point he advocated the formation of local committees in all towns to prepare lists of useful foreign books and undertake their translation into the vernacular. These Committees would keep the Conference in evidence throughout the year. The speaker then laid great stress on the study and cultivation of science and technical subjects."

"Referring to female education the speaker said there could be no two opinions as to its desirability, but the question was how to do it. The time had not yet come when education in schools could be safely imparted to Mahomedan girls. The speaker, therefore, advocated the training of orphan girls as teachers who would act as visiting governesses in the *zanana*,"

We do not pretend to possess more knowledge of Mussalman society than the speaker; but we may say that it is a fact that Mahomedan girls have been and are still educated in schools in some places without any harm resulting therefrom.

There has been at intervals a regrettable tendency on the part of some persons connected with the Conference to deviate from its proper object. We, therefore, print below the original appeal of Sir Syed Ahmed Khan which gave rise to the Conference, from which its real object will be perceived. It appeared in *The Aligarh Institute Gazette* of May 4, 1886.

It will be admitted on all hands that the condition of our nation, and particularly that of its education, deserves much attention and consideration. At present, everywhere something or other is being done for doing good to the nation, but the inhabitants of one province or city are very little acquainted with the modes of thought, intentions and works of those of other places. People in one district, likewise, know little about the state of the education of Mahomedans in other districts; they do not know whether their co-religionists outside their own local circle are going forward or backward, and what are the causes of the same. We know also very little about the state of our ancient system of education, which chiefly constituted the teaching of *Hadees*, Mahomedan Law, Logic, Philosophy, Persian and Greek Medicine. Besides, there is no occasion on which Mahomedans may meet together to converse on the subject of national education, and think over the means with which it may be advanced. In order to better the condition of our nation, it is necessary that we should try to do away with these deficiencies.

Therefore, it appears to be highly desirable that there should be held an annual meeting of people from different districts who wish for the improvement of their nation, and are desirous that their co-religionists

should be educated and prosper. This meeting should be called by the name which forms the heading of this article.

People from the North-Western Provinces, Oudh and the Punjab, and also people from Behar whose language, manners and customs are much akin to those of these provinces and Oudh, should be admitted as members of the Congress. Mahomedans from the Central Provinces should also be welcome if they liked the scheme, and were willing to join.

The Centre or Head Quarters of the Congress must be fixed permanently in one place, and Aligarh seems to be the best place for this purpose; but the annual meeting will be held at different places, for instance, at Aligarh, Lucknow, Lahore, Allahabad and Patna, by turns. At the end of each meeting the place for the next year will be decided upon, and the managers of the meeting nominated.

Inhabitants of the above-mentioned provinces shall without limit of number be eligible to become members, provided they pay an admission fee of Rs. 5, and an equal amount as annual subscription for the expenses of the Congress, which will be detailed hereafter.

People taking interest in the improvement and education of Mahomedans shall without distinction of caste or creed be eligible to the membership of the Congress. Members of every district shall have the privilege of coming to the annual meeting of the Congress, and enjoying all the rights; they shall also have the right of bringing their friends with them.

Members of each district shall have to elect one or more members as delegates for their district, and the latter will be bound to attend the annual meeting of the Congress. The functions of the meeting will be threefold, and they will be discharged separately.

First, the proceedings of the delegates.

The delegates shall have to read before the meeting a statistical report of the condition of Musalmans in their districts, in which the following points shall have to be mentioned in detail :—

- (1) A brief account of the Mahomedan populations of the district, its towns (large villages) and its figures according to census.
- (2) Government schools and colleges.
- (3) Mission schools and colleges.
- (4) Private schools and colleges.

(5) Primary schools of old Hindustani system called *Maktab*.

(6) Places where the *Koran* is taught.

(7) Venerable pious *Olmas*, teaching according to the ancient system.

(8) Tehsili and Halqabandi primary schools.

(9) Government schools for females.

(10) Mission schools for females.

(11) The state of the ancient system of educating women.

(12) Associations (*Anjmans*) of the district, if any.

(13) State of arts and manufactures of the Mahomedans of the district.

(14) General condition of the Mahomedans of the district.

(15) The current year compared with the previous one.

In connection with colleges and schools, mention should be made of their number, the place where they are situated, the kind of education imparted in them, and the number of Mahomedans who are educated there.

The primary schools of the ancient system in which small-salaried teachers instruct little boys, and whose scarcity has done much harm to general education, deserve utmost attention.

Places where the *Koran* is taught, and particularly those at which boys are made to learn it by heart are worthy of special notice. It is to be presumed that their number has considerably fallen.

Above all, account should be given of those venerable *Olmas*, who teach scholars (from distant places) at their own houses according to the ancient system, and the number of such *Olmas*, and that of students being taught by them in the district, should be stated, because this is the only system of higher and honourable education of ancient learning among the Mahomedans.

As to female schools, if Mahomedan girls and women are educated there, their number, and the classes of society to which they belong should be ascertained. But more pains should be taken to find out, whether there still exists in any family the system of teaching girls of noble birth, which was formerly in vogue.

No doubt there will be some difficulty in collecting all these facts, but as the delegates will have to deal



SIR SYED AHMAD KHAN.



TODA MAN.



TODA WOMAN.

with those districts only which they represent, the work will not prove very tedious.

Secondly—Meeting for expressing opinions.

Time will be fixed for this purpose, and the gentlemen present will be at liberty to lecture on the condition of education of Mahomedans, and the manner for improving it.

Thirdly—Dinner party.

In the evening of the last day, there will be a dinner, and the Managers will be at liberty to invite other gentlemen besides the members and delegates. The chief objects of this entertainment will be to promote friendship, and interchange of ideas, which are necessary for national progress. The proceedings of the delegates' meeting, all the lectures and speeches

delivered on these occasions, will be published in a pamphlet, the expenses of which will be met with by the admission fees, and subscriptions. Each member will be supplied with a copy gratis.

We consider the scheme to be very excellent and our nation will gradually make considerable progress thereby, at least a definite path to improvement will be discovered. We hope, therefore, that the well-wishers of the nation will pay attention to the scheme, and correspondence will be opened with us from every district, and many gentlemen will before long come forward and join the movement.

(Sd.) SYED AHMAD KHAN.

ALIGARH, 24th April, 1886.

THE TODAS

HIDDEN away among the woody recesses of the Nilgiris, occupying some of the most beautiful of these spots, live in a world all their own, a handful of aborigines, not counting even a thousand, whose social, economic and religious institutions have excited the curiosity of European missionaries, travellers and scholars, from the sixteenth century down to our own times. The Todas, as they are called, have been a much studied race. From the account of the Portuguese missionary Finicio to the latest study of them by Rivers, the literature about the Todas has swollen to respectable proportions.

Who are the Todas, where do they come from? are still much disputed questions. Their origin is shrouded in obscurity for of records of the Todas in the past, or traditions preserved by them, there exists nothing, and scholars have not yet been able to arrive at any definite opinion about them from a comparative study of their physical and psychical characteristics, language, beliefs and institutions. Some

writers like De Quatrefages regard them as of Caucasian descent and class them with the Ainus of Japan, while others find much in common between them and the Nairs and Nambudris of Malabar.

The plateau of the Nilgiris occupied by the Todas and three other tribes—the Kotas, the Kurumbas, and Irulas, is not an extensive one. Its total area is less than 500 square miles and there are now several large European settlements, those of Wellington, Conoor Kctagiri, and the well-known sanitarium of Ootacamund.

The average height of the Toda man is 5 ft. 7 in. and of the woman, 5 ft. 1 in. They are well-proportioned, strongly built, very agile and like most hill people capable of standing much fatigue and travelling great distances. The bodies of the men are very hairy and they grow long beards, while the hair of the head is thick and luxuriant in both sexes. Their colour is lighter than that of most of the Dravidian races of the South and in intelligence they are in no way inferior to any of them.

Near the woody hollows of the hills called *Sholas*, generally by the side of some stream, are to be found the Toda villages or *mads* consisting of not more than half a dozen semi-barrel-shaped huts, the whole enclosed by a rude stone wall. At a distance from the village are the village dairies and near by, the circular buffalo pen.

The men and women both wear the same dress, a mantle called *patkuli* made of a large piece of double cloth resembling a *Dohar*.

The Todas have peculiar economic relations with the neighbouring hill-tribes, particularly the Badagas and the Kotas. The Badagas perform definite services for the Todas and give them a tribute of grain at the harvest, in consideration of the use of land, which is supposed to have originally belonged to the latter. Although the Badaga is the agriculturist of the Toda, the two tribes, however, consider each other as social equals; while the Kota, the artisan of the Toda, who supplies him with pottery and iron wares, as well as music on funeral occasions, is looked down upon as his social inferior. Each Kota village supplies the particular Toda clan or clans with which it is connected.

Being thus left free from all cares about his immediate necessities, the Toda has devoted himself exclusively to the tending of the buffalo and the development of its cult.

"The milking and churning operations of the dairy form the greater part of the religious ritual of the Todas. The lives of the people are largely devoted to their buffaloes, and the care of certain of these animals, regarded as more sacred than the rest, is associated with much ceremonial. The sacred animals are attended by men specially set apart who form the Toda priesthood, and the milk of the sacred animal is churned in dairies which may be regarded as Toda temples, and are so regarded by the people themselves. The ordinary operations of the dairy have become a religious ritual, and ceremonies of a religious character accompany nearly every important incident in the lives of the buffaloes. Among the buffaloes held by the Todas to be sacred, there are varying degrees of

sanctity and each kind of buffalo is tended at its own kind or grade of dairy by its own special grade of the priesthood. Each kind of dairy connected with a special kind of buffalo has its own peculiarities of ritual."

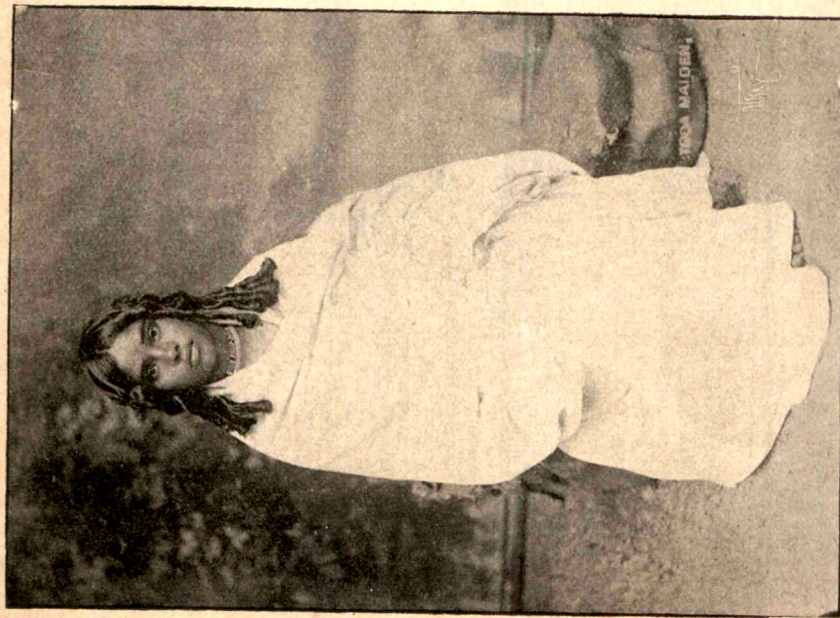
At certain seasons of the year the buffaloes accompanied by all the inhabitants of the village and sometimes by their dairymen and one or two assistants migrate to other village or pastures. These movements are due to the grazing grounds near the village being exhausted or to the necessity of visiting certain sacred villages and dairies for ceremonial purposes. The dairy ritual increases in elaboration and complexity with the rise in the grade of the dairy. The dairy vessels and objects, coming in contact with the buffaloes or their milk, are kept quite apart from those which might come in contact with the outside world. The dairies are of different degrees of sanctity and this difference in their sacred character attaches also to their milk. Ordinary people are not allowed to use the milk of sacred buffaloes. Women are not permitted to take any part in the milking and churning; they are not even allowed to enter the dairies.

The Toda gods are essentially anthropomorphic and are believed to have lived in this world before the existence of man; they are not to be seen on earth however at present. Pithi (Sans. Prithvi) was the earliest god, next came On the son of Pithi. He first brought forth 1600 buffaloes from the earth and holding the tail of the last buffalo came out a man. This was the first Toda. On took one of the man's ribs from the right side of his body and made a woman. The descendants of the buffaloes created by On became the sacred buffaloes, while the offspring of those created by his wife became the ordinary buffaloes. The gods once believed to be *real* and *actively* interfering in the affairs of men, have now "become shadowy beings, apparently less real, invisible, and intervening in the affairs of men in a *mysterious manner* and chiefly in the case



A TODA CHIEFTAIN.





A TODA MAIDEN.



TODA MOTHER AND CHILD.

of infraction of the laws which they are still believed to have given." The Toda religion seems to be at present

"one in which ritual has persisted while the beliefs at the bottom of the ritual have largely disappeared. The Todas are an example of a people whose lives are altogether dominated by custom and tradition, and on the religious side this domination has taken the form in which ritual has become all-important, while the religious ideas which underlie the ritual have become blurred and unreal or have disappeared altogether. It seems that the Todas have had a religion of a comparatively higher order for people living in such simple circumstances. During a period of isolation there has come about an over-development of the ritual aspect of this religion."

When some misfortune befalls them, the Todas consult their *teuols* (diviners). They are supposed to possess special powers of divination and some of these men are reputed to have inherited these powers. It is curious to note that some of these *teuols* are inspired by foreign deities and then they deliver themselves in Tamil or Malayalam. Many of the ills of life are with the Toda due to sorcery and the evil eye, and sometimes murder has been committed to avert it; but ordinarily incantations are employed to drive out their evil effects, and the same incantations are employed to remove ills due to natural causes. These people are very much afraid of the Kurumbas whom they consider as potent sorcerers. A visit to the Kurumba villages near the marshy foot of the hills is sure to give the Toda a malarial fever, which he puts down to the sorcery of the Kurumba.

Infant marriage prevails among the Todas. Children are often married when they are only two or three years of age. The most desirable match for a boy would be his *matchuni*—the daughter of his father's sister or mother's brother. The first ceremony connected with marriage is the cloth-giving ceremony, when the boy with his father visits the girl at her home and presents her with a piece of loin-cloth called *tadrap*. The boy has to give the

loin-cloth twice a year until the girl is ten years old, when its place is taken by the *patkuli*. When the girl is 15 or 16, she goes to live with her husband. If the youth refuses to live with the girl, the marriage is annulled on his paying a buffalo as a fine to the girl's parents, but in case of the girl's refusal a heavier fine is imposed.

There are certain restrictions as to the area within which marriages are allowed. The Todas are divided into two main divisions, the *Teivalol* (probably derived from Sanskrit *Teva*, for certain priestly or sacred offices amongst the Todas are exclusively filled by these people) and *Tartharol*, ordinary Toda; these are two strictly endogamous divisions, as no marriages are contracted between these two classes. Each of these divisions are again sub-divided into a number of clans or sects. Among the clans of each division intermarriages are permissible with the restriction, however, that no one should marry within his own clan. While marriages between *matchunis* are the rule, marriages between the children of *matchunis* are not lawful.

The Todas have a completely organised and definite system of polyandry. When a woman marries a man, it is understood that she becomes the wife of his brothers at the same time. When a boy is married to a girl, not only are his brothers usually regarded as also the husbands of the girl, but any brother born later will similarly be regarded as sharing his elder brother's rights.

In the vast majority of polyandrous marriages at the present time, the husbands are own brothers. In a few cases in which the husbands are not own brothers, they are clan-brothers, *i. e.*, they belong to the same clan and are of the same generation. In the latter case if the husbands do not live together, but in different villages, the wife lives with each husband in turn, usually for a month at a time. In the former case the brothers usually live as a joint family and there are no disputes or

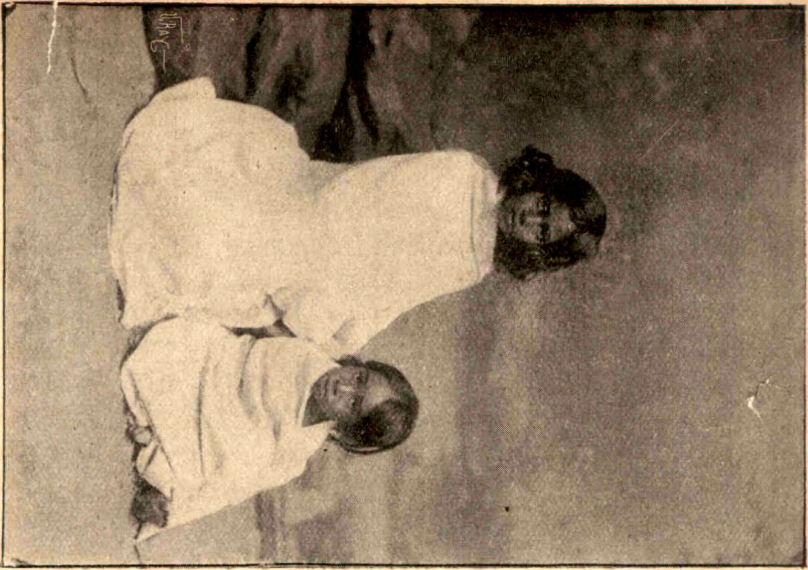
jealousies. When the wife becomes pregnant, the eldest brother performs the bow and arrow-giving ceremony and all the brothers are equally regarded as the fathers of the child.

The Todas practised female infanticide formerly and even now it cannot be said that they are wholly free from this evil practice. It might be the consequence of this inhuman custom that they are forced to adopt polyandry as the solution of the wife-difficulty. As the practice has to a large extent ceased, and girls are becoming plentiful, they are becoming polygamous, but in such cases all the brothers possess the wives in common. And sometimes this proves a source of income to them, for they make money by the sale of their wives. The marriage tie among the Todas is very loose: wives frequently change hands. The new husband has to pay a certain number of buffaloes to the old husband or group of husbands. Divorce also exists among the Todas, and a man can divorce his wife on grounds of idleness or foolishness; but barrenness or any of those reasons, on which the more civilised people of the West obtain their separation, is with the Toda no cause for divorce; rather the man who grudges his wife to another will have no salvation hereafter. Sexual morality is very lax among the Todas even before or after marriage. If a girl who has been married in infancy, but has not yet joined her husband, should become pregnant, the husband would be recognised as the father of the child even if he were still a young boy.

The period of pregnancy is connected with certain important ceremonies. About the fifth month of pregnancy the woman leaves the village and lives secluded in a hut for a month outside the village and her wrists are burnt. About the seventh month the *pursut pini* ceremony is performed, when the husband presents her with an imitation bow and arrow. If a girl becomes pregnant while still unmarried or before she goes to live with her husband, no infamy attaches to such a condition, if the

pursut pini ceremony has been performed by her *matchuni*, son of her father's sister or her mother's brother or by her boy husband but if this has been left out, an indelible disgrace rests on the child throughout life. After the seclusion-hut ceremony, the woman goes back to live in the family hut and is delivered there. Two or three days after child-birth the mother and child go again to the seclusion-hut and various rites are performed during the going to and leaving the seclusion-hut. For sometime after the birth of the child its face is kept covered and no one but its mother is allowed to see its face. After the third month the face-uncovering ceremony is performed and then the child if a boy, is named by its maternal uncle, and if a girl, by its aunt (father's sister). The ear-piercing ceremony is the next important function in the life of a Toda child and it may take place any time between infancy and its twentieth year; and the family has to incur considerable expense in performing it. A boy cannot enter upon the sacred duties of the dairy till the ear-piercing ceremony has taken place.

The Todas cremate their dead. The dead person is supplied with food, ornaments, money, tobacco and other articles for use in the next world; but all objects of value are removed from the bier before it is placed on the funeral pyre; the spirit of these things is supposed to follow the deadman to the world of shadows. There are three principal ceremonies connected with the funerals, the cremation or the 'first day funeral', which takes place soon after death; the 'second day funeral' or the ceremony connected with the relics of the deceased; the 'third day funeral', the final ceremony when the relics are burnt and the ashes buried. Formerly the Todas slaughtered many buffaloes at each funeral ceremony and this impoverished the people. The government has now limited the number of buffaloes to be killed for each person to two



TWO TODA BOYS.



A TODA GIRL.

The widow or widower wears the mantle over the head during the period of mourning and the mourner has to observe certain restrictions in the use of food. A "widower is not allowed to eat rice or drink milk, and on every return of the day on which his wife died, he takes no food in the morning and only has his evening meal. The same holds good for a widow." The relatives of the deceased and all those who have married into the family, contribute something towards the funeral expenses.

The next world of the Todas is called *Amudr*; it lies to the west and the sun goes there when it sets. The god On presides over this nether world. People live there in the same way as the inhabitants of this world. The dead set off for *Amudr* after the second funeral, the *Tartharol* going by one way and the *Teivalol* by the other. The two paths meet again at a stone called *Nidzmutkars* (knock stone) where by knocking against it the dead lose all their love for this world. They next knock on another rock and lose all their bodily ills and become strong again; thus proceeding they come to a ravine and river; across this river there is a thread-bridge which they have to cross. Bad Todas,—(a) selfish people, (b) jealous and grudging people, and (c) those who have committed offences

against the dairy,—fall down into the river, while the good ones by crossing the bridge go straight on to *Amudr*. The fall into the river and the bite of the leeches there is not a permanent punishment, it but delays the journey to *Amudr* for a time. The bad and good ones will reach it all the same sooner or later.

The Todas have a general council of their own called *naim* which has a definite constitution. It deals with the affairs of the Todas in general, while matters affecting a particular clan are decided by the informal councils of the clan-people themselves, though however the *naim* might sometimes be called upon to settle them. The *naim* consists of five members, four of whom are drawn from the principal Toda clans and one from the Badagas. The Badaga representative, however, is only invited on special occasions. The council takes no cognisance of criminal cases; social and religious questions are the only ones that they deal with.

Property amongst the Todas is not communal but held by the individual or the family.

We would refer those who want to know more about this interesting people to Mr. W. H. R. Rivers's most elaborate and learned work, "*The Todas*," published recently by Messrs. Macmillan and Co., Limited, from which the foregoing account has been compiled.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

From the Persian.

§ 1.—Authorities.

1. *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, India Office Ms. No. 1957 (Etche's Catalogue, entry 485). A nameless work by an unknown author, giving the history of the rise and progress of the Maratha State to the death of Shivaji (1680 A. D.). It is evidently the work of a Hindu, based on Maratha

traditions. Legends abound; no critic's spirit or sense of proportion is shown in the narrative. Inaccurate statements about Delhi affairs betray the author's ignorance of Mughal history. The style is plain even to baldness, violations of Persian idiom and even of grammar are numerous. The book ends with

the accession of Saubhaji, which is followed by a detailed table of the various kinds of property and forts left by Shivaji, the names of the Maratha families, and a bare list of Shivaji's successors at Satara and the Bhonsla Rajahs of Berar to about 1770 A. D. The Ms. is marked "Hastings Ms." and may have formed part of the Mackenzie collection purchased by the Marquis of Hastings for the E. I. Co.

2. *Dilkasha*, by Bhimsen Kayath of Burhanpur. This extremely valuable history was composed by a Hindu who was at first a petty Mughal official in the Deccan and afterwards a servant of Dalpat Rao Bundela, a Rajput commander in the army of Aurangzib (Zulfiqar Khan's division). He lived in the Deccan for nearly the whole of the reign and was in close touch with the Mughal camp, without being a flattering courtier. He had observant eyes and has carefully described the many places he visited, especially the temples of the South. A very abridged and inaccurate translation of a portion of the work was included by Jonathan Scott in his *History of the Deccan* (1794). I have completed the Persian text by copying the India Office Ms. of it (No. 94), which breaks off at the capture of Golcondah in 1687 A. D., and the remaining portion from the British Museum copy (No. Or. 23.).

3. *Khatut-i-Shivaji*, a Ms. of the Royal Asiatic Society of Great Britain.

4. Khafi Khan's history, a gossipy and unreliable work, which enjoys an undeserved reputation among European scholars on account of its pleasant style and arrangement and freedom from the dryness of treatment characteristic of most Persian annals. (*Bibliotheca Indica* Series.)

5 and 6. *Alamgirnamah* and *Masir-i-Alamgiri*, two court histories of Aurangzib's reign, invaluable for dates (*Bibliotheca Indica* Series.)

7. *Bibliothèque Nationale* Paris, Ms. Suppl., 476, (Blochet's Catalogue, entry 704) contains among other things the despatches that passed between Aurangzib and Jai Singh during the latter's campaign against Shivaji.

The passages outside brackets are all translations. When not otherwise stated, the translation is from the India Office Ms. which I have named the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji*.

§ 2.—Origin of the Bhonslas.

Rajah Rana Bhim of the Sisodia clan, king of Udaipur, was pre-eminent in fame and good Government and the foremost man of his age

in valour, and all the Hindu kings and chiefs bowed their heads to him in submission. He had many wives, one of whom was beautiful, wise and obedient, and greatly beloved by the Rajah. She bore him two sons, Ram Singh and Bagh Singh. When they came of age, Rajah Bhim died, and Ram Singh succeeded to the throne of Udaipur. Bagh Singh, not liking to serve under his elder brother, one day issued forth under the pretext of hunting and took up residence with Rajah Ali Mohan on the river Narbada in the direction of the Deccan. On the death of Rajah Ali Mohan, as his son was young and Bagh Singh had been entrusted with the government of the kingdom by the late Rajah in his lifetime, he continued to carry on the government. When the Rajah's son came of age, Bagh Singh made over the kingdom and authority to him and went towards the Deccan. As his heart was sated with reigning and the pleasures of the world, he now wished to settle in some one place in contented retirement, and engaged in agriculture to procure the necessaries of life.

His name Bagh Singh was changed to Bagh Bhonsla* for the following reason: During his government of the kingdom of Ali Mohan he chastised and brought to the right path of obedience all rebels and usurpers and, by punishing many of the lawless men of Malwa too, cleared the realm of the thorn and bramble of disorder; all lawless men were in awe of him. As in the Hindi language *bhu* means 'enemy' and *salah* 'an arrow,' and he rankled in the heart of his enemies like an arrow, he became celebrated under the surname of *Bhosala*. He settled on his estate at the village of Dewalgaon near Puna, in the district of Patas. (*Tarikh-i-Shivaji*, 1 a and b.)

[Khafi Khan gives the following account of the origin of the Bhonslas:] What I have heard from the inhabitants of the Deccan and [especially] the Marathas of that country,

* All other accounts call him Babaji Bhonslah. (See Grant Duff, i. 88.)

about the origin and family of Shivaji [is this]. The line of his ancestors stretches up to the Rana of Chitor. It is the rule with the Rajputs and all [other] Hindus to consider it shameful and vile to beget sons on the person of a woman of a different caste and to produce offspring from a concubine. Therefore, if a man in the days of passionate youth happens to have a child from a woman other than one of the same caste, the child is considered in the light of a house-born slave or bondmaid. Such children cannot inherit the property of their deceased [fathers]. Even when the mother is of a higher caste than the father, the men of the latter caste do not form any marriage or relationship with him, because the mother is not a fellow-caste-woman. If through love the father had made the woman an inmate of his harem, the son is still disregarded and treated as a bastard, and can marry only persons of similar origin. For example, if a woman of the grocer caste is kept in the house of a man of a lower caste or a Brahman maiden is maintained by a Khatri or Kayath, all her children are treated as slaves.

It is said that the ancestor of Shiva from whom the title of Bhosla has come, lived in the Rana's dominions. He formed an intimacy with a woman of a lower caste than his own, and admitted her into his harem without marriage, as is customary among that people. She bore him a son. In fear of the scandal of his family and tribe, he kept the child with the wet-nurse engaged for it in a lonely place in the bosom of the hills, and sent support to it in secret. As he deeply loved the girl, when her parents wished to give her in marriage among their own castemen he did not consent to it. Afterwards when his passionate love [for her] became known and the bringing up of the son began to be talked of among friends and strangers, he secretly removed his son from the place of hiding and with the mother set out for the Deccan. When he came to foreign parts,

although he falsely gave out that his son was born of a fellow-caste-woman, no Rajput of pure origin contracted relation with him. He had no help but to marry his son among the Marathas, who declare themselves to be obscure Rajputs. Seven or eight generations from him Shahu Bhonsla was born.

The reason of their being named Bhosla—which is also pronounced *Ghosla*—is this: In the Hindi language *ghosla* is the name given to a very small and narrow place. As this man had been brought up in such a place with a view to change of abode, he came to be called Bhosla. Another reason is also given [by some.] (Khafi Khān, ii. 111 and 112).

[In the *Dilkasha* Shivaji's pedigree is given thus:] Raja Surasen, who came from Chitor—Mahipat—Sikhman—Bhawanās—Deoraj—Partabraj—Indarsen—Krishnaraj—Raviraj—Madharaj—Gayaji—Dharaj—Parshat—Khelu—Rankuji—Babaji—Malji—Shahji. (p. 18.)

§ 3.—Maloji, father of Shahji.

Bagh Bhonsla had four sons, of whom the eldest was Maloji and the second Vitoji. Maloji had two sons: Shahji Fajah and Sharfaji Rajah. Vitoji had 8 sons, Kheloji, Manaji and six others, whose history I shall write in its proper place. Sharfaji had two sons: Trimbakji Rajah and Udaji Rajah. Kheloji and the other sons of Vitoji took service under Khelkarn Rajah of Bijapur. Prince Aurangzib Bahadur for certain reasons executed them by stretching them on planks (*ba takhta kashida*).* I shall write of the descendants of Kheloji in its place.

Maloji and Vitoji on account of [family] disputes left the zemindari of Dewalgaon, came to the village of Verul near Daulatabad, engaged in husbandry, and bringing their family and children there made it their home.

* Our text is evidently wrong and confused here. Grant Duff's account is, "Kellojee Bhonslay, the son of Wittoojee, went over to the imperial service about the same time (1629). He was put to death by Aurangzebe; the time and circumstances are not ascertained." i. 102.

They themselves went to Lakhji Jadav Rai, the *deshmukh* or *chaudhuri* of the village of Sindkhairā, in the province of Daulatabad, in search of livelihood. Jadav Rai was a *man-sabdar* under Nizam Shah [the Sultan of Ahmadnagar] and led a contingent of 12,000 horse. He took Maloji and his brother into his service as *bargirs*.* As he† could not ride on horseback owing to great stoutness, he used to stay in his *deorhi*, and lovingly ask the two brothers to dine with him, paying to each a salary of five *hun* (Rs. 20) a month. After some time they brought their families to the place.

Maloji had no son. His wife went to Ahmadnagar, prayed to a holy man there, and vowed that, if through his blessing she got a son, she would name him after him. At the holy man's benediction she bore two sons. The *darvish's* name was Shah Sharif (*i. e.*, the Honoured Lord), and the sons were accordingly named Shahji and Sharfaji. Shahji was a very handsome boy. Jadav Rai delighted to see him and often had him brought to his drawing-room (*majlis*) for amusement. He had no son but after some time got a daughter, named Jija Bai, who was very beautiful.

§ 4.—Betrothal of Shahji.

When Shahji was 5 years old and the daughter 3 years, Jadav Rai at the *Holi* made festive preparations, held a drawing-room, and started music and dance. Seating his daughter on one knee and Shahji on the other and placing trays of *abir* and *gulal* before them, he asked them to play with each other. Delighted with the fun, he cried out openly in joy of heart, "This girl is very beautiful. God has adorned her with his own hand of power. And Shahji, too, matches her in beauty and grace. May God bring about the right thing!" He spoke carelessly, and the audience praised and applauded the remark. Maloji and Vitoji, who had come to the drawing-room just then, said, "From

to-day Jadav Rai has become related to us by marriage and has [thereby] cherished us. He will surely keep his own word. All of you present here be witness that from to-day this girl has been betrothed to my son." Saying this they sat down. Jadav Rai said nothing in reply, but feeling great doubt and suspicion left the place and went to the inner apartments, and the merry gathering broke up. He used to take Shahji with himself, but that day he left him there and led away his daughter only.

When his wife heard of the affair, she had words with Jadav Rai, saying, "What relation is there between this vagabond, who has migrated from his home to satisfy his hunger and is staying here as a common soldier, and ourselves? Relation can be formed only with castemen of equal position. Without considering all this you have spoken a thing on which they have based a claim and gone away leaving the audience as witnesses. And you did not give them a reply! You did not forbid this audacity on their part, but connived at it!" Jadav Rai replied, "I spoke in jest. I have given no *shagun* [present accompanying a marriage-proposal] according to the custom of our caste. I shall dismiss them for having made such an audacious speech." He thus consoled his women. Next day he did not invite Maloji and Vitoji to dine with him, as was his wont, but sent them trays of food. They replied, "We shall eat this food at the marriage." After dinner Jadav Rai came to his audience-hall, summoned his clerk, calculated the accounts and cashiered the two brothers, saying, "You have no relation with me. I have not given you any of the customary [marriage-pledges] of our caste. You are needlessly bringing a charge against me. It is not well. Go away hence with your family. Not even for an hour more will you be allowed to stay in this town." They immediately withdrew with their families and dependents, and returned

* *Bargirs*, [common soldiers] supplied with horses by their masters.

† The text is doubtful. It may mean 'they.'

to Verul, where they had a house before. After visiting the leading men of the place they took up residence in their former abode. [Tarikh-i-Shivaji.]

§ 5.—**Divine favour to Maloji.**

Two or three years were passed in cultivation as before. They were very constant and sincere in their devotions. Everyday they worshipped Sada-shiva-ji or God and did not taste food or drink without performing *pūja*. On the *ekadashi*, Mondays, the full moon, and other days of Hindu fast they used to fast without fail.

One full moon night in the month of *Magh sudi* he was sitting, as was his wont, on a piece of wood set up in his field, when the goddess Sri Devi, *i. e.*, the Power (*Shakti*) of God graciously appeared from a hole in the field, with her arms adorned with a celestial light and priceless ornaments. Maloji was awake. She stretched her blessed arm and stroked him on the face and the back. The blaze of her arm looked like lightning. He wakened his brother Vitoji and told him of the incident; but the latter regarded it as a mere illusion, and said, "A fancy has got hold of your mind under the oppression of sleep. You may sleep now, I shall keep watch." Vitoji sat watching [the crops] and Maloji slept. Then the Power of God, *i. e.*, Sri Devi-ji appeared to him in a dream, clad in a white robe with a vermillion mark on her forehead and priceless jewels on her person, and said, "I am very much pleased [with you]. In this hole is a snake [guarding treasure.] I shall remain in this dress. Do you make *namaskar* to me and dig up the hole. In it are 7 large iron-trays full of gold amounting to the revenue of a kingdom. I bestow them on you. The snake will go away; do not search for or pursue it. I grant you kingship for 27 generations. Fear or suspect none. Every wish of your heart will be gratified. I give you safety." On waking he reported the whole dream to Vitoji. Digging the ground they

extracted seven large trays full of gold, and loading them in carts had them carried home at night, buried them behind the house in a ditch which was the storing-place of grain, and thus gained composure of mind.

After a time going to Chamargunda he reported the matter without omission or reserve and begged help from a banker named Shishawa Naik* who was very rich and had known him from before. The banker agreed and greatly honouring Maloji said, "When God makes you king what will you do to me?" Maloji replied, "The cashier-ship (*fotadari*) of my whole kingdom will belong to you. So long as the *raj* continues in my family, the cashier-ship will continue in yours;" and immediately wrote and gave him the letters-patent of *fotadar* and took oaths to it. The banker gave him beautiful ornaments and cloths. The two went in a cart to a place outside the city where the caravan bringing horses used to halt. They bought one thousand and fleet horses, took soldiers (*bargir*) into their service, and got together all equipments such as saddles, arms, *zarrah*, *bakkar* (coats of mail), *palki*, camps, tents, &c.

Maloji sent a man to Nimbalkar of Phaltan, who with 12,000 cavalry was following the career of a freebooter, and asked of him a letter of alliance and the junction of their forces. On getting the letter he joined him, reported his whole case without reserve, and said, "I have one thousand horsemen with me. Help me with 2,000 of your troopers, so that with a force of 3,000 I may go to Jadav Rai and demand the marriage of my son." Nimbalkar agreed and sent 2,000 horse as aid. Maloji with light kit advanced quickly, crossed the river at the *ghat* of Nimadit hari (?) and came to the bank of the Godavari by way of the village of Newasa. Here he alighted close to the Rauza of Daulatabad, slew pigs and cast them into the mosque of the place, tying to their necks letters addressed to Nizam Shah

* Grant Duff has Seshao Naik Poonday. (i. 91.)

to the following effect, "Lukhji Jadav Rai *deshmukh* or *chaudhuri* affianced his daughter to my son and avowed it in full assembly at *Holi*. And now at the instigation of foolish women he deviates from the straight path of fidelity to oath. He has dismissed me from his service and expelled me from his domain. Therefore I have come here with the help of Nimbalkar and done this audacious deed. I hope that justice would be done to this plaintiff, or in other words that my son would be married to Jadav Rai's daughter. Otherwise I shall fling slaughtered pigs into every mosque of the kingdom of the Deccan." He then returned to the village of Phaltan.

Next morning when the attendants of the mosque came to sweep it, they were greatly grieved by the sight, and took the pigs with the letter to Nizam Shah. The king was distracted on reading it, and sent *ahadi* troopers to summon Jadav Rai. He was dining when they arrived. They bound and at once brought him to the Court. Nizam Shah in great displeasure made the pigs and letter over to him and said, "If it had been any one else, I should have punished him by having him trodden down by an elephant. You ought now to conciliate Maloji by marrying your daughter to his son. Delay in this would lead to incurable tumult and trouble." Jadav Rai replied in fear, "If you spare my life and permit me, I shall make a request." Nizam Shah said, "I grant you safety. Say your say." Jadav Rai then said, "At your Majesty's command I shall wed my daughter Jija Bai to Maloji's son. But I hope you will confer the rank of a commander of 12,000 (with 12,000 horse) on Maloji and his brother Vitoji." The king assented to the proposal, and graciously sending reliable men with letters of agreement and promise to Maloji and Vitoji had them brought to Daulatabad with Shahji. Jadav Rai welcomed them on the way and ushered them to the royal presence. The Sultan, greatly pleased at the

sight of the handsome Shahji, conferred a splendid robe of honour, sword, elephant, and other presents with the rank and jagir of a commander of 12,000 [on Maloji], ordered Jadav Rai to bring his family to Daulatabad and celebrate his daughter's marriage in the royal presence. Jadav Rai did so, giving his daughter dowry to the extent of his means and sending her [to her father-in-law's house] with an officer of his own named Kamaji Naik Bansbal to look after her in every way.

Maloji, bringing all his family to Daulatabad, resided there. As his fortune was now in the ascendant, he summoned to his side Aoji Govind who had been acting as his *peshkar* since the dawn of his prosperity, and made him his *peshwa* or supreme *diwan* and agent. Bringing out his hidden treasure from the ground, he began to distribute alms, built a temple at Verul, laid out gardens and dug tanks at various places, and thus practised charity and gained a good name. On a hill containing the temple of Sambhu Mahadev, where water was scarce, he dug a tank.

(To be continued)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A SONNET

TO DADABHAI NAOROJI:

BEING A NEW YEAR'S OFFERING AT HIS FEET.

Shine thou, good man, in all thy glory shine,
The while thy mighty hand doth wheel the course
Of them that rightly recognize the force
And fervour of ideal teachings thine!

Thy life has ever been a sacrifice
Of *Self* and all that unto *self* belongs;
I say not all that in my heart now throngs,
But that "thy worth is great;" let this suffice.

To-day thou shinest India's brightest son;
Of darkest clouds thy Land hast thou relieved;
Believe me, noble work like thine ne'er dies;
May God bless thee for all that thou hast done!
But torpid wheels the world; oft have I grieved
To find HOW MODEST WORTH NEGLECTED LIES.

ANDHERI:

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

1st January, 1907.

THE AMIR'S VISIT

THE Amir of Aghanistan has now visited Agra, the ancient capital of the Mughals, Aligarh, the seat of modern progressive Mahomedans, and Cawnpore, the place of modern western industrialism. The rest of his tour will also be of much the same character, though not on the same grand scale, and the question may now be considered as to what is likely to be the political, social or moral effect of his visit, or whether it is as devoid of all political significance as it has been represented to be.

On the 8th of this month, amidst the boom of guns, on a rainy morning, with expectant crowds eager to catch a sight of him, stepped out of the train the Afghan king surrounded by his staff. Those who expected to find a curly uncouth Afghan dressed like the Cabulis one sees in India, were agreeably disappointed in seeing the Amir dressed like a European General in a scarlet coat resplendent with laces, black trousers, white gloves, an astrakhan cap with a diamond, a gold belt and a sword set with jewels, and wearing a number of decorations. His staff who were also in their uniforms were also dressed in a like manner. But their faces and bearing did not seem to be particularly attractive. Some of them were mere boys just out of their homes. A beard and moustaches hide the otherwise heavy features of the Afghan king. He is a stout and well-built man. He attempts to speak English, and though his knowledge of that language is not much, he is never shy of expressing his thoughts in it. He speaks Persian very fluently and was often heard conversing with people in that language. On other than state occasions he wore an ordinary morning dress of the European style but

always with his own head-dress. His complexion is somewhat sallow and there was a certain reserve in his manner. But so far as could be judged by an outsider, there was none of that assertion of superiority, none of that race-feeling, none of that air of condescension which one so often notices about people in high places in India. In the various parties and receptions where he was present, he was seen freely walking about like every one else; and, whilst courting the acquaintance of no one, he was never seen avoiding any one who wished to go and speak to him. On the contrary, his reserve was set off to advantage against the behaviour of many of our Indian princes and noblemen who showed themselves unduly solicitous about mixing with European men and women of all grades irrespective of rank, and equally anxious to avoid their own countrymen, even if previously acquainted with them. Painful it was to see some of our biggest chiefs and nobles forcing themselves into places where they were not wanted, regardless of the jokes that were being cut at their expense by Europeans. There is, I am afraid, something radically wrong about most of our Rajas and Nawabs; and they cannot do better than take a leaf out of the Afghan king's book in point of reserve of manner, readiness to mix and sympathize with their own countrymen and manliness of character.

Much has been written about the Amir's visit being without any political significance whatever. It may be that no political consequences of importance are likely to result from it in the immediate future. But even the most thick-headed person will at once concede that the British Government is of all the last Government to throw away money,

brains and time upon mere sentiment, simply to please an Asiatic prince, already in receipt of a heavy yearly subsidy from them. The treatment accorded to the Amir was right royal. No Asiatic ruler ever received it from the Government of India, although there are even now in India princes and chiefs ruling territories vaster than the Amir's, possessing revenues larger and exercising sway over subjects more numerous and more civilized than he. No one has ever known of any Indian prince receiving a *ziarafut* of Rs. 21,000 immediately on his arrival at a British capital. The Amir's camp was laid out with extreme care, and no trouble and expense were spared to make him thoroughly comfortable. It is said the idea was originally to have a large Durbar to receive him in the presence of the principal chiefs of Rajputana and Central India and thus to impress upon him the grandeur of the Government of India. But the proposal fell through, because some of the native princes are said to have raised points of precedence which it was thought unsafe to ignore. But in spite of the omission of the Durbar, the processions, fêtes, parties, dinners, reviews, and chapters with which the Agra week was crowded, from the 8th to the 15th of January last, must have convinced the Amir of the anxiety of the Government to please him in every possible manner, so much so as to give rise to the impression in the minds of not a few of his co-religionists that they were afraid of him and were seeking his aid against their powerful rival, Russia.

But whether it be so or not, one thing ought fairly to result from this visit and it is to make the bond between the Amir and the Government closer and the possibility of an Anglo-Afghan alliance against Russia nearer. It may be that even the yearly subsidy of ten *lakhs* paid to his father, the 20,000 breech-loading rifles, the batteries of artillery and ammunition he received from Lord Dufferin, the raising of that subsidy to 18 *lakhs* later on and the

payment of all the arrears of the subsidy in 1904 to the tune of some 60 *lakhs* of Rupees, the right to the unrestricted importation of arms and the recognition of himself as the independent king of Afghanistan, have not yet driven from his mind the suspicion of foreigners, and the day when he may permit the construction of a Railway to Cabul and Candahar, or the establishment of telegraphic communication between his capital and India or the re-organization of his army under British officers, is yet distant. But he would be more than human if all that has been done in India in connection with his visit, did not make him more friendly to the Government; and if it succeeds in removing his suspicions in ever so small a degree, the cost may not be grudged. Whether it will do so, time alone will show.

But whatever may be said of the political effect of the visit, there can be no two opinions about the immense encouragement it has afforded to the cause of Mahomedan advancement in India. For the first time after the fall of the Mughals, have the Mahomedans joined in public prayers under an independent sovereign. In Agra the Amir acted as the Imam when he went to say his prayers at the Jama Musjid on Friday. The thousands of Mahomedans there were all animated with a feeling of unity. The Amir read the *khutba*, but, it is said, without the name of the king. In Aligarh he also officiated at prayers and in Delhi he will probably do the same. His speech at Aligarh, where he told the students of the M. A.-O. College to be as mindful of the truths of their religion as of their study of western science and literature, his active sympathy with the College and the cordiality with which he mixed with the people there and the scrutiny with which he saw everything, all show that in him the Mahomedans have a great sympathizer and a powerful friend. His attitude towards all that conduces to their welfare cannot, therefore, fail to have a very beneficial effect upon the general attitude of



HIS MAJESTY AMIR HABIBULLAH KHAN OF AFGHANISTAN.

the Government of the country towards them and might well make the Hindus wish that they too had a friend like him. Divided as the latter are amongst innumerable castes and sub-castes, many of whom, to say the least, jealous of each other, rent with religious differences which have always defeated the efforts of the best reformers to reconcile, having no religious or social leader of a towering personality to look up to, and in some parts of the country accentuating differences which already divide the rulers and the ruled, by an unwise system of boycott; it looks as if the Hindus are soon likely to be distanced in the race of life by their Mahomedan fellow-countrymen. Does it ever occur to those who are talking of boycotting every Government appointment, paid or honorary, and everything else in which the Government has any hand, how unwise their whole conduct is in the face of their having themselves done so little to develop the resources of the country and find food for the millions who would be driven

to starvation were their advice listened to? As an American remarked the other day, you may draw but not drive the British Government.

The Amir of Cabul has by his stopping the sacrifice of cows in Delhi on the occasion of his visit there, shown how tolerant he is of other people's religious feelings. His attitude in this respect ought to furnish a lesson to both Hindus and Mahomedans. If they learn this lesson they can make themselves happy as well as save the Government much trouble. It is said that in Cabul the Hindus are treated in the same way as the Mahomedans. If it is so, it is a matter of great satisfaction and like the other incident shows the broad-mindedness of the Afghan ruler. To conclude, the bill, of which let us hope England will pay at least a portion, may be heavy, but the effect of the visit cannot be otherwise than good and it is hoped that the Amir will carry pleasant recollections of India and her people.

Jan. 23, 1907.

AN INDIAN THINKER.

NOTES

The last week of the year 1906 was so crowded with events that it has been the despair of even the most energetic daily journalist to deal adequately with them. A Briareus installed in the editorial chair might have done it; but we fancy there would still have been wanting the omnivorous reader to match. Speaking seriously, it must be evident to all intelligent persons that during "national" week no active or deliberative work is properly done; the majority of those who attend the sessions of the Congress and the numerous Conferences indulge in patriotic dissipation, unintentional though it be. A remedy has to be found, and educated India

is surely equal to the task. Perhaps we have to seek it in the direction of the gradual growth of a class of intelligent patriotic persons whose movements do not depend on court holidays. In the meantime let us make the most of the opportunities that such holidays afford by proper organisation and economical methods of work. It is matter for congratulation that, in spite of the hurry, so much work is done. It is matter for still greater satisfaction that the national awakening has touched every sphere of human thought and activity, though in some cases, not in proportion to their relative importance.

The Congress which still seems to have only just ended, appears alike memorable and important, whether we read its own records, reported without comment, or weigh one against the other the conflicting editorial opinions of the papers in India and England. Amongst friends and foes alike, the note of surprise is audible at the 'united front presented by the Congress to the world.' We do not think this surprise is justified. The great distinction of Indian politics appears, to one within the racial ranks, to be their unanimity. We are not inclined to think that either Ireland or Russia can show a similar unanimity amongst their patriotic factions. Hungary and Norway, who can, have both compelled the whole world to admit the fact. The outstanding characteristic of Congress leaders in the past, moreover, has been an overwhelming respect for the integrity and continuity of the Congress. Time and again the more outspoken and enthusiastic,—shall we say, the extreme,—amongst us have capitulated to the seniors rather than jeopardise that unity which was still dearer to the most hot-headed of us than his own opinions. The turn of the wheel brings many revolutions, and to-day, with a peculiar generosity, the elders amongst us have recognised and asserted the right to be heard of an utterance that would not perhaps otherwise have been their utterance, have accepted a movement as national, which they had not themselves initiated, and have implicitly announced thereby their own future loyalty to the new eagerness of passion of the forward advance. But we do not agree with those who hold that such action shows "a gradual training" of the Congress leaders, or a successful imitation of a foreign pattern. On the contrary, to our eyes it appears that this mutual deference and respect of young and old,—this common unspoken determination effectively to maintain the working-union, no matter how recklessly either may seem now and again to strain at

the tether—is peculiarly Indian. We read in it no slow political growth, but the old familiar methods of the undivided family. And it is but added proof to us that all the sources of our strength are to be found in ourselves, when once we have learned to avail ourselves of them. The deferential and patriarchal habits of the undivided family have long acted to conceal our strength, alike from outsiders and from ourselves. But the strength was there. And to-day the manner that hitherto seemed to do us less than justice has suddenly become a powerful political weapon. For it has revealed the fact that *we are not a majority, but a unity*—solid, impregnable, without dissentients on one side or the other. And as our manners amongst ourselves are those of kith and kin, so be it understood, is the heart within us also. We are of one blood, we Indian people, and the hurt of any one member affects us all. On this fact, no longer a faith but a demonstration, our future depends. For that future we must all work, work with hearts that never droop and hands that never waver, remembering all the while that in things essential there should be unity, in things non-essential liberty, and in all things charity.

Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji's presidential address has been variously estimated. It may at once be conceded that it does not lay any claim to literary excellence. That it is wanting in the emotional element is also quite plain. But cold steel does as good execution in its way as the red hot bullet. That it does not say anything that its author has not said before is also admitted;—and on the art of effective repetition we have had our say last month in the article on Mr. Naoroji. The great merit of the address lies in the fact that it states in clear and unequivocal language our chief political demand, namely, *Swarāj* or self-government.

"(1) Just as the administration of the United Kingdom in all services, departments and details is in the hands of the people themselves of that country, so

should we in India claim that the administration in all services, departments and details should be in the hands of the people themselves of India.

"This is not only a matter of right and matter of the aspirations of the educated—important enough as these matters are—but it is far more an *absolute necessity* as the only remedy for the great inevitable economic evil which Sir John Shore pointed out a hundred and twenty years ago, and which is the fundamental cause of the present drain and poverty. The remedy is absolutely necessary for the material, moral, intellectual, political, social, industrial and every possible progress and welfare of the people of India.

"(2) As in the United Kingdom and the Colonies all taxation and legislation and the power of spending the taxes are in the hands of the representatives of the people of those countries, so should also be the rights of the people of India.

"(3) All financial relations between England and India must be just and on a footing of equality, *i. e.*, whatever money India may find towards expenditure in any department—Civil or Military or Naval—to the extent of that share should Indians share in all the benefits of that expenditure in salaries, pensions, emoluments, &c., materials, &c., as a partner in the Empire, as she is always declared to be. We do not ask any favours. We want only justice. Instead of going into any further divisions or details of our rights as British citizens, the whole matter can be comprised in one word—"Self-government" or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies."

Some of us have concluded in a mood of either hasty appreciation or of equally hasty fault-finding that Mr. Naoroji is in favour of self-government on colonial lines, but not of absolute autonomy. But the actual words that he uses—"Self-government or *Swaraj* like that of the United Kingdom or the Colonies"—do not warrant any such conclusion. There is nothing to prevent us from interpreting his words to mean that he desires absolute autonomy like that of the United Kingdom, but would be content to have self-government on colonial lines under British suzerainty. And that shows the temperament of the practical statesman as distinguished from that of the doctrinaire politician or the political visionary. It is this temperament, too, that

leads him to demand *at once only a beginning* but not the full rights of self-government. For, absolute autonomy, and self-government on colonial lines in a fully developed form, are at present equally remote. India can be immediately free either as the result of a successful armed rebellion, or as the result of a magnanimous renunciation by the British nation of their suzerainty and domination. But both are equally out of the question. So we have to make a gradual advance.

We may here observe in passing that at present the mere imagination of a day when England's suzerainty over India may cease is considered even by professed European well-wishers of India as treading on forbidden ground. But we venture to think that it does not necessarily involve sedition or hostility to England, or, that much dreaded thing, extremism. A time there was when Anglo-Indian statesmen thought of Indian independence not only without dread but rather with prophetic hope and pride. A man does not pose or attitudinise as a philanthropist in his *private* journal and this is what we find in "The Private Journal of the Marquess of Hastings" under date the 17th of May, 1818:—

"A time not very remote will arrive when England will, on sound principles of policy, wish to relinquish the domination which she has gradually and unintentionally assumed over this country, and from which she cannot at present recede. In that hour it would be the proudest boast and most delightful reflection that she had used her sovereignty towards enlightening her temporary subjects, so as to enable the native communities to walk alone in the paths of justice, and to maintain with probity towards their benefactress that commercial intercourse in which we should then find a solid interest."—P. 326, vol. ii.

Mr. Naoroji advocates agitation as the means of advance. He is right in saying that petitioning is not.

"begging for any favours any more than that the conventional "Your obedient servant" in letters

makes a man an obedient servant. It is the conventional way of approaching higher authorities. The petitions are claims for rights or for justice or for reforms,—to influence and put pressure on Parliament by showing how the public regard any particular matter. The fact that we have more or less failed hitherto is not because we have petitioned too much, but that we have petitioned too little."

It is true that sensitive souls having self-respect feel it humiliating to have to make representations which are unheeded. But we must remember that even in self-governing countries such is the fate of many representations. And after all it is certainly far more humiliating to have to live under foreign rule than to adopt a "mendicant policy" to get rid of foreign domination to some extent. In advocating agitation, Mr. Naoroji does not place himself against other lawful methods of political work. At the time when the Bengal boycott was proclaimed, he encouraged the Bengalis in that line of action. His address, no doubt, is silent on the point;—and this has seemed to us a defect of that remarkable pronouncement. But he has said nothing to show that he is against the method of boycott, and a Congress resolution both in 1905 and 1906 has recognised the boycott to be legitimate.

After half a century of struggle and disappointment, Mr. Naoroji still hopes that "the British conscience" will assert itself. He must have reason for the faith that is in him. His age, character and intellectual capacity, and the disinterested and devoted work that he has done for his country for half a century, incline us to make his faith our own. It is not impossible, too, for a nation to be just. Whilst we are perfectly sure that Mr. Naoroji's hope is sincere, we on our part cannot without hypocrisy say that we have full faith in the sense of justice of the British people; but at the same time we do not say that they may not in future be juster than they have been in the past. Our hope of India's salvation rests

chiefly and primarily on what Mr. Naoroji has called "the supremacy of the moral law." And the appeal to a nation's sense of justice and love of righteousness is ultimately based on the moral order of the universe. At the same time we must not forget that in mundane affairs large masses of people are influenced oftener by fear and self-interest. It is for this reason that we wish our national strength to be developed in all directions, so that our rulers may feel that unless justice be done, effective retaliation is sure to follow. We lay stress on the word *effective*. The Bengal boycott has not been effective, nor the Bengal strikes. Both boycott and the strikes as political weapons are threats. If you threaten, you must be in a position to carry out the threat. Else it is worse than useless. It is for this reason that we are at this stage of our national life and feeling opposed to the *declaration* of the extension of the boycott as a political weapon to provinces other than Bengal. In the meantime every patriotic Indian should practise the economical boycott as far as possible.

We may incidentally observe that some well-known men have said that Bengal is justified in using the boycott as a political weapon, as Bengali opinion and sentiment have been contemptuously trampled under foot. But may we ask, in what province of India are popular opinion and sentiment considered or respected? Non-Bengalis may not yet have had any occasion to feel humiliated so much, but we are really all in the same boat. It is no doubt a fact that the national bond and feeling are still so weak all over India that the other provinces do not feel Bengal's wrong and humiliation to be theirs also. Of this we ought to be ashamed; and not flaunt it ostentatiously as the reason for our not joining Bengal in her boycott movement. Bengal need not be apologetic. She has resolved well and worthily. Where the unworthiness of her sons and daughters comes in is that they have

not manfully and with womanly singleness of devotion taken all possible steps to carry out the resolve. We are not alone in thinking that Bengal's humiliation is India's humiliation, too. The Hon'ble Dr. Rashbihari Ghosh very wisely observed in his brilliant address:—

"For behind this deliberate outrage upon public sentiment and closely connected with it there is a very much larger issue affecting the good government of this country. That issue is nothing more nothing less than this. Is India to be governed autocratically without any regard to the sentiments and opinions of the people, who must be made to know their proper place as an inferior subject race, or on those enlightened principles which are professed by our rulers? The question of partition, looked at from this point of view, involves a trial of strength between the people and the bureaucracy and in that trial I am sure we shall have not merely the good wishes but also the active support and sympathy of all our countrymen."

We have said above that large masses of people are influenced by the motive of self-interest. Mr. Naoroji has never been oblivious of that fact. Time and again he has told the British people that if the people of India were better governed they would be in a position to purchase British manufactures to a far larger extent than now. He repeats this appeal to their self-interest in an appendix to his address, from which we make the following extract:—

"The Colonies within the short time of their development by self-government, are receiving British and Irish goods in spite of their protection against British goods, Canada 37 [shillings] per head; Australia 88-12 per head and the Cape 100 per head; India takes the very small amount of 2-8 per head after 150 years of British rule and administration with free trade and with entire British control! What an extraordinary loss this is to the industries, riches and trade of the United Kingdom! Had India been dealt with righteously with self-government like that of the Colonies and had she been able to receive British goods even 20 per head (let alone 37, 88 and 100), the United Kingdom would have exported to India in 1904 not the poor £40,000,000 but $7\frac{1}{2}$ times £40,000,000 i. e., £300,000,000, as much as the United Kingdom had in 1904 exported

to the whole world, which was £300,711,041. What a grand thing it would have been for the wealth and industries and trade of the United Kingdom. This grand result would have happened if India had self-government; and will happen when India will be a self-governing country."

We have no space to comment on all the important points in Mr. Naoroji's address. We shall conclude by drawing attention to one more passage in it. It runs—

"The Boer war cost Britain more than two hundred millions and 20,000 dead, and 20,000 wounded. India, on the other hand, has enriched Britain instead of costing anything—and the blood that was shed was largely Indian blood—and yet this is a strange contrast. The Boers have already obtained self-government in a few years after conquest, while India has not yet received self-government though it is more than 200 years from the commencement of the political connection."

What are the causes of this strange contrast? Obviously two: (1) the Boers are a white people, (2)—and here the motive of fear comes in—the Boers can fight and offer united active resistance to foreign despotism. Perhaps the Boers have been able to convince the British people that the Transvaal would not be a bed of roses if self-government were not given to it. The best way to convince statesmen that certain reforms are urgently needed is to give them object lessons that a smooth working of the administrative machinery of the country is impossible without those reforms. An appeal to their sense of justice is good, but these object lessons are not superfluous, if only by way of stimulating their sense of justice. But it may be urged with some show of reason that as we are weak and the British Government and people are so immeasurably strong, we ought not to do anything which will rouse their resentment, we ought not to think of even lawful retaliation. But the initial mistake is in thinking that we are weak. No. *I am weak*, may be true. But it is never true to say that *we* are weak, provided you have got the right to say "*we*." In

political grammar, a mere aggregation of many units do not make a "we"; but the *one* unit consisting of many *members* is rightly called "we." And that "we" is never weak.

For some years past, there has been a demand for a constitution for the Congress. We have got a constitution now, "for sustained and continuous political work" all over India, and for other purposes. We are not opposed to the Congress having a constitution. We advocate it and admit its necessity and utility. But we should bear in mind that a constitution cannot create workers. With the exception of the United Provinces, almost all provinces in India have had political associations for years past. What prevented these bodies from doing "sustained and continuous political work"? Certainly not the want of a constitution for the Congress. Constitutions are good, even necessary; but men are necessary to make them living. Many countries besides England have got Parliamentary constitutions. But they are not equally efficient everywhere, because the men who work them are not everywhere similar in temper, character and capacity. As the constitution of the Congress is tentative, its defects can be easily removed. In the Central Standing Committee the numbers allotted to different provinces seem to have been somewhat arbitrarily fixed, without much reference to their area, population, literacy or moral and material progress. The allotment of members of the Subjects Committee to the provinces is also open to the same criticism. The constitution is entirely silent on three points, (1) the qualifications of delegates, (2) the qualifications of electors, and (3) the standard of population or other standard according to which the number of delegates to be elected by a village, town, or association is to be determined. These constitute a difficult problem; but we hope it is neither unworthy of attention, nor insoluble.

We have in a previous note spoken of the poetical visionary, but we hope not in a spirit of disparagement. Visions are not useless. Sow a dream and it becomes an idea. Sow an idea and it becomes a wish. Sow a wish and becomes a resolve. Sow a resolve and it becomes a deed. As Spenser says

"For, of the soul the body form doth take;
For soul is form and doth the body make:"

so is the vision of to-day the reality of tomorrow. Six centuries before the unification and independence of Italy under one king Dante dream of one united Italy. Byron has translated his burning words in the lines—

Hast thou not bled? and hast thou still to bleed,
Italia? Ah! to me such things, foreshown
With dim sepulchral light, bid me forget
In thine irreparable wrongs my own;
We can have but one country, and even yet
Thou'rt mine—my bones shall be within thy brea
My soul within thy language, which once set
With our old Roman sway in the wide west;

* * * * *

Oh! my own beauteous land! so long laid low,
So long the grave of thy own children's hopes,
When there is but required a single blow
To break the chain, yet—the avenger stops,
And doubt and discord step 'twixt thine and thee
And join their strength to that which with thee
copes:

What is there wanting then to set thee free,
And show thy beauty in its fullest light?
To make the Alps impassable; and we

Her sons, may do this with *one* deed—UNITE!

No. The visionary is not a useless member of society. Let us have visions by all means but let us not *merely* dream. Let us in the meanwhile take what we get and fit ourselves more and more for self-government. It is true, as Mr. Naoroji says, "we can never be fit till we actually undertake the work and the responsibility." But in matters which rest mainly or entirely in our hands, let us show our capacity for united, organised and fruitful work. From this point of view the resolutions of the Congress on Swadeshism and national education are very important. They formally

recognise that petitioning and protesting are not our sole duties; we have also constructive work to do. Let us do that work now.

In social matters we are much more able and free to arrive at our goal independently than in matters educational and industrial. The importance of the Social Conference is, therefore, very great. Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose's presidential address is not a brilliant performance. There was some inconsistency, too, between what he said in the beginning about its being necessary that the resolutions of the Conference should be acceptable to the Hindus, and what he said towards the close of his address as to "the main aim of the Indian Social Conference" being "to influence public opinion." The inconsistency becomes still more glaring when he is reported to have said:

"I wish further to impress upon you gentlemen not to be satisfied with simply a theoretical belief of what is right and proper, but act up to the courage of your conviction. It is idle to expect that in carrying out any reform, you will meet with no opposition or carry the whole community with you all at once. On the contrary you should be prepared to encounter some amount of misunderstanding, possibly of some vituperation."

He also trotted out the exploded fallacy of "taking the mass of the community with us." But, in spite of all the literary and other faults of his address, we must say he was quite justified in taking to task our politicians for their almost exclusive attention to politics. The mention of the name of an Ananda Mohan Bose is no defence. And he was not an orthodox Hindu, too. Sir Chunder Madhub was perfectly right when he said that we must make progress all along the line and not spend all our force in political or semi-political agitation.

It is only fitting that woman should take a leading part in social reform. Not only is she the maker and the ruler of the home, the family, which is the unit of society, but the most crying social evils are the wrong and

unjust treatment of our womanhood at present and for ages past. Woman's education, the abolition or partial removal of the *pardai*, the abolition of polygamy, the putting an end to child marriages and to enforced widowhood, social purity including the antinatal movement,—these all relate to woman. It strengthens our hope, therefore, to find that the womanhood of India is standing up for her rights. At the last Social Conference the best speeches were those by some ladies, and the most brilliant and telling of all was that of Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, the gifted poetess whose birth and marriage symbolise the future unification of the various races of India. She did not repeat hackneyed phrases. Her words were the genuine coinage of her soul. In ringing words of courage born of conviction she firmly said.

"At this great moment of stress and striving, when the Indian races are seeking for the ultimate unity of a common national ideal, it is well for us to remember that the success of the whole movement lies centred in what is known as the woman question. *It is not you but we who are the nation-builders.*"

Referring to the question of the education of woman, she observed:—

"Others again were neither 'for Jove or Jehovah,' but were for compromise, bringing forward a whole syllabus of compromises. 'Teach this,' they said, 'and not that.' But my friends, in matters of education you cannot say *thus far and no further*. Either can you say to the winds of Heaven 'Blow not where ye list,' nor forbid the waves to cross their boundaries, nor yet the human soul to soar beyond the bounds of arbitrary limitations. * * *. Does one man dare to deprive another of his birth-right to God's pure air which nourishes his body? How then shall a man dare to deprive a human soul of its immemorial inheritance of liberty and life? And yet, my friends, man has so dared in the case of Indian women. That is why you men of India are to-day where you are: because your fathers in depriving your mothers of that immemorial birth-right have robbed you, their sons, of your just inheritance. Therefore, I charge you, restore to your women their ancient rights, for, as I have said, it is we, and not you, who are the real nation-builders, and without our active co-operation

at all points of progress all your congresses and conferences are in vain. Educate your women, and the nation will take care of itself, for it is true to-day as it was yesterday and will be to the end of human life that the hand that rocks the cradle is the power that rules the world".

If the feature of the Social Conference commented upon above is hopeful, the Ladies' Conference, where large numbers even of *pardah* ladies thronged,—is still more so. It was entirely in the fitness of things that the movement should have originated in Bombay, where woman is freer than anywhere else in India. The Ladies' Conference shows that the sentiment of nationality has touched the heart of the Indian people, that the progressive movement has planted its flag in the very citadel of the national stronghold. Now perhaps one may be justified in hoping that the future is secure. Her Highness the Maharani of Baroda, who presided over its deliberations, is undoubtedly the greatest lady in the land, and the natural leader of Indian womanhood in general. It is a wonderful thing that her union of beauty, graciousness and royal simplicity, should constitute so large a personal dower for the position which has thus fallen to her as the consort of the distinguished prince whose throne she shares. Just as H. H. the Maharaja Gaekwar said in his inaugural address at the Industrial Conference, "that our interests [those of prince and people] are one and the same;—whatever helps and elevates you helps and elevates us: whatever retards your progress retards ours:" so did the Maharani say in her own gracious way:—

"I come as a returned wanderer, as an exile taken back in his home again, for there is a bond of union which unites us and makes all India our home. You received me kindly and lovingly two years ago and I feel myself as much at home in Bengal as at Baroda,—among sisters engaged in the same work and endeavours,—daughters of the same beloved Motherland. Your *Mahila Samiti* cherishes these sentiments. One of its principal objects is to unite Indian ladies of all creeds, castes, and races. Our men are drawing

closer together, year after year, by means of Congresses and various Conferences, and through common aims, aspirations and endeavours. But I think, in cementing the bonds of national union, we, women of India, have an influence not less potent than that of men. We meet each other in our homes; we learn to know and respect and love each other within the walls of the Zenana; and we strengthen those ties which hold together a nation. For although we may live a thousand miles apart and although we may speak different languages, we are united by a bond of common sentiments and common endeavours. High or low, or rich or poor, we are all proud of the same traditions of the past, inspired by the same aspirations for the future, united by the same sentiments of affection and of love. It is a happy idea, therefore, which has led the *Mahila Samiti* to try and bring together ladies from all parts of India. The more we meet, the more we know each other, the better shall we succeed in our common work and endeavours."

"It is not you but we who are the true nation-builders," said Mrs. Naidu. It only shows how the same idea is knocking for welcome at the heart-gates of all that Her Highness should also have observed:—

"The manhood and the womanhood of India is our handiwork; let us mothers, train the future manhood and womanhood of India to the service of our country."

The Maharani's wondering admiration of the *Swadeshi* movement and her exhortation to all women to join in it was and is wholehearted. She sets a very high value; as is evident to all who know her intimately, on that practical *Swadeshim* that is demonstrated in fashionable women by wearing nothing foreign. One lady whom she knew well was gravely reproached by her in Calcutta for wearing a veil of *bideshi* chiffon.

The address of welcome to the Ladies' Conference was read by Mrs. J. C. Bose; that type of the best womanhood of India who has chosen to hide the light of her sterling womanly worth under a bushel. Truer words were never uttered on woman's education than when she said:—

"Amongst such questions is that of the Education of women in its various grades, higher, secondary and

elementary. We feel that it is for us to speak with no uncertain voice as to our will and desire on this matter. When our own mind is known to ourselves, events and institutions must obey our will. We believe that it is for us women, above all, to keep clearly before ourselves and before our country, the reasons and ideals with which we seek for a deeper and extended education; not that we may make better matches for our girls, because they are decorated with accomplishments as well as with bridal ornaments; not even that the services of the wife and the daughter-in-law may be more valuable in the home of her adoption, but because woman, like man, is first of all a mind, and only in the second place physical and a body, because life is a great spiritual experience which demands every power of the ripe and awakened heart and intellect for its true fulfilment; because true education, the highest development available in the given age, and the given place, has always been held in India to be the right of woman as truly as of man. In ancient days when Sanskrit learning and philosophy was typical of all culture had we not Gargi and Maitreyi amongst historic figures? In later days when Astronomy and Mathematics had been added to the national learning, had we not Lilavati the daughter of Bhasakaracharya, and Khana? Amongst our Mahomedan sisters, is it not matter of history that the *ladies* of the Mogul Court—Nur Jahan and others, were amongst the most active collectors of the illuminated manuscripts which the emperors loved to gather together? For we cannot but remember here that the name which shines in history is only the culminating point of a vast series of unrecorded efforts of the same kind. Thus we Indian women are by no means willing to admit that the men of our own land have ever been desirous of shutting out from us the typical culture of each epoch as it rose. Rather they have valued our comradeship and honoured our achievements calling us constantly to share in their highest pursuits. Even now those who have been present, know that there is no acclamation at the university gathering like that of the men students for the women graduates. At the present moment, then, when conceptions of culture are changing, and new modes of education must be found, we feel that it is for us to consider most anxiously and discuss sincerely the problems and ideals connected with woman's education. But while we feel that the number of candidates for higher university honours shows a painful decline on earlier years, and while we are conscious that

something must be done, under this head, for the encouragement of ambition, we must at the same time remind ourselves and our sisters that a wise judgment or the noble employment of leisure forms a greater proof of real education than the power to speak, for example, a foreign language."

She passed on to speak of the cherishing and revival of the dying Indian industries, and of woman's duty and privilege in this respect.

"We must not grudge our sons to this task though giving them many mean years of self-denial on our own part. We must not allow despair even to whisper in our ears. For new industries have to be introduced and acclimatised amongst us. Machine processes have to be organised, methods of business on the large scale and the small, must be assimilated, and above all the ideals of sound commercial life, the integrity of the merchant, the honour and promptitude of the businessman, the loyalty and courtesy essential to successful co-operation, have to be realised and that largely at our urging."

"Closely allied to this, and a part of it, is the question of the revival of spinning for women. It was the fact that cotton for the purpose was spun by hand that made the old weavers independent of the staple, in producing such fabrics as the 'woven wind' of Dacca. This skill must be brought back. Fortunately we are not in India, as in other countries, in the position of having filled up the leisure of our women, which used to be spent in spinning, in other ways. The place still waits, empty for the re-appearance of the old occupation. There is still a handful of rice for each woman who has a handful of thread to sell. A world of perplexities is thus resolved at once, by the simple restoration of an old state of things. But how is the impulse to go out to women? How is the invitation and knowledge to be carried? Here, your Highness and ladies, we feel that by mutual consultation much help may be given us all."

We regret we are unable to mention the many other points of interest in her beautiful address. We shall conclude with her terse summing up of woman's function.

"But whatever be the subject brought up for comparison of ideas, we believe that it will be found to involve always some form or other of woman's great function of protection. Aggressive activities we may leave to man, but woman, who is the mother in the household, preserving, protecting, bearing the burden

of the weakest, securing to each member of the family, his own greatest self-development, shall she not also be as the mother and protector in the village, in the city, in the commonwealth as a whole?"

In many respects the Second Indian Industrial Conference which was held at Calcutta on the 29th and 31st December last, was even a greater success than the first session held at Benares in the previous year. The attendance on the first day, when His Highness the Maharajah Gaekwar delivered his Inaugural Address, was very satisfactory; but on the second day it was equally unsatisfactory. The Conference was thoroughly representative, delegates having come from all parts of the country. Mr. P. N. Bose as Chairman of the Bengal Provincial Committee of the Conference opened the meeting with an interesting speech. But the two utterances of the session were of course the Inaugural Address of His Highness the Gaekwar and the Presidential Address of the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodher Thackersey. His Highness well summed up the present Industrial situation of India as follows:—

"In some industries like cotton, we are only at the very threshold of success, and produce only about a fourth of what we ought to produce. In other industries like woollen and jute, we are indebted almost entirely to European capital and enterprise, we ourselves have scarcely made a beginning as yet. In a third class of industries, like sugar and tanneries, we have actually lost ground within the last ten years. While in a fourth class of industries like iron, we are still almost wholly dependent on Europe, the produce of our own foundries scarcely supplying any appreciable proportion of the requirements of India."

The Resolutions passed at the Conference were few and business-like and all related to subjects of great present importance. On the whole the Conference was a great success.

Mr. Naoroji said in his address:

"All the three great purposes—political, social and industrial—must be set working side by side. The progress in each will have its influence on the others."

Sir Chunder Madhub Ghose said much the

same thing in his address. It is gratifying to find that the Gaekwar, too, laid stress on the same principle in his inaugural address. Said he:—

"I am strongly convinced that our activities in all different departments of life, political, social and industrial are so correlated that we shall never make any marked progress in one without making similar progress in all."

His Highness's address comprises the past history of Indian industries and the present industrial situation, points out the importance of general education as a means to promote industries, insists on the need of free compulsory education, dwells upon the importance of technical education and describes it as it exists in various Western countries, suggests the introduction of manual training and industrial education in the ordinary schools and points out the need of sending our young men abroad for education. The address, apart from its value as a mine of information and a stimulus to patriotic thinking, is almost artistic alike in its symmetrical attention to all the factors that make for national perfection as in its beautiful conclusion. His Highness is of opinion that

"There is ground for hope but not for joy or elation; there are strong reasons for earnest and continued endeavour in the future to secure that success which we are bound to achieve if we are true to ourselves."

The Gaekwar brings very prominently to our notice the fact that we are engaged in a "duel with Western Nations with weapons of their choosing."

"The danger of extinction with which our industries are threatened is therefore imminent. Keep to your conservative methods, cling to your orthodox ways of work, and your industries must perish. Such is the inexorable law of the survival of the fittest, and such the admonition which a true Swadeshi movement ought to give you. If the rush of the steam engine and the whiz of electricity, combined with cheap and easy means of transport, have succeeded in dumping your Bazaars with the cheap and attractive products of foreign marts, rise to the occasion and learn how to withstand this inroad with intelligent

anticipation and skilful adaptation. Learn to force nature into a corner; accost her and bring out her inmost secrets. Harness her powers, tackle her energies, and make of her a handmaid unto man. Work nature to the relief of man's estate. Any competition between skill, capital and organised enterprise on the one hand, and ignorance, idleness and poverty on the other, can only have one result. Learn to combine and co-operate; learn the value of time and the use of money, and the chances of a fairer fight will eventually requite all your efforts."

He recognises the principle of self-sacrifice involved in Swadeshim.

"Patriotism demands that the greater cost and the slight discomfort of using indigenous goods should be cheerfully put up with at the outset. But remember that no such movement can be permanently successful unless it involves a determined effort to improve their quality and cheapen their cost, so as to compete successfully with foreign products. The most rigid economist will then have no flaw to find in your Swadeshi armour."

Having been connected with education for nearly two decades, we are pleased to find the Gaekwar assigning its true place and worth to manual training. Says he:

"You should endeavour to introduce some Manual Training in the ordinary schools. The training of the eye and of the hand at an early age is useful to all,—even to those who have not to support themselves by manual industry in life. Early lessons in drawing and modelling, simple instructions in carpentry and smith's work, are good for all students in all ranks of life. Physicians and psychologists tell us that such exercises, by introducing a variety in the course of studies, really refresh and help the brain, and make boys and girls more capable of acquiring both learning and arts. And moreover, to attach some industrial classes to our ordinary schools would have the healthy effect of giving a complete and not one-sided education to our children. The richer classes would be brought more in touch with the humble industries; the poor classes would acquire that skill and facility in handling tools which can be only acquired at an early age; all people in all branches of life would be impressed with the dignity of manual labour more than they do now in India; and your endeavour to promote the industries of the land would be greatly helped when the nation receives an

elementary technical training in schools. At the same time it is necessary to bear constantly in mind that no amount of specialized training in manual arts can fill the place of that liberal education and general culture which should serve as the necessary substratum for all kinds of learning. Technical training is a supplement, but not a substitute, for general education, and should never be turned into a fact."

The passages in his speech which relate to the elevation of the humbler classes are perhaps the most inspiring in the address.

"The nation that despises its humblest classes, that provides for them no opportunity to rise in the social scale and in self-esteem, is building its house upon the sand. The wealth of a nation is the quality of its manhood."

"Bid her people forget their caste and tribal prejudices in the common effort to uplift the fortunes of India; bid them find expression for their religious enthusiasm in practical co-operation for the uplifting of humanity—of the human spirit in the temple of God. Bid them be free men, economically, socially, and intellectually; and no power under Heaven can long keep them in servitude."

"No permanently sound and stable development can occur unless we take pains to educate the masses of our people to a sense of their paramount importance and dignity in the social structure. I conceive it to be the prime duty of the enlightened and well-to-do amongst us to rouse, to stimulate, and to educate the lower classes. We should help them to help themselves. But ever let us beware of paternalism. Not charity but co-operation is the crying need of the hour."

"Break the monopoly of caste prerogatives and social privileges. They are self-arrogated, and are no more inherent in any one caste than commercial predominance or political supremacy in any one nation. Learn the luxury of self-sacrifice; elevate your brethren of the humbler castes to your own level; and smooth all artificial angularities. Always appraise action more than talk, and ever be ready to translate your word into deed."

The glitter of Western civilization has not blinded the Gaekwar to its defects,—the conflict between capital and labour, the centralising of population in the great industrial cities, the miasmic spirit of greed with which

the air is surcharged, the love of display and the sordid worship of material wealth and power. He concludes :

"It may be the mission of India, clinging fast to the philosophic simplicity of her ethical code, to solve the problems which have baffled the best minds of the West,—to build up a sound economic policy along modern scientific lines, and at the same time preserve the simplicity, the dignity, the ethical and spiritual fervor of her people. I can conceive of no loftier mission for India than this ; to teach philosophy to the West and learn its science ; impart purity of life to Europe and attain to her loftier political ideal ; inculcate spirituality to the American mind and imbihe the business ways of its merchant."

Mr. Thackersey's observations on "foreign capital" are very wise. He is quite justified in suggesting in his masterly address that

"The legislature should make it obligatory on every industrial concern floated by foreign Companies that the same opportunities should be given to Indian capitalists, that the prospectus should be published simultaneously in both countries, that the time for applications for shares should be the same, and that allotment must be made at the same rates, and on the same principles. This is the least that our Government should do under the present circumstances."

Referring to the Swadeshi movement and the enthusiasm it has evoked, he observed :

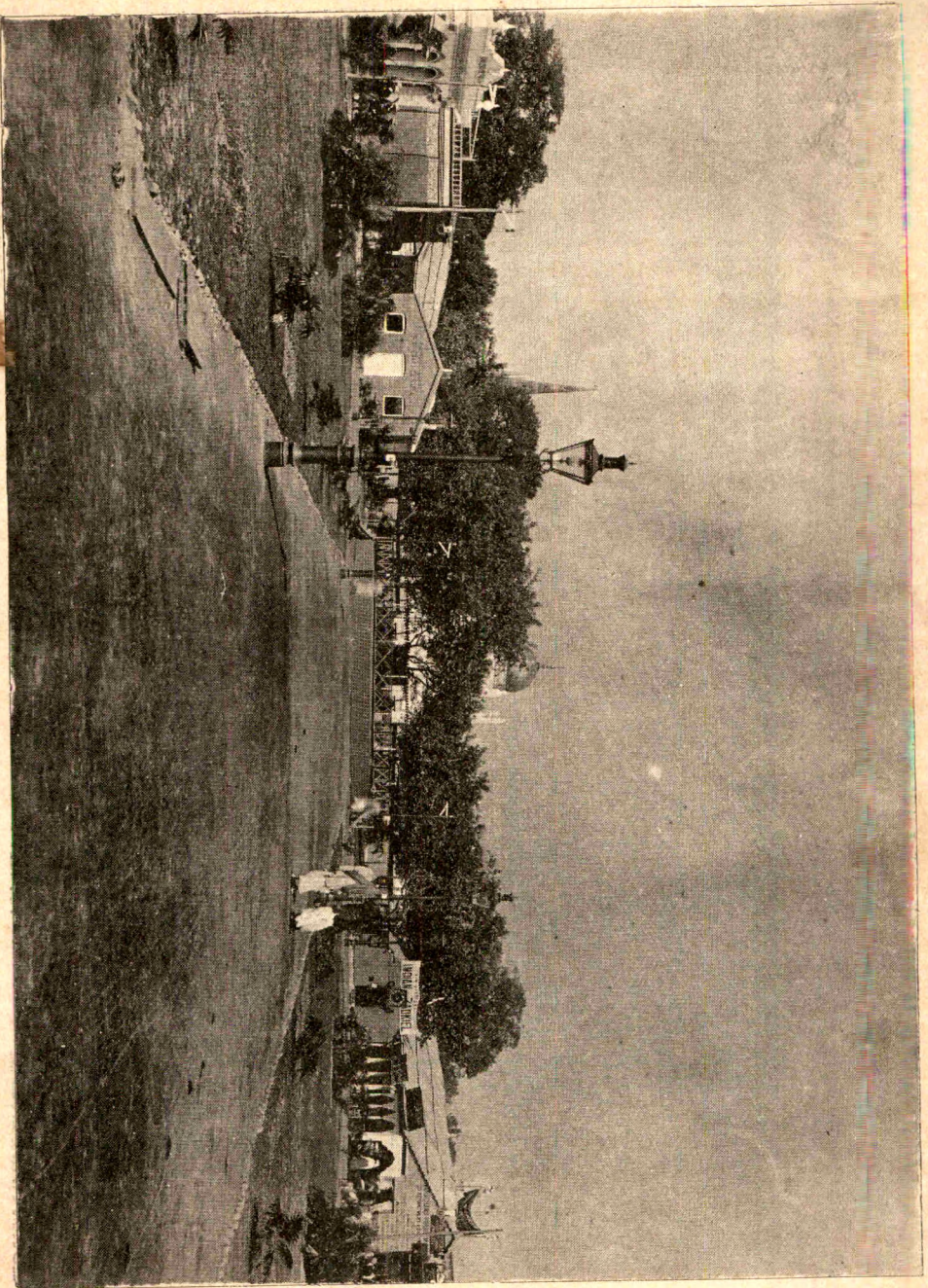
"Gentlemen in Bengal, on behalf of the whole country I tender you our hearty thanks for this valuable result which is wholly due to your enthusiasm in the cause of the motherland. I am not one of those, gentlemen, who sneer at enthusiasm. Enthusiasm is divine, and without it even in regard to the industrial regeneration of the country we can achieve but little. You have applied the life-giving spark to the slumbering spirit of Swadeshim in this land, and yours is the honour of concentrating the national mind on the work of industrial development."

Both the Gaekwar and Mr. Thackersey dwelt on the urgency of improving our hand-loom and other cottage industries. In this connection it would be, therefore, fitting to draw attention to Mr. E. B. Havell's weaving village idea ; for it is only by a variety of means and methods that India can hope to regain her lost place

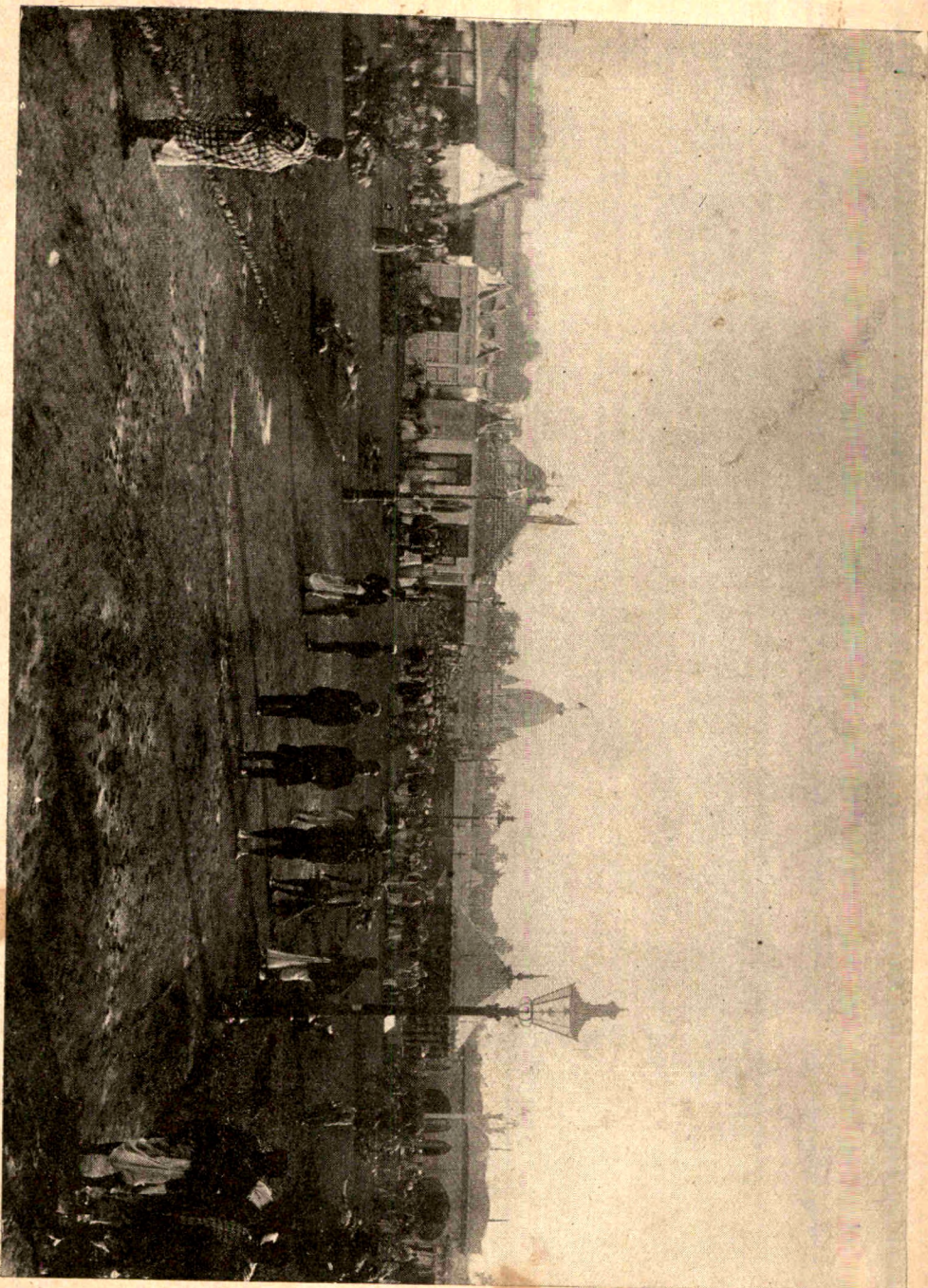
in the industrial world. In a letter to an Indian friend, Mr. Havell writes :—

"I wonder whether you and your brother will be able to do anything with my weaving village idea. It seems to me that Swadeshi people ought to do something practical to bring down the prices of country cloth. It is all very well to preach the duty of using Swadeshi cloth, but as long as it remains dearer than "bêlati," it is much easier for the rich than for the poor to keep Swadeshi vows. The weavers will not reduce their prices until they get apparatus which will increase their outturn and the merchants will not reduce theirs until the supply of country cloth is at least equal to the demand. The way in which my idea could be worked is this :—Let as many weavers as possible at Serampore or elsewhere be provided with the best apparatus and taught how to use it, GRATIS. In return for this they should engage to supply the Indian Stores (or any other agency under proper control) with a certain quantity of cloth for a certain time at reduced prices corresponding to the increase in production which the improved apparatus enabled them to make. In this way the cost of the apparatus could be eventually recovered, the weavers and the public could both be benefitted. For example, supposing the apparatus enabled the weavers to increase their production by 50 p. c., then they should agree to supply the stores with cloth for say 5 years at a reduced price of 40 p. c. The stores could then sell at a reduction of 30 p. c. :—the 10 p. c. eventually paying for the cost of the apparatus. This system practically extended would eventually bring down the price of country-cloth to the same as 'bêlati' or lower, then there would be no further need of "Swadeshi vows." The first thing to find out is the best kind of apparatus. I think Hattersley's, for though it is somewhat complicated is extremely fast in the working and that is the chief point when you compete with the power-loom. Perhaps Mr. Churchill's loom (Ahmadnagar) may equal it in speed ; if so, his would be preferable as it is more simple in construction. But the experiment need not wait for that point to be settled—you could use half of Hattersley's and half of Churchill's.

"An alternative scheme would be to start a hand-loom factory in connection with the Indian stores. But I think the other plan would be the best. Spending 'Swadeshi' money in power-loom factories is, I think, absolutely wicked. If Swadeshi is not to mean the greatest good to the greatest number it will be a curse instead of a blessing to India. What is going to be done



THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS EXHIBITION,



THE CALCUTTA CONGRESS EXHIBITION—ANOTHER VIEW.

warfare. Let them learn science and the technical arts, therefore. Culture and the glitter of a foreign civilization can and ought to wait.

The Amir's visit will probably not do us any harm. There is only one apprehension that we entertain. There has been for years a tendency in the Indian Military Department to depend less on India for recruits and more on trans-frontier tribes. A better understanding with the Amir might make Afghanistan a good recruiting ground. The bread would then be taken out of the mouth of many Indian warlike races, and the emasculation of India's manhood would proceed at a more rapid pace. Our helplessness would in that case be more complete, as we should then be to a great extent without the right, the pride and the consolation of being in part at least the defenders of our own country.

Ravi Varma's picture of the Princess and the Fowler is easily understood. A Princess, seated under a tree by the margin of a lake, was regaling her spirits with music. Suddenly a bird pierced with the arrow of a Fowler falls fluttering on her lap. Touched with compassion, she takes out the arrow and tries to save the life of the bird. Just then the Fowler appears demanding his prey. She looks reproachfully at him, with eyes which were still full of compassion for her lowly fellow-creature. The back-ground of this

beautiful picture was painted by the artist's younger brother, the late C. Raja Raja Varma, who was himself an artist of great promise.

◀ The original of Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore's picture of "Bhārat-Mātā" or mother India, should be seen to be appreciated. No reproduction that we have seen conveys any adequate idea of the original painting. Sister Nivedita has thus described it in the *Prabasi* :—

"We have here a picture which bids fair to prove the beginning of a new age in Indian art. Using all the added means of expression which the modern period has bestowed upon him, the artist has here given expression nevertheless to a purely Indian idea, in Indian form. The curving line of lotus-leaf and the white radiance of the halo are beautiful additions to the Asiatically-conceived figure with its four arms, as the symbol of the divine multiplication of power. This is the first masterpiece, in which an Indian artist has actually succeeded in disengaging, as it were, the spirit of the motherland,—giver of Faith and Learning, of Clothing and Food,—and portraying Her, as she appears to the eyes of Her children. What he sees in Her is here made clear to all of us. Spirit of the motherland, giver of all good, yet eternally virgin, eternally rapt from human sense in prayer and gift. The misty lotuses and the white light set Her apart from the common world, as much as the four arms, and Her infinite love. And yet in every detail, of *shankha* bracelet, and close-veiling garment, of bare feet, and open, sincere expression, is she not after all, our very own, heart of our heart, at once mother and daughter of the Indian land, even as to the rishis of old was Ushabala, in her Indian girlhood, daughter of the dawn?"

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

The Todas. By W. H. R. Rivers, Fellow of St. John's College, Cambridge. With 76 illustrations and a map. MacMillan & Co., Limited. 1906. Pp. xx + 755. There are also 72 genealogical tables.

This is a very detailed description of the religion and sociology of the Todas. Their physical anthropology has not been dealt with in this work. Psychological observations have also been omitted. Students of anthropology will find the book very interesting and

full of original information. The general reader, that undefinable being, will also not go away disappointed from its pages, as a brief article compiled from it and printed in this number will show. It may be noted that our illustrations are not taken from the book under notice.

The study of anthropology is not only quite fascinating, but is absolutely necessary for the construction of a perfect philosophy of human civilization. India affords unrivalled facilities for its study. Whereas the inhabitants of other civilised countries, if they want to study it at first hand, have to go to foreign parts at much sacrifice of time, money, energy and comfort, here in India, almost next door to ourselves we have various aboriginal tribes at various stages of arrested development as it were. It is a great pity, therefore, that in spite of these facilities, Indians have not taken largely to a study of anthropology. A perusal of works like the one under notice will we hope induce some of them to do so.

Annual Report on the Search for Hindi Manuscripts for the year 1902. By Syamsundar Das, B. A., Honorary Secretary, Nagari Pracharni Sabha. Published under the authority of the Government of the United Provinces. 1906. Price Rs. 2-8-0.

This is the third annual report of this valuable series. We wish the United Provinces Government Press had done its work of printing more expeditiously. The Report under review contains notices of 115 manuscripts, most of which are from the State Library at Jodhpur. Besides these notices, there is in Appendix I, a list of the manuscripts belonging to the Jodhpur State Library of which the notices have not been included in this year's report. There is also a genealogy of the Jodhpur family. It is interesting to find that like previous reports, the present one also contains notices of some Hindi books written by Mussalman authors, of whom Kasim Shah, Malik Muhammad Jaysi, Mir Muhammad and Shaikh Nabi may be mentioned here. Malik Muhammad is a well-known author. In a recent paper read by Mr. Yusuf Ali, I. C. S., at the Society of Arts, London, he says with evident pride, "Was it not Malik Muhammad of Jayas (circa 1540) who wrote the Padmavat in excellent Eastern Hindi and prepared the way for the deservedly popular Hindi classic, the Ramayan of Tulsi Das?"

The energetic secretary to the Nagari Pracharini Sabha to whom we owe these reports, observes :—

"In this connection I should also draw attention to my remarks made in the report for 1900 about romantic poetry in Hindi. I suggested that further discovery of romantic Hindi poems must necessarily lead scholars to assign a period to that. I was then able to report the discovery of some romantic poems in Hindi, and this year I am glad to report the discovery of three other poems of the same kind, although of much later date. It would appear that while the majority of Hindu poets wrote poems on Rama or Krishna, the Mahomedan poets on the other hand, being not of that religious bent of mind, devoted their poetic genius to writing romantic poems and thus contributed a great deal towards supplying this want of the Hindi Literature. It is a matter of satisfaction to note that the Hindi language to which the Mahomedans now seem to be so much opposed, was once patronized by them and they went so far as even to take a real literary interest in it."

Work like that of the Nagari Pracharini Sabha is being carried on in other provinces, too, but not perhaps so systematically. Old manuscripts in our different vernaculars are interesting alike to the philologist and to the historian of society. These works give us an exact idea of our manners, sentiments and ideals uninfluenced by modern western thought and ideals. We hope our countrymen will not stop short merely at the collection of materials but will endeavour to draw the philological and sociological conclusions, too.

The Educational System of Japan. By W. H. Sharp, M. A., Professor of Philosophy, Elphinstone College, Bombay, 1906. This is an exhaustive account of the Japanese system of education written from personal observation and with the help of Japanese official and other publications. It is well-known that the triumph of Japan in different spheres of activity is due, next to the patriotism of her sons, to her educational activity. It is, therefore, of the greatest importance for us to be able to learn as many lessons from her educational system as we can. And this book, more than any other that we know of, enables us to do so. The book goes into all the details of educational method, apparatus, school discipline, school curricula, furniture and class accommodation. It is the third "occasional report" issued from the office of the Director-General of Education in India.

Directory of Indian Goods. (Prepared in the Office of the Indian Industrial Conference, Amraoti.) Price rupees two. Postage extra.

This is a very useful publication. From its very nature, as also on account of the fact that many of our still surviving industries are carried on on a small scale by the humble dwellers in cottages who are quite innocent of the arts of advertisement, it must be incomplete; but so far as it goes it supplies a felt want. Most of us want to use indigenous articles, but do not know where to get them. Nor do our shopkeepers know. This directory will now tell us. We are afraid in many classes of goods, the supply cannot be adequate for years to come; but with the demand the supply is sure to go on increasing. Most of our shopkeepers are ignorant of English. We would therefore suggest two things to be done—(1) Provincial Committees of the Industrial Conference should publish vernacular editions of this book without delay and supply copies to shop-keepers *gratis* or at a very cheap price. We know the Vaisya Mahasabha of this province intends to do it. Their example ought to be followed in other parts.—(2) Central stores should be established all over India for the supply of indigenous goods to retail sellers.

—*The Calcutta Congress and Conferences.* Price as. 12. Published by G. A. Natesan & Co., Esplanade, Madras.

The publication, which covers over 230 pages, contains the Presidential and Inaugural Addresses delivered at the recent Calcutta Congress, the Industrial Exhibition, the Bharat-Dharma-Mahamandal, and the Social, Industrial, Temperance, Ladies', Theistic and Mahomedan Educational Conferences. To add to the usefulness of the book, the full text of resolutions passed at the Congress and Conferences has been printed as an Appendix; the speeches of Mr. Lal Mohun Ghose, Mr. Gokhale, Nawab Atikulla of Dacca, Mrs. Sarojini Naidu, etc., and the debate on the Boycott resolution form another Appendix. The publication is priced at Annas Twelve.

Mrs. Sarojini Naidu's address on "The Personal Element in Spiritual Life" which is printed as part of the proceedings of the Theistic Conference had nothing to do with that conference. It was delivered in connection with the Students' Weekly Service of the Sadharan Brahma Samaj. Only a portion of the address of the President of the Theistic Conference has been printed, without any indication to show that the latter half is wanting. These are minor defects. The publication is a useful one.

URDU.

Nairang-i-Afghan is a history of Afghanistan written by Syed Muhammad Husain Aghlab of Mohan

(Unao district). Urdu literature is particularly weak in this branch and therefore any genuine attempt which is made to enrich the historical section deserves encouragement. There are no doubt a number of books in Urdu which deal with the history of India but the majority of them hardly rise above the rank of school text-books. They are generally translations of English books and hardly show any trace of independent thinking and historical research. Even Maulvi Zakau'lla's voluminous history is not free from this reproach. It is based mostly on books written by Englishmen and its arrangement and treatment leave much to be desired. At the best it is a huge mass of undigested matter which may prove useful to a future historian but which can hardly be dignified by the name of history. Such being the condition of Urdu historical literature, we cannot but welcome the publication of a book like the one under review. This book may be divided into three parts:—(1) The introduction, (2) the geographical and historical chapters dealing with Afghanistan, and (3) the reflections of the author on the methods of the Anglo-Indian Government and the future of Anglo-Russian relations. In the introduction the author has described the meaning and uses of History and has laid down a number of canons of historical research and criticism. The way in which he has written his book shows that the author is acquainted with the modern method of treating this subject, for he has not only described facts but also the meaning and significance of facts. Another point which strikes us is the use which the author has made of non-European sources of information. Most of our writers are content to take their cue from English authors, whose description of facts cannot but be in most cases biassed and partial. Maulvi Syed Muhammad Husain does not do so. He, of course, makes full use of Amir Abdurrahman's autobiography which was published some years ago. But he also makes use of books written in Persian and Urdu by Indian authors. We name some of them below:—

1. *Maharbai Kabul* (the Kabul war), by Abdul Karim Khan.

2. *Tarikh Rashiduddin Khani*, published at Hyderabad and said to be based on the letters of Mirza Abbas Allah Beg, the Moonshi of Sir Alexander Burnes.

3. *Tarikh-i-Afghanistan*, by Syed Feda Husain, Jemadar of Turki cavalry.

We will take one particular illustration to show the difference between the European and Asiatic versions of the same incidents. According to the text-books of history taught in our educational institutions, Macnaghten was cut down and murdered by Akbar Khan at a friendly meeting. Now the incident as described in *Nairang-i-Afghanistan* wears a different aspect altogether. The author of this book says that Macnaghten wrote to Akbar Khan assuring him of his friendship and asking for an interview, and concluded his letter by warning Akbar Khan against some of his Sirdars and advising him to get himself rid of them. He at the same time wrote to these very Sirdars inciting them against Akbar Khan. Akbar Khan on receiving this letter called a council of his Sirdars and showed it to them. Then the Sirdars, too, brought forward their letters and the "diplomacy" of Macnaghten was exposed. Akbar Khan kept quiet for the time being and arranged the interview as described by Macnaghten. When Macnaghten went to meet Akbar Khan, he ordered a portion of his troops to lie in ambush, instructing their commander to rush forward at a given signal. When the interview took place, Akbar Khan began to reproach Macnaghten for his treachery and asked him to explain the meaning of those letters, written to himself and his Sirdars. When Macnaghten was trying to explain his conduct, an Afghan came running to Akbar Khan and speaking in Pashtu, informed him of the movement of English troops which had been deputed to lie in ambush. On this both Akbar Khan and Macnaghten stood up and an altercation ensued. The first shot was fired by Macnaghten and he was killed by Akbar Khan. Now if these facts are correct, small blame attaches to Akbar Khan for killing Macnaghten. And incidents such as these go a long way to explain the distrust and hatred with which the Afghans regard the "Feringhees."

These then in our opinion are the chief merits of this book: (1) the intelligent treatment of the meaning and significance of historical facts, and (2) the utilising of non-European sources of information. The language is simple, vigorous and convincing. The arrangement is somewhat crude and unsystematic, the historical narrative and the reflections based

upon them being mixed together in a curious way. But in spite of these drawbacks, it is an attempt to treat history in a more intelligent and philosophic spirit than is done by Urdu writers generally, and as such, it deserves encouragement at the hands of the Urdu-knowing public.

GUJARATI.

Kavya Madhurya, by Himatlal Ganeshji Anjaria, M. A., Assistant Superintendent, Municipal Schools, Bombay. 2nd Ed. Pp. 41 and 352. Price Re. 1-8-0. Cloth-bound. (1906)

This book is a collection of some of the best songs sung by Gujarati singers of the present day. It is an anthology of poems, modelled on Palgrave's *Golden Treasury*, and resembles its last volume in so far as it contains the poems of modern writers. It might be said that the idea of such a collection is not a new one, because even so far back as the early fifties, we find collections of the poems of the older Gujarati poets like the *Kavya Dohan* made and published by the Educational Department; but a book where all that is best in the present poetical Literature of Gujarat is brought together was a distinct desideratum, and we congratulate Mr. Anjaria on the happy manner in which he has met the want. The collection consists of 155 pieces of varying length, the fruit of about 30 poetical brains of varying capacities. It is prefaced by an Introduction in which the writer gives a short but very interesting sketch of the current tendency of the verse literature of Gujarat, clearly marking where the parting of the ways has begun from the older poets. It ends with several explanations and comments on the poems themselves. The great value that we attach to the book is that it enables the reader at a glance to see what effect modern education has produced on Gujarat. Whilst the older generation revelled in imitations of Sanskrit and Hindi, Western culture has stamped on the present generation indelibly the mark of Shelley, Wordsworth and Tennyson, to a very great extent, though it has not made it forgetful of Sanskrit, and at times of Persian at the same time. Wordsworth's "To the Cuckoo" and Shelley's "To the Skylark" have proved the inspirers of companion poems in Gujarati, and we think, that if this book instead of being printed in Gujarati type, had been

inted in Devanagari, cultured readers throughout India would have at once recognised in several poems, sentiments and ideas familiar to them as those of the great English masters, common to the Gujarati and English pieces. We have seen similar poems in Bengali, breathing the same sentiments, and our Bengali brethren would at least have felt the common element, and seen also how English education is averning the whole mass in India in this matter, as is doing in several others. The collection, unlike its prototype, includes the work of several living writers and has served to bring to light several whose work, though good, was still hidden in obscurity. We reproach that our Parsi friends are trying to cut away the moorings and creating a special language for themselves, or adopt English as their mother tongue, in some degree falsified by the fine collection which we see here, of the verses of several old and new poets, like Mr. Malabari—of Social Reform fame—and Mr. Khabardar, whose handling of the language is simply phenomenal for a Parsi. The fact that the book has in a very short period run through the first edition speaks volumes for its popularity. In short, it shows as in a mirror, the epoch-marking tendency of the present Gujarati poetry.

Ikramovvashiya Natak, translated anonymously, published by Himatlal Ganeshji Anjaria, M. A., Bombay. Pp. 88. Paper bound. Price 0-4-0 (1906). It is a little brochure, this translation. The attempt worthy of praise, though it is not the only one in Gujarati. As at all times it is difficult to preserve in a translation the tone and spirit of the original, much might be excused in the work of the translator of such a difficult drama; but still here, one finds as one were wandering in a wilderness of Sanskrit words and phrases instead of their Gujarati equivalents. The translator has felt this, and has punctuated most every second or third word—especially in the poetical pieces—with its Gujarati synonym. In other words, the translation is not simple, such as one of a highly educated would care to peruse, much less understand. We trust this defect will be removed in the next impression.

BENGALI.

Mohanlal—By Sarat Kumār Rāy, M. A. Published by Messrs. Sannyal & Co., 25, Rai Bagan Street Calcutta

The book under review is a historical romance, the hero being the far-famed warrior who fought, with a heart of true and unswerving devotion, for Siraj-ud-daula in the field of Plassey. The author has taken great pains to collect historical materials for giving his novel a living realistic interest, and no one will deny that he has been eminently successful in his efforts. As one pours over the pages of this work the political aspects of Bengal of the early Eighteenth Century unfold themselves before him in truly engaging and attractive scenes, where fancy only serves as a handmaid to truth—more often to substantiate and enliven it, than to modify it in a capricious manner. We have scarcely come across any other novel in Bengali Literature which gives such accurate and fine glimpses of past history. The Court of Siraj-ud-daula with all its oriental pomp and mannerisms—the hawking and other favourite pastimes of the fashionable society of this period—the delicacies of saracenic architecture and of decorative art employed in its palatial buildings—the great political and moral depravity in which the nobility had sunk,—in a word, a full panoramic view of the Durbar scenes with glimpses of the harem, pass before the reader in living and unmistakable colours as he goes through the chapters of this interesting work of fiction. The villainies of Umi Chand are in no way inferior to those of Rodin of Eugene Sue and yet the reader will not find in them any exaggerations of a satanic conception in which some authors seem to take a morbid delight. The author is besides possessed of the knack by which scenes are made effective by contrast. At a moment when the reader's feelings are raised to the highest pitch by surging passions and court-intricacies, he is unexpectedly transported to love scenes which come as a relief and which it is difficult to follow with dry eyes. The book is full of exquisitely pathetic touches indicating the author's great powers of depicting the tender feelings of the human heart. It is, besides, a highly intellectual romance, reminding us of the Sanskrit drama—*Mudra Raksbasa*. The author's conception of the plot through innumerable intricacies and complicated events—all converging to the same point, testifies to his masterly grasp of the materials that he has handled.

The defects of the book lie in its style of composition, which, though not pedantic, is laboured in many places, and is far from being marked with the lucidity and clearness of a first-class literary production. The end comes abruptly, leaving the reader expectant of coming events; and the publisher's apology on that point, will now, we are afraid, be accepted by the public.

The book will however, with all its faults, be an acquisition to the library of the readers of novels and of those who care to know something of the history of Bengal immediately preceding the English conquest.

Bandê Mâtaram.—This is an exceedingly interesting collection of patriotic songs published by Babu Jogindranath Sarkar. The book has passed through several editions in the course of a year and in the latest has considerably grown in size. It is printed on thick Swadeshi handmade paper and is bound in coarse Swadeshi cloth, which by its very quaintness adds to the attractions of the book. The songs to be found in the book comprehend a vast literature of patriotic lyrics, from those contributed by Michael M. S. Dutt and Govinda Chandra Ray to the compositions of the juvenile poets of the Calcutta Student's Club. The book is so greatly in demand that it is difficult for us to retain possession of the copy presented to us, as every one who chances to see it gets hold of it to select songs and hum his favourite air with them. The preface of the book is from the pen of Babu Sakharan Ganesh Deuskar. He incidentally remarks in it that the patriotic idea is a new growth in India and we owe it to our contact with the Europeans. Patriotism in Europe, in our humble opinion, has now assumed a very unwholesome aspect; it denotes an aggressive desire for racial supremacy and an absolute disregard of all consideration for the highest humane principles. If patriotism implies the seeking of self-interest at the cost of higher ideals, it would be better for us to boycott it like all other goods of foreign indent. The book justly begins with Bankim Babu's celebrated song of *Bandê Mâtaram*, and it is curious to observe that none of the songs that follow, though many are really splendid productions, is marked with that tone of confidence in national strength which characterises the prophetic utterances of the great master—Bankim Chandra. In other songs there is that depressing tone

of remorse—a bitter repentance for our degeneracy or a reference to the decadence of the indigenous arts and industries. But the song of *Bandê Mâtaram* claims a distinct place of honour displaying no whining tone or vain remorse or any panderings to national vanity based on past glory which is an inevitable feature in all other patriotic songs. To refer to the glories of the past is poetic and even edifying, but we forget the fact that in all allusions to the past history of India, our Mahomedan and Christian brethren can not join in chorus, and the song that would claim to be a national one must eliminate all references to the glories of particular communities. The *Bandê Mâtaram* song is the gospel for New India—it sings of the present only and of the force which we may command by taking the vow of unity. There is no pathos in the lines owing to a sense of national humility, rather it embodies the hopes and ambitions of our national life in absolute confidence of our present strength. The song for all these reasons holds an unique position in our literature and we are led to the above strain of thoughts by seeing it along with other patriotic songs collected in this book, which fail to claim the position the *Bandê Mâtaram* song has attained, not as a chance-glory but by virtue of its intrinsic merits.

Premier Chitra—By Ram Lal Bandyopādhyāy.

There is a superabundance of love-poems in Bengali literature and we have almost begun to feel a satiety over them. If the present poem did not possess some peculiar excellences, our predisposition would not have favoured its claims to an appreciative review. It is a small book, in which the story of two lovers passionately attached to each other has been told in an exceedingly charming manner. There is no light vein in the poem and it is amusing to find the booklet aspiring to the dignity of a heroic poem.

The sentiment of love, which is the theme of our poet, soars in platonic regions, giving a higher tone to the poem than is claimed by love-stories of average merit. The book is besides interspersed with descriptions of delightful and picturesque natural scenery.

The verses move in a melodious sweep and the rhyme scarcely halts. The author, who is a well-known dramatist, has established his reputation as a poet of no mean order by this interesting little book.



The Honorable Professor G. K. GOKHALE.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

MARCH, 1907

No. 3

GLIMPSES OF FAMINE AND FLOOD IN EAST BENGAL IN 1906

I

THE LAND OF THE WATER-WAYS

THERE is no region, even in India, which was intended to compare, at once in extent and in fertility, with the wide-stretching delta-lands of East Bengal. Placed between the extreme mouths of the Ganges and the Brahmaputra, from Calcutta on the west to Chittagong on the east, and Dacca and Mymensingh on the north, lies this vast triangle of country, measuring, as the crow flies, something like two hundred miles or more every way. And it is painted, on the surface of Planet Earth, in nature's most vivid pigments of green and blue. Green for the fields and forests, the palms and the gardens and the grain; and blue, blue, blue, everywhere else, for the sky above and for the waters beneath. To those who know Holland, or even Venice, this land is full of subtle suggestions and reminiscences of distant beauty. For it, too, is a country snatched from the waters, though not by the hand of man. It, too, lies passive and half-expectant under the unbroken dome of heaven. In it, too, the white sail may suddenly come into vision at any moment, across the distant meadows. And it, too, bestows that irresistible calmness

of benediction that comes to the infinitely small in the presence of the infinitely great.

There are of course differences. This is a tropical Holland. The wide green flats are broken, not by stiff avenues of poplars and rows of wintry pollard elms, but by long irregular fringes of jungle, groups of cocoanut and betel-nut palms, clusters of delicate bamboos, outstanding leaf-almonds here and there, with almost every branch of glossy verdure ending in a leaf like a scarlet flag, and lines of upright banana plants, hedging in the fruit and vegetable gardens of the homesteads. These last too, are, as is natural, strangely different from the prim farm-houses of the Dutch with their red tiles. From the river-front we see a large thatched roof, whose wide curving eaves overhang a cottage built apparently of something like basket-work, but in fact, of mats, woven out of bamboo-splinters. The rafters and posts of this simple structure are also of bamboo, and it may be that a single roof covers, not only the home, but also a small open barn, holding a couple of cows, while over the heads of these last is seen again a second story with floor made of split bamboo, and filled with rice-straw, thus answering all the purposes of a hayloft. The floor of the cottage itself, in any case, is made of clean silver river-clay,

packed solid and tight and smooth. And a very good test of the wealth of the family lies in the height of this modest plinth. Within, the dwelling has in all probability a ground-floor, lifted a foot or two above this of mud, and made, like that of the hayloft, of split bamboo; and on this, with whatever they may be able to command of comfort, in the way of cushions, wadded sheets, and cotton carpets, the household live. The one large room is often partitioned into two or three smaller. Always there is an open verandah outside which acts as the family reception-room. Almost always there is some corner, either in but or ben, which is built off from the rest, and used as the cooking room. And in every house there are wooden and bamboo platforms overhead, which can be used either as store-cupboards or extra sleeping rooms, according as the special occasion demands. The little farm house, however, has no doorway of inferior dignity. Even when the front entrance is towards the river bank, it is nevertheless almost certain that the open verandah will be found on the far side, facing like a simple cloister, the interior of the little farm yard, on the two or three other sides of which are placed similar, but probably still less imposing dwellings. Here, too, are the out-buildings and offices of the farm, the husking shed, the cow house, the dovecote, and the feeding place for ducks, with close at hand the herb and fruit garden. And the whole of this little group of reed-built chambers is enclosed and connected with the next like it, by the home-stead grove of palms and jungle-growth. It has its own boat, too, made of long narrow planks of palm wood, in which seven or eight people can sit in single file, so long as one or two remain constantly busied, baling out the water with which it is as constantly filling. And finally, this cluster of houses does not constitute a village. It may take twenty or more of such, thrown, like the links of a chain around and across the rice fields, to make a single village-community. Hence, in this

wonderful country, it is sometimes possible, sitting in the low boat of the water-lanes; to say that the village includes more than the horizon.

In the riverside villages, again, the *Chashas*, or peasants, and the *Majhis*, boatmen or fisher-folk, dwell side by side. They are for the most part Mohammedans and only sometimes Hindus. But the two do not always live in separate villages. Nor is there any great difference between them in point of civilisation. A few hundreds of years ago all alike were Hindus, but to the low castes, Islam, with its message of democracy and brotherly love, offers a great emancipation. And in East Bengal these must have been swept into the fold, whole villages at a time. The descendants of such converts have the title "Sheikh" prefixed to their names, and here they are all Sheikhs. But even now they appear like Hindus. Their widows are loath to remarry. They wear the unbordered *sari* and cut the hair short, like the Hindu widow. They object to cow-killing, like the Hindu. Their children are trained, not in the knowledge of the Koran alone, but also in the stories of the old Indian Epics. And finally their homes are decorated with the same religious pictures and images as those of the Hindu. In other words, it is one race practising the forms of two different faiths, and even in India, blood speaks louder than creed.

They are a proud and self-respecting folk, these people of the villages of East Bengal, decent and thrifty in all their ways, as conscious as ourselves of subtle differences of rank and education, and full of the spirit of independence and self-reliance. It is not easy here to buy the trifle to which one takes a fancy. Permission to do so may be asked with all possible formality and ceremony, but the answer is invariably the smiling surrender of the object, as a gift. I have a little boatman's lamp of black earthenware, which came to me in this way. It is one of the loveliest

things I ever saw, and its value in the village-markets is, I am told, one farthing. But though I offered sixteen times that sum, its owner would not hear of purchase, insisting instead on presenting it to me. Of a similar significance was my first encounter with the Barisal fisher-folk. In this land of canals, it is customary to use for conveyance a very fine and commodious Indian form of house-boat. The empty rooms, made of dark polished teak-wood, are scrupulously clean, and we bring our own rugs and pillows, and sit or lie on the floor for the journey. Outside, under bamboo arches covered with sliding hoods of reed mats, sit the boatmen. And a few fishing-nets, or a spindle with its thread, or a small clay stove at which cooking is going on, offer at once the only traces of furniture, and the only elements of picturesque disorder, to be seen. The crew consists of the men of a single family, from the grey-haired grandfather or grand-uncle to the youngest boy. The women have been left at home in the distant village, to tend the cows, and spin, and look after the gardens. There is something of the dignity of Homer's peasant-kings in such a scheme of life and work; and I was a little diffident with the first boatmen I had accosted, in making enquiries as to whether the prevailing famine and rise in prices had made themselves felt severely by them and theirs. Their first effort was to put me at my ease. Gravely and kindly they took up the question. Work, they said, had become scarce everywhere. No one who could possibly do without it would employ labour at such a time. Everyone naturally was cutting his expenses down. They themselves, for instance, had lain to, at the little quay where we found them, for ten days past, and this was the first time they had been employed. Naturally, therefore, things were a little difficult. But they had managed. Oh yes! they had managed. And they had no doubt that in some way or other they would con-

trive to go on. With this abrupt reserve, this lowering of the visor, so to speak, the subject was dropped, and could be pursued no further. Yet it was not that the newcomer had been rebuked for impertinence, but rather that all alike we had realised the sudden pain of the attempt to lay bare our necessities to others.

And everywhere in the famine-villages, I found the same thing. Here and there as we went about, we would come upon someone whose store of money or provisions was not yet wholly exhausted. Someone who was still hoping that public charity would prove unnecessary to his little household. And wherever this happened the personal question would be skilfully evaded, and any discussion of the situation quietly refused. It is needless to say that this intense sensitiveness and delicacy of these Indian villagers had its own part in helping to deepen our understanding of the prevailing desolation. Every story told, meant so much pride overcome.

Like a great net, then, made of cords of shining silver-blue, the water-ways—broad rivers, narrower canals or *khals*, and narrowest of all the little water-lanes—hold lovingly in their clasp this beautiful land, which throughout the historic period has been known as the "*Granary of Bengal*". But the villages have a proverb. 'With kings, with horned beasts, and with a river, a man may never be friends'. Much as the heart may go out in love, that is to say, there will surely come sooner or later, with such a moment of treachery, when they will deal out death to him whom they have caressed. Alas, that this should have proved true of our lovely rivers of East Bengal, in this very year!

Already the villages had been many months in the grip of famine. For the chief Indian harvest of the year is reaped in January, and in this year of 1906 it was terribly scant. The rains twelve months ago, at the time of sowing, were too little. Moreover, in some of the

more ocean-exposed districts there were salt floods, and the crops were ruined. Within a month or two of this year's reaping, therefore, the long slow agony of starvation must have set in amongst the people. But it was borne in grim silence as long as possible, and only in the middle of June did the terrible word 'Famine' make itself heard so distinctly that the District Board of Backergunge was driven to open public works, and attempt to distribute gratuitous relief. The story of what the people had suffered in the meantime, will never be written, for it can never even be guessed at. And yet, as if the cup of their sorrows were not even now full, it became clear, on the breaking of the monsoon, that the rains this year were to be excessive; and finally, in the middle of August, that is to say, a month ago, the rivers, swollen by heavy rains and melting snows in the far north, suddenly broke their bounds, and the fair lands of Eastern Bengal became a world under water. In that condition they remain to-day. Will it be a few days more, and will the floods subside with the moonless night of the month? Or will the south wind continue to blow and the waters stand as they are for a fortnight longer?

No man can tell. But one thing we do know, and that is, that sooner or later, whenever they go, the floods will have doubled the disaster created by the famine, and the problem that the people will have to face and solve, will for complexity and extent be past any man's imagining.

II

WHAT WE SAW

It was dawn on the 8th of September. One of those dawns of pearl and opal that come to us in the Indian autumn. The water-lilies lay open still, as they had lain all night long on the surface of the waters. Here we paddled up to a cluster, lying touching one another, as if with their heads on each other's shoulders, with golden hearts, and rose-tinged

petals. And we counted them, and found them seven. Seven lilies open in the dawn! The air was cool but not chill, and full of quiet and fragrance. And all around us in every direction,—inwards from the edge of the river-current behind us, to the distant line of farm-stead groves, and right and left, all the way from one dark jungle-border to another,—stretched the smooth silver water, pierced by the upspringing spears of the young rice, which here and there was so scanty that each upright blade was companioned by its own reflection in the water-mirror underneath. A world full of the joy of the senses,—not a gross or physical delight, but the silent inflooding of sense-rapture on the spirit,—for him whose body was fed, and mind at rest.

A world of sense-joy. Was that how it looked to the women yonder, standing up to their waists in water, to receive us, as we paddled and punted towards their dwelling place? Much sense-joy feel these others, think we, who have taken refuge with their children, from their fallen house, in the hay-loft of a neighbour, and are living there, more like birds than human beings,—who can tell us these how many days? Nay, for these and their like, there can be no joy of the senses, for the present is to them a horror, and who knows what agony may await them in the near future?

Or it was noon, and in a distant part of the country, not very far in fact, from the city, we waded in water above the knees, or shot in the palm-boat across the rice-fields, finding our way from one farm-house to another. And still, in spite of the sorrow all about us, one could now and then only catch one's breath, and feel how wondrous, to him who was born amongst them, must be the brimful beauty of these rice-lands. Grey clouds, grey mists, grey waters, and drizzling rain, we seemed to be alone in a world-vastness, alone, alone. Suddenly a great wind would catch the jungle-belt about us, and all the mangoes and palms

respond, moaning and wailing. Then again it would pass, and silence come once more, upon the infinite monotony of our level world, with the first sense back, of a fulness of something that was neither life nor death, but on the mystic border-line between the two,—perhaps including both.

Again the day and the place were changed, and it was evening. At sunset, we had made our visits of inspection, and now we were back in the single room—a bamboo hut, like all the rest of the fisher-folk's houses about us, but larger, and lined with corrugated iron—where we were taking shelter for the night. Only the two topmost steps at the front-door were above the water, and here, through hour after hour, one member of our party sat, watching the light of the waning moon upon the river, and bending every now and again to strike the water softly backwards with his hands, whenever he saw the great snakes swimming towards the house, to enjoy what was probably their nightly feast of the rats and mice living beneath the platform-beds.

Such were some of the circumstances under which we visited the famine-districts.

It was only after considerable difficulty that I succeeded in persuading the good people of the city of Barisal, to show me something of the distress of the peasantry in their own immediate neighbourhood.

The whole modern world has been vulgarised, surely, by the methods of sensational journalism. Is the idea of famine not to move us to compassion, unless at the same time we are shocked and revolted? Or is it not rather true that there is no pathos like that of the gradual sinking of heart which comes of many efforts and defeats; like the slowly-increeping doubt that paralyses struggle; like the agonised yearning of those who are still strong, over the children whom they cannot save? For it is the sorrow that we can imagine that cuts us to the heart. When we meet with gibbering starvation, clad in

plantain-leaves for want of clothing, there is something in the spectacle that stuns the emotions instead of rousing them, and the help we extend is apt to be the result of an intellectual principle, rather than of deep and compassionate understanding. The same holds good also of one who sees too much of such wretchedness. For if misery is apt to brutalise the sufferer it is still more true that it deadens the witness. It is only, moreover, in proportion as we understand what constitutes the common weal and happiness of the victim, that we are able to make that sub-conscious comparison which enables us to gauge from his own point of view, the extent of the disaster that has befallen him. So it was not perhaps surprising, that I often saw tears in the eyes of the young Bengali men who accompanied me on my famine-rounds, when I myself was conscious of nothing but the gasp of horror. But the horror was overwhelming, and it was born, not so much of the stories of achieved or attempted suicides that met us at every turn; not even of the one extraordinary murder that, like some ancient sacrifice, had rung out across the islands in the month of July, and wailed at last to bring the helping hand of brotherhood into this famine world; it was born of the *unrelievedness* of the blight that we saw around us. The pain of individual sufferers was far past any power of comprehension that I could bring to bear upon it. I had seen poverty in my life, plenty of it. I had known, —who has not?—the longing that would fain protect and bestow, but that the means are unhappily denied it. But I have never experienced anything that enables me to imagine what it means, to be one, of what is officially declared to be eleven hundred thousand persons, all in the same district, who have not had a sufficient meal for months, and who even now are wholly dependent, for what they expect to eat, on a precarious charity. And although I have now seen with my eyes this

awful sight, I cannot even yet imagine it. Surely it is better frankly to recognise this fact.

I propose, therefore, to confine myself to the stories of some of the simpler cases that came under my immediate observation, and to abandon any such effort as has often enough been made in the past, to describe the famine-crowds, or the miserable emaciated bodies of the hunger-stricken. Famine-crowds I saw, in the famine-districts, in plenty. And I could not blame the relief-workers,—rather I thought they deserved commendation,—for the fact that when some small help was given these, they demanded from them a hearty cheer. The very act of giving the pseudo-joyous shout was doubtless good for them, mentally, morally and physically. But I would rather not have heard it. There was something unutterably ghastly in the hoarse and feeble utterance that ought to have been so loud and bright, from the throats of these famished and starving people. It seemed much more natural, when words of hope and comfort had been spoken, to see them lift their hands spontaneously to their heads, and cry mournfully and piously with a single voice, “Allah send the day!”

There was, however, one case in the worst neighbourhood I visited, that contained in it some elements which made it possible of realisation. As we rowed up to a wretched-looking hut, in what ought to have been the humanly as well as physically beautiful village of ‘the Broken Lands’, there suddenly came to us, across the water, the unmistakable wail of the Hindu widow. We knew that the woman we were going to visit lived alone, with her four children; but now we saw her standing outside her door, with a group of sorrowing neighbours gathered round her. The story was soon told. She had been discovered, by the relief-workers, some six or seven weeks earlier, lying in a state of unconsciousness, on the floor of her cottage. Food, however, was given her, and she had gradually revived,

Then the tale was heard, of how she, and her husband, and their four children, had been living for some days on leaves, till at last, in despair, the man had fled, hoping to find work and food for them, near a distant city. Gradually, by those manifold paths that cannot be named, along which news is wont to be carried in India, word had travelled back to the village that things were no better, in the district to which the man had gone, or at least that he had been unable even there, to find the help he sought. So much was known to everyone. But it was now evident that he had at last turned homewards again, desiring, in his despair to make his way back to his little family. He may have thought, in his ignorance that friends had been found for them, that death together was better than apart. But he was destined, alas,—never to see that little home again! News had this moment been brought to his wife, of the finding of his dead body, some few hours previously, in the jungle two or three miles to the north of the village.

I stayed long with the weeping woman, but what could I, or anyone, say to comfort her? Could I not feel, as well as she, the heart-rending anguish of the outcry “O my Beloved, if but I might have saved thee!”?

To my practical Western mind, there was something quaintly amusing in the awed tones in which the Hindu lads about me said, pointing to a certain house, and referring to the moment when the first unexpected relief had arrived there, “Here they were just about to sell a child”. For the first moment, the words suggested cannibalism, and my thoughts flew back to reports of the Siege of Jerusalem. Then the idea of slavery suggested itself, and the Assam tea-gardens, or the West Indian coolie-gangs were remembered, as more conceivable resources for Indian parents to fall back upon. I turned to question the youth who had spoken, however, and found, as I might have known, that it was only a case of a household that had two children, where the

idea had been entertained of "selling" one to a rich and childless man who coveted it. This did not seem to my more prosaic self so very dreadful, since the child would undoubtedly have met with adoration. Yet even this little incident, with the shock it occasioned on the one side, and the evident relief which the parents had experienced on the other, threw an added light on the strength of family ties amongst these village-folk, and helped one again and again afterwards to penetrate to the deeper sources of their pain. The same secret was plain to read at another threshold. A mother and three children stood within the shadows of the doorway. Their cottage was so near the edge, as to be almost within the current, of the river. I have never seen human beings at once so feeble and so isolated. The borders of the bamboo mats were all rotted, and the surface of the plinth was itself a couple of inches under water. This family, we were told, had seen famine at its very worst. But, as one looked at them, one could not fail to be struck by the fact that the children,—three girls, or two girls and a small boy,—looked at least six times as well nourished as their mother. She was weeks further gone than they, in the process of starvation. Another moment, and some one dragged out the eldest son, a lad of twelve or fourteen, who had been hiding in a corner, that we might not see him, to be, like the little ones, unclothed. The boy's figure told the same terrible story as the mother's. It was the same revolting bee-hive skeleton that has been made familiar to us all in prints and photographs of famine-scenes. These two, mother and son, had been starving themselves for the sake of the weans. For my own part, I feared that little of the relief which was now regularly reaching the family, was finding its way to the mother at all. And the thought impelled me to break through a superstition, by which, up to that moment, I had been firmly bound. We carried in the boat

with us a couple of tins, one holding biscuits and the other almonds and dried figs, for we had not known at starting what difficulties we might encounter on our journey, or how many hours it might be, till our return. Now, however, seeing how this woman gave all her food to her children, and realising that she must be made to break through the habit, I put my hand into the box, and gave her a biscuit, saying "Eat it yourself, Mother! I wait here till you do!" She obeyed me, poor soul, for little option was given her. But we had to fill the children's hands also with nuts and fruit. And then I turned with a feeling of guilt, knowing well the difficulty that I had now imposed upon our whole party. For we were followed, at some short distance, by many boats full of hungry-looking folk, and it would be but reasonable that these should crowd upon us, seeing that we had food, and clamour for it, perhaps upsetting our boats and their own, in their eagerness, not to be satisfied.

But was this what actually happened? Oh no! Not this, but something very different. It is true that they stretched their hands out, all of them, begging to have food given to them also, and pleading that they were very very hungry. So first we gave to all the children, a biscuit each. Then to the women. And last of all, to the men who were present, we gave one for each of the children at home, and finally, in each case, one for himself. But was there any clamour or disturbance after this? Were there the hoarse and menacing cries I had half expected of 'More. More! More!' Nothing of the sort. Indeed I do not know that anything I have seen in the villages has more impressed me with the pitiful realities of famine, than this fact that whole boat-loads of grown-up men and women turned homewards with the hurry and excitement of happy children, under the unwon good fortune of having received one-eighth of an ounce of extra food a piece!

III BARISAL

Never have I felt so strongly the oneness of the People, the world over, as a few days ago, when I was allowed to begin my famine visits, by calling at one farm-house after another, in the district on the opposite bank of the river to the town of Barisal. Some of these famine-stricken dwellings belonged to *Chashas*, or peasant-labourers—men, that is to say, who are employed as farm-hands, at a daily or monthly wage. And there were besides these, the houses of the well-to-do tenant-farmers, brought low, like all the rest, in this year of desolation, by the very extremity of economic disaster.

For we cannot say in India, as we might perhaps in Ireland, that the higher classes live on one food, and the lower, on another. There is here no contrast, as of wheat and potatoes, so that one half of the village may experience the last pangs of hunger, while the other flourishes on the abundance of its own crop. All over the Gangetic plain and all over the Gangetic Delta (and it is convenient to speak of all the rivers of these parts, whatever their local names, as 'the Ganges'), all classes alike live on rice. And when rice fails them, all alike starve. The employer of labour can, of course, hold out longer than the labourer he employs, in the battle against want. He ought to have something in the way of money and jewels. He has house, tools, furniture, and cattle that can (though it is to no one's interest that they should) be sold. He has even, if the worst should come to the worst, a larger credit. And he uses it to the utmost. If a man be found without resources in a year of supremely scanty harvests, we may be sure that it will prove to be because he has already parted with home and land in the former years, when ill-fortune was only growing upon him.

The labourer or *Chasha*, on the other hand, has nothing to give, save his own presence

and companionship, to his wife and children, in facing want; and when there is nothing to be done, this is the most heroic gift of all. I found one woman with several children, even on my first morning round, who had been deserted, not widowed, by a husband who was a labourer. "Deserted" we say, because the man had fled from the sight of his starving wife and bairns. But even now doubtless he is seeking food for them elsewhere, and there is no danger but he will carry it back to them and feed them, if he find it. The Indian workers tell us, with shamed look and faltering speech, that "desertion" has become almost frequent, since the famine began, and I smile somewhat grimly in reply, for I think of how different are the associations of the word, in western life.

The woman's way of expressing a like despair is not flight, but death; and one shudders to think how many times this has been accomplished, or even how many people one has actually met—perhaps five or six within these three days—who have been rescued only at the last moment. But here I think it well to say that these famine suicides are never, in my opinion, the result of personal hunger. They are in every case due to the mental suffering caused by the need of others. Hunger itself ends mercifully in death, or unconsciousness, or some quickly run disease, and Indians of every rank can see it to its end like the veriest stoic. But who can listen with firmness, to the crying of his own children for want of food, who can watch day after day the increasing self-denial of the husband or the wife? Besides, there is the thought of one mouth less to feed, when all is ended, and of the burden made lighter thereby for the others. And who can tell what vague imaginings beside of sacrifice, or barter with the Gods, pass through the brain half crazed by bodily weakness, under the promptings of a heart that can bear no more?

The first house that I entered, on this morning to me so memorable, was also the only

one in which I at any time heard a man beg. But he had been demoralised by long illness. Although a relief-ticket had been granted to the house, the wife had no one to send to the city for the dole, and so they would have starved on, but for our timely visit. Perhaps, the main fact to notice in this case was that the famine of this year was for them only the culminating misfortune of a long series. For three or four years the man had been bed-ridden, and naturally he had become inured to self-pity and a habit of demanding. It is inevitable that that sense of outraged honour with which aid is accepted on a first occasion, should be overlaid by the feeling of bitter need on the second and third. Nor could one have the cruelty to wish it otherwise. I opened the morning newspaper on my return to Calcutta and turned eagerly to the famine returns for some nine different states and provinces. They ended with the sapient remark—"It is feared that in this province (referring to some distant place in the north), the people have become accustomed to relief and are disinclined to discontinue it." Such is an official (for it was not an editorial) comment upon one of the most terrible of human situations. But what does this mean? Are our hearts of stone? Could we really desire that those whom we help should experience every time again that same acute wounding of their pride that they knew at the first? Let us, rather, thank God that human nature is so constituted that such a degree of suffering is impossible. Since my visit to Eastern Bengal I have had the opportunity of comparing the people in this respect with those of another district nearer the capital, where famine and destitution have of late years become chronic. And I have learnt this to measure the freshness of the impression of hunger by the shrinking from loss of personal dignity in the stating of need.

In one of the worst places we visited, famine itself, however, being new there, a crowd had

gathered round the open window of the house-boat which we were using as our head-quarters. Through this open window, the young Brahmin lady who accompanied me on my journey, talked with the village women, gave a little boy a reading lesson, and in many kindly ways tried to make the time pass pleasantly and profitably for all. One knows, however, how insistent a crowd grows, and it was not without some terror that I came in, exhausted by hours of strenuous interviewing, and begged for a little quiet and rest. We all expected that it would be difficult to induce the women to go away. Their lives were so unusually empty! And in ours there was so much scope for interest and curiosity! But to our surprise, a few words of explanation and apology were all that was required! A delicate look of withdrawal passed with one accord over their faces, and waiting only to say "But do eat! Why don't you eat?" these people—themselves almost certainly hungry and at best insufficiently fed—left us, with courteous farewells, to enjoy an hour of peace, as those with whom self is forgotten, on behalf of the comfort of some cherished guest.

And yet, in the districts near the city of Barisal, the process of de-sensitising the finer nerves had not gone even so far as here. The gentle peasant-women and the strong and decent peasant-men, whom I met there in their own farm-houses, were willing to talk of their anxiety and their ruin, but they could no more than ourselves, have made a direct appeal for assistance. For the sturdy independence and democratic pride that are characteristic of well-doing farmer-folk the world over, are certainly as great in East Bengal as anywhere. These people may be more refined than folk of their own rank in Europe, even as the Asiatic Madonna is in contrast with Dutch *Betje* or Bretonne *Francoise*. They are made somewhat passive, may be, by the presence of a tropical nature whose moods are not to be trifled with or defied. But peasants they are

to the backbone, and as such, one with their own kind, wherever one has seen it, whether in Norway, in Brittany, in Flanders or in France.

One home there was that I visited that morning, in which I would fain hope to have made permanent friends. Its mistress was a young woman, some few years widowed, whose grown-up son was the bread-winner of the family. At the hour of our visit, he was absent, seeking employment, and they would have nothing to cook that day, unless he should return with rice. Not that this was stated, or obtruded upon our notice. Rather, we came to understand the fact, when our visit was past. Meanwhile, we sat and chatted quietly in the closely-thatched verandah, and one noted a daughter of the household, a girl of twelve or fourteen, clad with the scantiness of the year's poverty, and sore of heart under the wound to her girlish pride. There was a greyhaired granddame too, who told us, not of the famine but of the deep abiding sorrow that all other pain was wont to renew in her—the memory of the deaths, long ago, of seven stalwart sons, who had each grown to man's state, before, one by one, they left her, to wait alone for the word of Allah, ere she might see them again in Paradise. A widowed neighbour crept in to talk and listen, carrying a girl-baby in an extreme of emaciation, whom she was trying to nurse back into life, its own mother being dead. But centre of all, was the gentle mistress of the home. One could gather her past happiness from the story she told of the debts of the dead husband faithfully discharged, and by her sensitive shrinking from the thought of remarriage. Even as we sat talking, her son came back from the city and handed to his mother a bag containing some four pounds of rice, earned by two days of labour, carrying bricks on the river in a boat. Work, he said, was absolutely at a standstill. No one who could avoid it, would

spend money on labour at such a time. And one gathered from his words the fear he did not utter, of the days when he must return empty-handed from such quests. What would then be the fate of these helpless ones of his kindred who were dependent on him for food?

The cheery old Hindu gentleman who accompanied me in my visits, would not, however,



BABU ASVINI KUMAR DATTA.

allow any presentiment of coming evil. "Come, come, Lakshmi! Fortuna!" He said soothingly to the mother, who, weakened by long fasting, was weeping quietly and silently. "We shall send you help—do not you fear! And better times will be with us shortly—There! There! Don't forget! The good days will come again." Like the captain of the ship in stormy weather, it was not to the

women he would admit the anxiety that was weighing upon his own kind heart, with the thought of the awful month of October to November, when the money contributed by the country and the last rice held by the starving people, would alike be exhausted and heaven alone could tell where he would have to look for help.

The weeping woman dried her eyes and silently strove for self-control, for was this not the word of Asvini Kumar Datta, and was he not even as the father of the people! And then with the prayers and blessings of the

aged Rizpah ringing in our ears, we rose to leave, for the boats that awaited us. But down to the edge of the water-meadows came the women to see us off. And there with my last look backwards, I saw them standing, their hands raised in the attitude of prayer. And I knew that they, in their want and anxiety, were giving to us, well-fed and well-clothed, the beautiful salutation of their people, "Peace be unto you! Salaam-alai-kum"!

Sept. 12, 1906.

THE TANTRISTS, THE ROSICRUCIANS AND THE SEEKERS AFTER TRUTH.

THE East has not been always East and the West, West. Modern Europe is materialistic, but she has not disdained in the past to "plunge in thought." This reminds us of the truth of the poet's words: "one touch of nature makes the whole world kin". Ancient Greece had her orphic mysteries. They were developed into a religious and ethical system by Pythagoras. In the schools of Alexandria the neo-Pythagoreans and the neo-Platonists further added to it the Vedantic doctrine of a world-soul.

"With the dissolution of the neo-Platonic school in the sixth century, Greek philosophy disappears, it is true, as a distinct phenomenon from the theatre of history, but it continues to exist in combination with foreign elements in the service of a new form of culture in the Science of the Middle Ages and of modern times" (Zeller).

Says Waite:—

"The traditions of the neo-Platonic philosophy, with its elaborate theological system, were to some extent perpetuated through the whole period of the Middle Ages, for besides the orthodox theology of

the great Latin Church and amidst the glamour of scholastic philosophy, we find the secret theosophy of the magician, the Kabbalist, and the alchemical adept borrowing, directly or indirectly, from the prolific fountain of exalted mysticism. The traces of its influence are discernible in Augustine, in Albertus Magnus, in St. Thomas, the angel of the schools, and in other shining lights of western Christendom, while the metaphysical principles of Johannes Scotus Erigena, even as early as the close of the ninth century, were an actual revival of this philosophy."*

History repeats itself. In India the Yoga doctrines of Patanjali paved the way for the origin of Tantric mysticism and it associated itself with magic and alchemy. Some twelve centuries later, this phase in the stage of human progress found exponents in the soil of Europe. As Waite says:—

"In an age of progress, of doubt, and of great intellectual activity, it is singular to remark the almost invariable prevalence of mysticism in one or

* "History of the Rosicrucians". Regarding the sect of the Cabalists, see also Lecky's "Rationalism in Europe," vol. , p. 42, ed., 1900.

other of its manifold phases, and the close of the sixteenth century beheld spreading over the whole of Germany and passing thence into Denmark, France, England and Italy, a mighty school of mysticism in the great multitude of magicians, alchemists, &c., who directly or indirectly were followers of the renowned Paracelsus."

There are those who sneer at the attempts of the alchemists to convert the baser metals into gold and are at the pains to insinuate that the motives of the adepts were sordid. It may be that there have been here and there men—vulgar charlatans—who have pursued the art merely from worldly considerations. The high priests of alchemy, however, have in every age and clime been honest seekers after truth. Had there been no desire implanted in the human breast to pry into the hidden and occult mysteries of nature there would have been no science. Whence come we and whither are we destined to go? What is this substance made up of, and what are its ultimate constituents, and what will its combination with this or that lead to? These are queries, the solution of which or rather the very attempts to solve which mark the birth of philosophy. Patanjali and Nagarjuna in India and Paracelsus in Europe stand forth as the prominent representatives of this spirit of inquiry. They have been dreamers, mystics and naturalists all combined in one. Such geniuses have always chafed at the restraints and limitations imposed on frail man and hence their fervid yearnings to peep into regions beyond the ken of our gross senses. As Emerson puts it:

"The privilege of this class is an access to the secrets and structure of nature, by some higher method than by experience. In common parlance, what one man is said to learn by experience, a man of extraordinary sagacity is said, without experience, to divine."*

Plotinus heaved a sigh at the soul with its infinite possibilities being caged in a frail and corruptible body. The pursuit of alchemy

* "Swedenborg, or, the mystic."

by the esoteric *Tantrist* is easily explained. To him it was only a means to an end. "It is [preparations of] mercury alone that can make the body undecaying and immortal."† We find echoes of the same sentiment in the authoritative literature of the Rosicrucians. Says Waite:—

"Among the concourse of inquirers, and the clamour of supposed and pretended discoverers, there rose gradually into deserved prominence an advanced school of illuminati, who, employing the terminology of the *terba philosophorum*, under the pretence of alchemical pursuits appear to have concealed a more exalted aim. . . . The student is directed from the pursuit of material gold to the discovery of incorruptible and purely spiritual treasures. . . . Physical transmutation, the one and supreme end of the practical alchemist, sinks into complete insignificance; nevertheless, it is performed by the adept and is a landmark in his sublime progress."

The sage and seer of Hoenheim had his wrestlings. Should he pursue knowledge for its own sake or for what it bringeth? His evil genius holds out the bait thus:—

"Know not for knowing's sake
But to become a star to men for ever;
Know for the gain it gets, the praise it brings,
The wonder it inspires, the love it breeds."†

The spiritual at last triumphs over the base in man. Paracelsus has his revelation, and he bursts forth:—

"Truth is within ourselves: it takes no rise
From outward things, whate'er you may believe,
There is an inmost centre in us all
Where truth abides in fulness: and around
Wall upon wall, the gross flesh hems it in,
The perfect clear perception—which is truth."‡

In the above delineation the poet has done no more than bare justice to the inward longings of an ideal alchemist, who is only an honest seeker after truth. The spiritual and thought-world has always transgressed all barriers of time and space. Kanada, Patanjali and Nagarjuna of India and Heraclitus,

* Vide "History of Hindu Chemistry" Vol. 1, Intro., lxxvii and xcv—xevi.

† Browning's "Paracelsus."

Empedocles and Plato and the rest—they all form a holy fraternity; aye, these prophets and oracles of the intellect belong to a “lofty and sequestered class”, “the high-priesthood of the pure reason, the *Trismegisti*, the expounders of the principles of thought from age to age. When at long intervals we turn over their abstruse pages, wonderful seems the calm and grand air of these few, these great spiritual lords, who have walked in the world—these of the old religion,—dwelling in a worship which makes the sanctities of Christianity look *parvenues* and popular; for ‘persuasion is in soul, but necessity is in intellect.’ ”*

P. C. RAY.

Note.—“An access to the secrets and structure of nature, by some higher method than by experience” refers no doubt to the limitations and inadequacy of physical science. The following extract from Lecky’s “Rationalism in Europe” may not be out of place here :—

“It must, however, be acknowledged, that there are some influences resulting from physical science which are deeply to be deplored, for they spring neither from logical arguments nor from legitimate analogies, but from misconceptions that are profoundly imbedded in our belief, or from fallacies into which our minds are too easily betrayed. The increased evidence of natural religion furnished by the innumerable marks of creative and co-ordinating wisdom which science reveals, can hardly be over-estimated, nor can it be reasonably questioned that a world governed in all its parts by the interaction of fixed natural laws implies a higher degree of designing skill than a chaos of fortuitous influences irradiated from time to time by isolated acts of spiritual intervention. Yet still

*Emerson : “On Intellect.”

so generally is the idea of Divine action restricted to that of miracle, that every discovery assigning strange phenomena their place in the symmetry of nature has to many minds an irreligious appearance, which is still further strengthened by the fact, that while physical science acquiesces in the study of laws as the limit of its research, even scientific men sometimes forget that the discovery of law is not an adequate solution of the problem of causes. When all the motions of the heavenly bodies have been reduced to the dominion of gravitation, gravitation itself still remains an insoluble problem. Why it is that matter attracts matter, we do not know—we perhaps never shall know. Science can throw much light upon the laws that preside over the development of life; but what life is, and what is its ultimate cause, we are utterly unable to say. The mind of man which can track the course of the comet, and measure the velocity of light, has hitherto proved incapable of explaining the existence of the minutest insect or the growth of the most humble plant. In grouping phenomena, in ascertaining their sequences and their analogies, its achievements have been marvellous; in discovering ultimate causes it has absolutely failed. An impenetrable mystery lies at the root of every existing thing. The first principle, the dynamic force, the vivifying power, the efficient causes of those successions which we term natural laws, elude the utmost efforts of our research. The scalpel of the anatomist and the analysis of the chemist are here at fault. The microscope which reveals the traces of all-pervading, all-ordaining intelligence in the minutest globule, and displays a world of organised and living beings in a grain of dust, supplies no solution of the problem. We know nothing or next to nothing of the relations of mind to matter, either in our own persons or in the world that is around us; and to suppose that the progress of natural science eliminates the conception of a first cause from creation by supplying natural explanations, is completely to ignore the sphere and limits to which it is confined.”

SACRED courage indicates that a man loves an idea better than all things in the world; that he is aiming neither at self nor comfort, but will venture all to put in act the invisible thought in his mind. He is everywhere a liberator, but of a freedom that is ideal; not seeking to have land or money or conveniences,

but to have no other limitation than that which his own constitution imposes. He is free to speak truth; he is not free to lie. He wishes to break every yoke, all over the world which hinders his brother from acting after his thought.—Emerson.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

From the Persian.

§ 6.—Career of Shahji under the Nizam Shahi.

When Shahji was 20 years old, the two brothers Maloji and Vitoji died, leaving their good names behind them. Shahji succeeded to their power. Jija Bai, the daughter of Jadav Rai, bore him a son named Sambhaji. At this time Nizam Shah, too, died, leaving two minor sons, whom their mother continued to bring up. As she had no trustworthy agent, she called a Brahman named Sabaji Anant, one of the Nizam Shahi officials, to her in private and said, "Now-a-days the Marathas have large forces and are the chief commanders. You ought to make friends with them and engage in the work of administration, for without their help the management of the Crownlands and the finance department of the State cannot go on." The Brahman praised Shahji Bhonsla as experienced in official work and competent for *diwani*. The Begam of Nizam Shah in admiration ordered him to be brought to her. At the audience she was struck with his ability, and placing her two sons on his knees she gave him the robe of *diwan*.

Shahji occupied the seat of power, placed his late master's two sons on his knees, and carried on the administration, all the nobles and officers submitting to him. Some time passed in this way; the government was properly conducted and all were satisfied. But Jadav Rai, his father-in-law, a commander under the Nizam Shahi, could not bear to see the power and fortune of Shahji, and repined, saying, "This man of unknown origin, this runaway from home and kindred, has by forcible demand

become related to me. And now he sits on the *masnad* with the sons of Nizam Shah on his knees and issues orders to me! How can I bear this authority?" In envy he sent an agent to the Emperor [of Delhi] begging help to expel Shahji. The Emperor sent a noble named Mir Jumla as Viceroy of Daulatabad with 60,000 cavalry. Jadav Rai, gaining over many chiefs [of the Nizam Shahi] and collecting a large force, waited on Mir Jumla on the bank of the Narbada. He then marched on Daulatabad acting as the van of the Mughal army. On hearing of it Shahji decided to keep the two minor sons of Nizam Shah in whichever of the four forts,—Mahuli, Kaliani, Bhimri, and Kokan,—might be strongest, and then with a mind at peace engage in opposing this Imperial force. He therefore went with the Begams, the princes, and his own family to the fort of Mahuli. Jadav Rai, coming after him with the Imperial forces and his own troops, besieged the fort. There was fighting for six months; but as it dragged on, Shahji sent an envoy with a letter to the king of Bijapur saying, "The Emperor has declared war on me, and Jadav Rai is the van of the Imperial army. This trouble has sprung from my own household. I have strengthened the fort of Mahuli and am ready. If you send a written agreement granting me reassurance a peerage and a *jagir*, I shall go over to you with my army and serve you loyally." The Bijapur king learning of it, sent a written promise, and his *diwan* Morar Jagdeo, too, sent another letter and reassured Shahji. Shahji, with 5,000 troopers, his family, and son Sambhaji, issued from the fort at night,

wrecked the entrenchment of Jadav Rai and set out for Bijapur.

§ 7.—Birth of Shivaji.

At this time his wife was seven months gone with child. She was riding on a mare, but after passing 6 or 8 miles became too faint to keep her seat. Shahji was put to great inconvenience. He told off 100 horsemen, saying to his wife, "Your father Jadav Rai is coming behind. It is not good for me to delay here. You as his daughter have no fear of him. If he has any sense of honour he will do you no harm but either send you to me or remove you to some other place. I have no care or fear about it." Saying this he set off towards Bijapur. Immediately afterwards Jadav Rai, who had informed Mir Jumla and employed the whole Imperial army in the siege of the fort, started in pursuit with lighted torches, came to the place where Jija Bai was standing after dismounting, and saw her. Men told him, "Your daughter is standing on the way in very sorry plight. You ought to advance after sending her to some asylum. It is not well that the Nawab Mir Jumla should hear that the enemy has fled and your daughter has been left on the way. You should follow your own course after disposing of this matter." Jadav Rai's sense of honour being roused by these words, he detached 500 horsemen to take her to the fort of Shewneri, belonging to Shahji. Here the goddess Bhawani flourished under the name of Shivá and granted prayers. This pure-hearted and devotedly pious lady prayed to Bhawani, "If I bear a son, I shall name him after your august self." After some time she delivered a son and named him SHIVAJI. The date of his birth was the 5th day of the moon in the month of Baisakh *sudi*, Saka 1549 of the era of Salivahan, year Jai* of the *sambatsar* cycle. (1627 A.D.)

Jadav Rai, on his part, advanced in pursuit of Shahji by forced marches up to Ahmadnagar,

but could not catch any of the enemy. Shahji reached Bijapur, waited on Sultan Sikandar [Adil] Shah, and also paid his respects to Morar Jagdeo, the *naib* of Bijapur. He was greatly honoured and trusted and presented with a robe of honour, horse, sword, elephant, and other gifts, and given the command of 10,000 troops and a jagir in Karnatik. Mir Jumla on failing to seize the enemy returned disappointed to the Emperor. Jadav Rai accompanied him to the Narbada. When Mir Jumla crossed the river on the way to Delhi, the latter returned with his contingent and stayed at Sindkhkhaira.

§ 8.—Malik Ambar.

Sabaji Anant now came out of Mahuli and returned to Daulatabad with the Nizam Shahi Begams and princes. As Shahji had gone over to Bijapur, no *diwan* or *peshkar* was left to manage the affairs of state. A capable and wise man was sought for the *diwan*-ship.

Malik Ambar, the servant of Changis Khan [a late minister of the Nizam Shahi], came from Bijapur to Daulatabad as a *darvish*. He halted in a shop on the road side and was sleeping with his goods placed on a piece of wood and his legs raised, when Sabaji Anant passed by in his *palki*. On glancing at [the soles of] the feet of Malik Ambar he noticed on them the marks of fortune and knew him to be either a chieftain or a chieftain's son. He awakened him and took him to his house. Having made him bathe and put on good robes and ornaments, he admitted him to his private chamber and took oath(?). Leading him to the Begam of Nizam Shah, he put the two princes in his lap and gave him the robe of *naib* [of the kingdom]. Proclamation was made in the town, and the grandees and officers came and waited on him, and the government began to be properly conducted [again].

Sometime after Mir Jumla had reached the Emperor, he was sent back with a large army to invade the Deccan. Near Burhanpur, at the fort of Asir, he encountered [Ambar], but after

* The word may also be read as *Khai*=*Kshaya*.

making great exertion was defeated and fled across the Narbada. Malik Ambar, severely wounded in the battle, returned victorious to Daulatabad. As he was a righteous man, in proof of his faithfulness to his master's salt he engraved on his seal the words "Malik Ambar, the servant of Changis Khan." After some time he advanced conquering to the frontier of Bijapur and plundered the village of Mahasur, which has a temple of Sambhu Mahadev. He had 60,000 troops with him. As Bijapur [territory] was being much plundered, Morar Jagdeo, Shahji Rajah, Sarja Khan, and other leaders advanced against him with 80,000 Maratha horse on behalf of the Sultan of Bijapur. The whole country was devastated by the struggle between the armies. Malik Ambar after plundering all the land of Bijapur arrived at the bank of the river Bhima at Taligaon (near Kurgaon), which is called by the Marathas *Dhindhera*. As the river was flooded he could not cross it. In perplexity he dismounted from his horse, prayed to the river, and at once the flood subsided and the whole army crossed over. Then he took horse and crossed it. When he reached the opposite bank the river began to rage again. Just then Morar Jagdeo, the *naib* of Bijapur, arrived at the bank with his army and was astonished to see that Malik Ambar had crossed the river immediately before, though it was raging so violently as to deny a passage by any means whatever. He sent word to Malik Ambar, "God's grace is on you; even the river affords you passage. Stay there in composure. I shall offer thanks for the grace of God." Hearing this Malik Ambar halted on the other side, while on this side all the chiefs of the army, laying their hands on the head, said, "Thou art the chosen one of God, a living *pir*; thou hast attained to the stage of a saint." Ambar, too, after speaking words of compliment to them, returned to Daulatabad. The Bijapur generals, after arriving near Bithuri Taligaon close to Ahmadnagar, encamped. Morar

Jagdeo and Shahji Rajah returned to Bijapur.

When Malik Ambar heard the news of the retreat of Morar Jagdeo to Bijapur and the halt of his army near Ahmadnagar, he made a night-march from Daulatabad, came to the environs of Ahmadnagar, and broke the embankment of the great reservoir of water there. The whole army was dispersed by the flood thus caused. In the tumult 12 chiefs—Sarja Khan and others—were captured by Malik Ambar's men. On their being brought before him, he released all of them with robe and horses.

§ 9.—Shahji under Bijapur.

During this occurrence Shahji Rajah was in Karnatik. When the news of the dispersal of the army reached Bijapur, Morar Jagdeo advanced with a large force and halted at Nagargaon, a dependency of Sawas, in the district of Puna the Lesser, where the river Bhima and Indrani unite and flow southwards. It was the Srimukh *sambatsar*, *Saka* 1561 (= A. D. 1643), the sun was in the south, or as it is called in Hindi, *dakshinayana*, the season was monsoon, the month *Bhadra badi* and the day one of conjunction (*amawas*) and Monday. Knowing it to be an auspicious day, he weighed himself 24 times in it, and gave away vast sums in charity.

Morar Jagdeo had a young elephant, which he loved greatly. He wished to weigh it, too. Sarja Khan and other chiefs were asked to get it weighed in the balance, but they were at a loss how to do it. Just then Shahji Rajah submitted, "Master, be engaged in your devotions. I shall weigh the elephant." Saying this he went to the bank of the Bhima and, fastening planks to a boat where the water was deep, took the elephant on board. He then marked the line down to which the boat sank in water under the weight of the elephant and removed the elephant. Next he loaded the boat with stone-ballast to the

mark, and finally weighed the ballast against gold and silver, which were distributed among the Brahmans and beggars. From that day the village, formerly known as Nagargaon came to be called Tulapur. Jagdeo bestowed on the Brahmans the village Tulapur and another village also in the neighbourhood, which was his property and in which he abolished the cesses on both sides and other dues. On the completion of this work of piety, he resumed the task of government.

Before this, in 1216 *Saka* of Salivahan, the year *Khar* of *sambatsar* (1294 A.D.), the month of Magh, 12 Abyssinians in concert had built a fort at Chakan and taken to plundering. For some time the fort was in their possession. But after their death Nizam Shah got hold of it. When Shahji Rajah became *diwan* he took it. On the Bijapur army being dispersed [by Malik Ambar] Murutandeo, the *qanungo* or *deshpande* of Lesser Puna, a proud rebel well-acquainted with the country round the river Bhima, raised a tumult and seized the neighbourhood of the fort. These disorders and tumults caused by lawless men desolated the whole kingdom from Ahmadnagar to the frontier of Wai and Sarwai. Morar Jagdeo sent Rai Rao *diwan*, his relative, to repress him. Rai Rao arrived in the country, punished all the usurpers, seized Murutandeo, the main-spring of the disorder, drove an iron nail through his navel, imprisoned him, demolished the fort of Lesser Puna, the stronghold of this rebel, plundered the town, and caused its soil, which was *pandri* or white clay, to be ploughed with asses. Here he [Morar Jagdeo] built a fort dedicated to Mahawaleshwar, and named it Daulatmangal. As the country had been greatly desolated, he conferred the whole tract from the frontier of Puna and the fort of Chakan to that of Wai, Sarwai, Supa, Indapur, and Jadgir, as *jagir* on Rajah Shahji,—with whose cleverness he had been greatly pleased at the time of weighing the elephant.

§ 10.—Dadaji Kond Dev, guardian of Shivaji.

Knowing Dadaji Kond Dev, the *kulkarni* or manager and *qanungo* of the *parganahs* of Hangni Būrdi and Dhuligaon, to be an honest and experienced man, Shahji Rajah entrusted to him the whole work of administering the district, and gave him 1,000 *paga* or horses from his own stable—consisting of 500 horses and 500 mares. Having appointed *bargirs* (common soldiers), and also engaged the services of Siddi Halal, the Abyssinian, Shahji returned to Bijapur, saying to Dadaji Panth at the time of his departure, “My wife Jija Bai is living in the fort of Shewneri and has brought forth a son named Shivaji. Bring her and her son, keep them in your charge, and supply them with money for their necessary expenses. Educate Shivaji.” Dadaji, as he was commanded by Shahji, summoned Shivaji. He caused the ruined Lesser Puna to be populated, lodged Shivaji in a separate house near his own, greatly honoured and regarded him, giving him costly clothing and jewels, and tried to train him.

When Morar Jugdeo after settling the affairs of that quarter was returning to Bijapur, on the way, Murutandeo escaped from his captivity, came to the village of Kalkarh in the district of Chakan, went at night to the house of Baman Bhat, son of Raghunath, a Brahman, and sought asylum. Hula, the Brahman's wife, who knew him from before, kept him hidden in the upper story of her house for 6 months.

After reaching Bijapur, Morar Jagdeo sent Shahji on a course of conquests. The latter encamped near the fort of Kanakgir, held by the turbulent and rebellious *poligars* of the district. He besieged the fort, took it, and made the *poligars* prisoner. His son Sambhaji was slain in the fight. At this Shahji was greatly grieved and said “Through the ill-luck of Jada all these calamities have happened. I will take another wife.” Seeking out

a handsome daughter of the Mohitay family, named Tuka Bai, he married her, and had by her a son named Ikoji [=Venkaji.] He renounced his first wife, the daughter of Jadav Rai, disliked even her son Shivaji, saying, "This son is worthless, unlucky, and will come to no good," and set his heart on Ikoji.

Dadaji Panth trained Shivaji and appointed an excellent teacher for him. In a short time Shivaji became skilled in fighting, riding, and other accomplishments. Dadaji, sending safe-conduct and assurances, summoned Murutan Deo, who was concealed in the village of Kalkarh in the house of the Brahman Baman Bhat. Entrusting to him the ruined *parganahs* of Chakan, &c., he said, "Win over the ryots and cause these to be cultivated." He did so in a short time, by the following device.

As owing to the desolation many wolves had been bred there, he ordered the Mawals, a hill folk, to slay them, on promise of reward. They slew all the wolves and cleared the whole country in a short time. Satisfying the Mawals he said, "Come and settle in these *parganahs*." They begged for letters of agreement and *pattas*. Dadaji Panth gave them written agreements to the effect that they would pay as rent per *bigha* one rupee in the first year, Rs. 3 in the second, Rs. 6 in the third, Rs. 9 in the fourth, Rs. 10 in the fifth, Rs. 20 in the sixth, the same as other tenants in the seventh, and the rate assessed by Malik Ambar in the eighth year. Thus the whole country was cultivated.

He did such strict justice that the very names of robbers and usurpers disappeared from the district. In the village of Khairapur he established a bazar in the name of Shivaji. Procuring good and sweet fruit-trees from the Imperial gardens, he set them in his own land [in a garden] named after Shahji. The trees began to thrive and bear fruit. He gave strict order that if any one plucked even one leaf from them he would be punished. One

day Dadaji Panth with his own hand plucked a mango from a tree. For this offence he was about to cut off the hand when other men prevented him. To show his respect for rules, he made and wore a chain round his neck and wrote a letter of apology to Shahji, who greatly delighted at this, sent him a robe of honour and other favours, increased his pay by 700 huns (Rs. 2,800), and ordered that whatever would be collected should be paid into the revenue office. For a time this was done.

§ 11.—Shahji conquers Tanjore.

Shahji lived in the districts of Bijapur, while Morar Jagdeo acted as *diwan* at the capital, when Sultan Sikandar [Adil Shah], the ruler of Bijapur, died. The Sultan's widow conspired to murder Morar Jagdeo fearing that as he was a man of spirit he might raise a tumult in the state. When Morar Jagdeo came to the *deorhi* of the Begam, he learnt of this purpose, and saw that the court was against him. He bathed in the water of the fountain in front of the Hall of Audience, tore his sacred thread, cut off the tuft of hair [on the head] which marks a Hindu, and took to the life of a *sannyasi* or one who has renounced the world. But his fatal hour had come; at the Begam's order they cut off his hands and feet and killed him. This execution threw the whole government [of Bijapur] into confusion.

Shahji Rajah was at Balapur Kalhar, in Karnatik, with 12,000 cavalry, when this happened. The Rajah of Tanjore, Paligar Bijay Raghav,—who was a powerful king with 500 wives,—had frequent disputes with his neighbour the Rajah of Mudhal, named Paligar Tichna. The latter sought help from Shahji, attacked the Rajah of Tanjore, and after much fighting slew him and took his fort, which had a circuit of 12 miles and contained much treasure. When taking help, the Rajah of Mudhal had agreed that after the conquest he would pay Shahji some money but keep the conquered land for himself. But after

the conquest Shahji's greed was excited, and he kept the kingdom in his own possession. The Rajah of Mudhal, not being able to bear it, fought with Shahji and was slain, his kingdom too passing into Shahji's hands. Shahji left his son Ikoji (=Venkaji) with his wife Dipa Bai to rule over the kingdom, and himself marched back to Maharaj-garhi near Balapur Kalhar, and stayed there. Ikoji had 3 sons by his wife Dipa Bai : Shahji, Sharfaji, and Tukaji. The first two died without issue, but Tukaji had a son, whose descendants are still reigning [at Tanjore.]

Malik Ambar, the *naib* of Daulatabad, died. The Emperor Shah Jahan sent a powerful force under Prince Aurangzib and Mir Jumla,

and captured Daulatabad. Here Malik Ambar had, in his life time, founded a *bazar*. Aurangzib conciliated the peasantry, built a wall round the *bazar*, and named it after himself ; thenceforth it has been called Aurangabad. His government of the province was excellent. First he marched against Bijapur. Sarja Khan and other Bijapur generals encountered the Prince, who, however, turned back from them and retired to Aurangabad. He now engaged in administering the provinces of Khandes, Berar, and Aurangabad, doing justice and cherishing the peasantry.

(To be continued)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

A STUDY OF A YEAR'S VITAL STATISTICS

Vital Statistics may be defined as the Statistical method applied to the investigation of facts relating to human life.

Statistics are not usually interesting reading and I am afraid Vital Statistics are no exception to the rule though their importance cannot be overestimated.

Vital Statistics are the foundation of sanitary effort and the basis of the work of Medical Officers of Health ; without them our efforts at improving sanitation and rendering the conditions under which the people live more healthy would be groping in the dark. Did we not know, for example, that Enteric Fever is not very common in Madras, we might be tempted to advise the expenditure of *lakhs* of rupees on remedying a condition which is comparatively speaking not at all serious. Because a few of our friends or neighbours happened to die of the disease, we might rush to the conclusion that it is common, but a reference to the total deaths from Enteric Fever in the city for the year would show that it is not by any means one of our most important death causes, nor one on which by itself, we would be justified in recommending a large expenditure, until other much

more common and more easily remediable death causes had been set right. So it is as a guide directing our sanitary efforts that we tabulate year after year the deaths occurring in the city and their causes.

Of no less importance is correct registration of the births occurring during the year. The number of people living at the various ages, or as we call it, the age constitution, depends, of course, upon the birth rate ; and the age constitution of the population is one of the most essential requirements in Vital Statistics. As I shall show later, the excessive death rate which this city records year after year is in a great measure due to the very high mortality which occurs amongst those of a certain age period, namely, the period under one year.

To enable us to make use of the figures collected by the Birth and Death Registrars, it is, of course, essential that we should know the total population dealt with. This we get once in every ten years by means of the Census, and our ratios are invariably worked out as so much in every 1,000 of the population. Thus when we say that the death rate of this

city for last year was 59.0 we mean that out of every 1,000 people living in the city, 59 died during the year. There are defects attendant upon our having to take the population of 1901—the date of the last census—as our basis. The population of the city may have increased or decreased considerably since then, and thus the birth and death rates which we have worked out may be too high or too low. As a matter of fact, I think, our population last year was much above that of the census figure, due in part to ordinary increase, and in part to influx of people during the year in search of work on account of scarcity in the surrounding districts, and instead of a population of 509,000, we may have had one of 550,000, and our death rate calculated on this figure would be only 54.6 instead of 59. For a city which is not growing or decreasing very much, the census of every ten years answers fairly well as a basis, but where the city is either growing rapidly or the reverse is the case, a census must be taken oftener. In Bombay, for example, they had to take a fresh census a little while ago, as the 1901 census was taken at a time when crowds of people had left the city on account of plague. These having all returned and the city having otherwise grown considerably, it was found that instead of the 776,006 of 1901, the population in 1906 was actually 977,822 or an increase of over two hundred thousand.

Had a census of Madras been carefully taken every 10 years for the last 100 years, and had there been a steady and regular increase or decrease of population at every census, it would be possible to estimate what the population ought to be at any inter-census period, assuming that the steady increase or decrease continued; but this method of “estimating the population” as it is called, is not applicable to Madras. In the first place we have not had a sufficient number of trustworthy censuses taken, and in the second place there has not been a regular and steady increase or decrease even in such figures as we have got.

Towards the end of the Administration Report of the Corporation of Madras for 1905-06 will be found pages of figures relating to the number of Births and Deaths occurring in each ward (or as we now call them ‘divisions’) of the city for the year ended 31st December 1905; figures giving the number of deaths

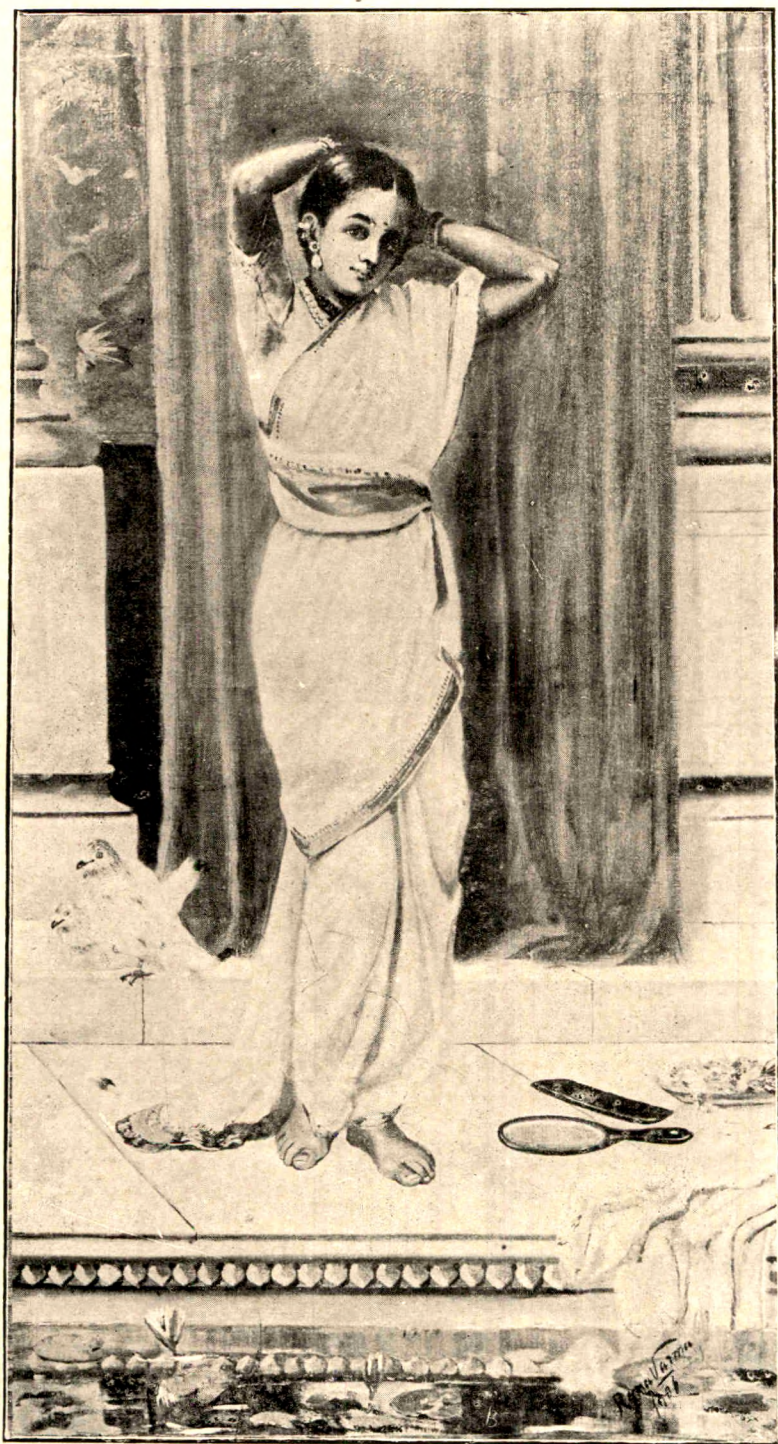
according to age and class in every ward, figures giving the number of deaths from certain special diseases such as cholera, small-pox, plague &c., for every ward during each month of the year. Then there is a statement of deaths from some of the principal diseases of the year compared with the figures of the previous four years, and finally we have a complete classification of the diseases which caused the 30,060 deaths of the year, arranged according to the Nomenclature of Diseases. It is to these pages of figures that I wish especially to invite your attention this evening.

I may here perhaps remind you that the population of Madras according to the last census was 509,346.

From the First table Annual Form No. 1, Births registered by wards during the years 1905, we find that the total births which occurred in the city during the year was 23,263 or a birth rate of 45.6 per thousand. This figure taken alone does not convey much information and it is only when we compare it with our birth rates of previous years and with the birth rates of other large cities of the World, more especially of Indian Cities, that it becomes of real interest. We find for example that our birth rate for the previous year was 40.1 and that the mean ratio of the previous five years was only 38.3, that the Birth rate of Calcutta for the year 1905 was 18.4, of Bombay 25.20 for 1904, of Rangoon 17.19 for 1905, of England and Wales 27.9 for 1904 and of London 27.9 (1904). (I regret, I have not got the 1905 figures in all cases).

Our birth rate was, therefore, comparatively speaking very high and as a matter of fact the total represents the highest number of births ever recorded in this city in any one year. I need not go into the probable causes of this exceptional birth rate, one of which is, as I have already said, that our population must have been much higher than that on which we based our calculations, but the extraordinary disparity between the Birth rates of Madras and the other two Presidency towns and Rangoon demands a word of explanation.

In Madras the sexes are fairly equally divided, that is to say, in our total population there is a preponderance of only 4000 males over females or a proportion of 101.63 males to 100 females, whereas the proportion in Calcutta is 197.26 males to 100 females, in Bombay 152.97 males to 100 females, and in Rangoon 238.76 males to every 100 females. Our population, therefore,



AFTER BATH.

with regard to sex distribution, partakes of the characters of a rural population, whereas that of Calcutta, Bombay or Rangoon is of the usual type peculiar to manufacturing towns where male labour is in great demand. Hundreds, even thousands, of young adult men either unmarried or having left their wives in their villages, swarm into these towns yearly on account of the demand for labour and consequent high wages, and so an artificial and unnatural sex ratio is produced resulting in an apparently low birth rate. I say apparently, for it is of course unfair to calculate the birth rate from the total population which is so largely composed of males. The correct birth rate would be that calculated on the total number of women of child-bearing ages, and if this were done it is possible that the birth rates of the cities mentioned would more nearly approximate to each other and to that of Madras.

Turning again to our Annual Form No. 1, we find that the 13th or Egmore Division returned the highest birth rate of any division in the city, namely 54.5, due no doubt in part to the location in that division of the Government Maternity Hospital, that there were 107.5 male children born for every 100 female, and that the Egmore, Nungambaukam, Chintadripet and Mylapore divisions alone showed an excess of births over deaths for the year.

Coming now to Annual Form No. II,—statement of deaths by wards, we find that the death rate of the whole city for the year was 59.0 per thousand, as compared with 37.9 in the previous year and 42.7, the mean ratio of the previous five years, and as compared with a ratio of 37.9 in Calcutta for 1905, of 54.99 in Bombay for 1904, of 45.9 in Rangoon for 1905, of 16.2 for England and Wales for 1904, of 16.9 for London for 1904 and of 18.49 (1905) for the American City of Boston, which is about the same size as Madras. This is the highest death rate ever recorded in Madras with the exception of the year 1877—the great famine year—when the death rate was 117.2 per thousand. In a word Madras has the unenviable distinction of—so far as I am aware—returning for 1905 the highest death rate of any of the large cities of the world, and this in spite of the fact that Madras alone of the large Indian cities was practically free from plague. The cause for this high death-rate can in part be more or less satisfactorily explained. A high birth-rate is

admittedly a cause of a high death-rate. Infant lives are what insurance companies call "bad lives" and a death-rate of 100 in every 1,000 children under one year of age is considered very moderate, so that as Madras had a comparatively speaking very high infant population, it is only reasonable to have expected a high death-rate. Again, our total population was, as I have said, probably much higher than the census figure. We were, therefore, entitled to a larger number of deaths than had our population actually been that of the census on which we base our ratios. Many of the people who flocked into the city on account of scarcity were weakened through want of suitable nourishment and were thus bad lives. But even after making allowance for all these factors in the production of a high mortality list, the death rate of the year was not only high, it was appallingly high.

Form No. II also shows that the 1st division centre ward, now known as the second or Tondiarpet division, returned the highest death rate of any division with the almost incredible figure of 99 deaths in every 1,000 of its population. That is, practically $\frac{1}{10}$ th of the inhabitants of this division died during the year. The division returned a high birth rate, namely, 48.9 per thousand, but it had actually an excess of deaths over births of 50.1 per thousand of population or a total excess of 2,098 deaths over births. The causes of this high death rate are not difficult to find. The division in addition to being provided with a scant supply of Red Hills water has the evil reputation of being the most insanitary of all the 20 divisions into which the city is divided. I have inspected the slums of Calcutta, Bombay and Rangoon, and I have seen one or two cities of China, but I do not think I have ever seen anything which would bear portions of our 2nd division in the matter of filth. The soil is in certain parts polluted to an extent which renders the condition of its upper layer comparable only to a manure heap. True, the streets are swept twice daily, but it is impossible to remove the layer of manure which in many places is the only metalling with which the streets are provided. In the soil thus polluted, innumerable shallow wells have been sunk and the water from these is used for domestic purposes and more especially for boiling paddy, which is the staple industry of the division. The paddy after being

boiled in what is practically sewage, is spread out to dry on drying floors in the courtyards where it is trodden upon by men and beasts and swarms of flies, all of whose feet are contaminated with the filth of the streets. After this treatment the rice is distributed to the bazaars and thence to the consumers all over the city. As the division is the home of cholera, one can understand how an epidemic started there quickly spreads to other parts of the town.

From the same Form we see that the 13th or Egmore division returned the lowest death rate with 44, closely followed by Mylapore with 44.7 per thousand. That the 8th or Trevelyan Basin division of Georgetown is the most densely crowded of all the divisions with an average population of 114,672 to the square mile; the average to the square mile for the whole of Madras being 18,864, for Calcutta 26,368, and for Bombay 34,565. That the 3rd or Korukupet division returned the highest number of deaths from cholera per thousand of population, namely, 11.8, closely followed by the 2nd division with 11.6 and by the 1st with 11.1. These are the three divisions which lie to the north of the old city wall which is the northern boundary of Georgetown. They are almost equally badly drained, while to portions of the 1st and 3rd divisions my remarks as to filth in the 2nd division are equally applicable. Finally we see from the Form that for every 100 females who died in the whole city during the year, only 98.2 males died, but that in the 9th or Park Town or south-west division of Georgetown 121.2 males died to every 100 females but only 86.8 in the 7th or Seven Wells division.

The next table—Annual Form No. III—shows the total deaths registered by wards during each month of the year. From it we see that 16 divisions returned their highest monthly total of deaths in the month of August. The four remaining, namely, the Vepery, Egmore, Nungambaukam and Chepauk divisions showing September as their most fatal month. Practically twice as many deaths occurred in August as in any other month of the year. The fewest number of deaths occurred in the month of February and the next fewest in January. Put in order of healthiness the months are February, January, April, March, May, June, November, December, July, October, September and August.

The next Form—No. IV—shows deaths registered according to age by wards, and from it we see that the highest mortality occurred amongst those under one year of age. The ratio 315.8 per thousand calculated on the number of births during the year and means that one almost of every three children born during the year died before reaching the age of 12 months. This is the slaughter of the innocent with a vengeance. Some time ago I was asked to account for the excessive infantile mortality which occurs in Madras year after year and then stated that the Medical practitioners whom I had consulted were practically unanimous in considering that the large majority of infantile deaths are due to errors of digestion and chest affections, and that the most common immediate cause of death is infantile convulsions and that, as an indirect cause of illness, insanitary surroundings by weakening the constitution of the child are of the first importance. It is in fact laid down that the infantile mortality furnishes a correct index of the sanitary condition of a town. Judged by this test alone and without calling upon the evidence furnished by our senses of sight and smell, the sanitary condition of Madras stands condemned. There is another cause of our high infantile death rate which I omitted to mention, namely, the high mortality amongst mothers just after child birth. As we shall see later "Eclampsia" stands high upon the list as a cause of mortality and although we cannot attach much importance to the causes of deaths as entered in our registers by unqualified men, still I understand that we may take it, that, in the majority of cases where Registrars entered eclampsia as a cause of death they had in their minds some illness following child birth; under this head we find 2,592 deaths registered, under puerperal septicaemia we have 103 deaths, under child birth and difficult labour 66 deaths, and under puerperal tetanus, puerperal delirium and puerperal peritonitis we have 175 more deaths; there is a total of 2,936 infants left motherless immediately or shortly after their birth. The death rate amongst these must be supposed to have been excessive, and it is to preserve as many as possible of these lives that provision has been made in this year's budget for starting a Municipal Milk Depot for the supply of sterilized and humanized milk for infants whose mothers have died and for those whose mothers are

or any other reason unable to breast-feed them. It is hoped that the dépôt supplying good milk, properly prepared and issued in quantities suitable to the varying ages, may have an appreciable effect in lowering the infantile mortality, but the real remedy lies in the improvement of the sanitary conditions under which the majority of children are reared in Madras, and educating the mothers in the elements of Hygiene and the care and feeding of babies.

Could we by sanitary or other measures have reduced our infantile death rate of last year to say 100 per thousand of those born, which is not an impossible figure to aim at, our total death for last year would have been 49 instead of 59, that is to say, we should have saved 5,000 lives at this age alone.

The next most fatal age period is 60 years and upwards, and for this period of life we had a death rate of 165.7 per thousand. The next highest fatal age period is that between 1 and 5 years which returned a death rate of 109.8. The age period 10 and under 15 years returned the lowest death rate, namely, 22.2 per thousand of those alive at that age.

We now come to Annual Form No. V which shows the deaths registered according to class by wards, and from this we see that Mahomedans had the highest death rate of any class during the year, namely, 63.3—next come Hindus with 59.7, and then Christians with a death rate of 46.2 per thousand.

The next twelve tables which shows the deaths registered from certain special diseases by wards during each month of the year, I need not particularly go into, except as regards the first one, which deals with cholera. From this disease 3,684 deaths were registered, though this figure, high as it is, does not nearly represent the total of the deaths from cholera, as many of the poorer and more ignorant people to escape the inconvenience of disinfection registered the deaths as due to some other disease, frequently dysentery or diarrhoea.

During the months of January, February, March and April there were no deaths reported from cholera. There was one in May, six in June, 332 in July, 1,880 in August, 1,047 in September, 358 in October, 30 in November and 30 in December.

The second division, as usual, heads the list with 487 deaths from cholera and the 14th or Kilpauk division shows the fewest, namely, 50, but compared to

population the 20th or Mylapore is by far the best with only 2.9 deaths per thousand from this disease.

There are several causes which contributed to our severe cholera epidemic. First there was the disease prevailing in epidemic form in several villages in the Chingleput district and no quarantine regulations to prevent its introduction into this city. Next there was the rush of a semi-starving crowd of people from the infected and other villages into the city in search of work or food, and these undoubtedly brought the disease with them and assisted largely in spreading it over the town. Then there was the high price of food and the scarcity of money wherewith to purchase it, which resulted in the poorest of the people being reduced to the necessity of eating garbage, and lastly there were the strictly local conditions favourable to the growth and spread of cholera, namely, a more than usually deficient and impure water supply combined with the insanitary conditions which prevail at all times in certain parts of the city.

I might also add a word with regard to flies, which I believe perform no small part in the spread of the disease. Flies are usually plentiful in Madras, and during the cholera season they appeared to be particularly abundant. They breed in filth, and a place where flies swarm must be a filthy place. If any one wishes to study the development of the fly, he should visit a Municipal trenching ground where he will find them in all stages, especially the larval, in countless millions.

It was no uncommon sight during the cholera epidemic to see swarms of flies alight upon the dejecta of a cholera patient lying on the roadside and when disturbed settle upon anything handy, more especially upon the foodstuffs exposed for sale in adjacent bazaars or upon the hoppers of the hopper woman or the sweets of the sweetmeat seller.

Bacteriologists have proved that flies taken from off cholera-infected matter, can, by walking upon it, infect with cholera the specially prepared sterile media in the Laboratory, and it is easy to understand how myriads swarming on to food, after settling on cholera-infected matter, must infect the food.

The subject of the extermination of flies like the extermination of those other disease-carriers, mosquitos, bugs and fleas, is at last receiving the attention which it deserves, and I hope the time will come when this city shall be rid of all these pests.

The last table in the Administration Report with which we are at present concerned, gives a complete classification of the diseases accountable for all the deaths of the year, arranged in the order adopted in the Nomenclature of Diseases. As I have said, we cannot attach much importance to the causes of death. As so many people die in Madras who have not been attended by any Medical practitioner and the causes of their deaths are entered by unqualified Registrars from information supplied by relatives or friends, needless to say, the diagnosis is guess-work in the majority of cases.

As entered in this table Dysentery is responsible for the greatest number of deaths namely, 4,868, next comes Fever—a term which may mean almost any disease—with 3,853, next is cholera with 3,684, Eclampsia—I am not quite certain what this term means here—caused 2,592 deaths, Diarrhoea 2,045, old age 1,260, Immaturity at birth 1,205, and Ascites 1,009 deaths. These eight illnesses are shown as responsible for two-thirds of the total deaths.

This table of death, causes is the most serious blot in our Vital Statistics. It is a worthless table, except in a very general way, at present; and to improve it and make it as accurate as possible so that it shall be of use to the sanitarian, must be one of our great aims in the future. Unless we know exactly the causes from which the people die, it is of course impossible to take the necessary measures to remedy those causes.

In conclusion, let me answer a query which may have occurred to some of you and which one hears occasionally asked, "what is the use of trying to cut down the death rate and thus increase the population by costly sanitary measures, when the country has already got more people than it is able to support, as witness the famines which occur in parts and the scarcity almost amounting to famine which occurs in

other parts periodically?" Well, I will not go into this question as applied to the whole of India. It is in its essence inhuman, but here in Madras it does not in any case concern us at present, as our city which is the capital of a large Presidency instead of increasing naturally in population as it ought to do would, if a immigration from without were stopped, actually have its population reduced to one-half of what it is at present, in 50 years, if the births and deaths continue to maintain each other last year's ratio; and since the year 1871 there have been 42,913 more deaths than births in the city of Madras.

I have given what I hope is a plain statement of facts, many of the facts are unpleasant but there is no getting away from them, no use trying to blink at them. The sanitary condition of Madras is not what it ought to be. Great improvement will, no doubt follow the introduction of the improved water supply and the completion of the new drainage scheme, but without the intelligent co-operation of the citizens the best results cannot be hoped for. An increased interest in the subject with which I have dealt, and a spread of knowledge with regard to the elements of modern Hygiene will ensure the creation of a strong public opinion which will insist upon remedies being found for all our sanitary defects. It would certainly not be too much to insist upon a death rate which should never exceed 25 per 1,000. Hundreds of other towns in the world have reduced their death rate to well under this figure and why should not we at least come down to it? It can be done, and every death over 25 per 1,000 is a death which could be prevented. In every thousand of the population we lost last year from preventable causes 34 lives that ought not have been lost, or a total of 17,306 lives needlessly sacrificed.

Read at a meeting of the South Indian Association, Madras.

There is a time in every man's education when he arrives at the conviction that envy is ignorance; that imitation is suicide; that he must take himself for better, for worse, as his portion; that though the wide universe is full of good, no kernel of nourishing

corn can come to him but through his toil bestowed on that plot of ground which is given him to till. The power which resides in him is new in nature, and none but he knows what that is which he can do, nor does he know until he has tried.—*Emerson*.



GOVARDHANRAM M. TRIPATHI.

THE LATE MR. GOVARDHANRAM M. TRIPATHI

THOUGH the name of the subject of this sketch was not much known outside his own Presidency, still he was a man remarkable in many ways, and his lamented death is a loss to the whole country, and possesses much more than a parochial or provincial interest. His writings have tried to influence the whole Gujarati-speaking population for better; this population forms a large factor of the Indian population, and their progress or retrogression is certainly as much India's concern, as the recovery or otherwise of a human limb is to the whole body. Readers of the better class of Indian monthlies have had many opportunities of judging of the variety and originality, the scholarship and wide range of study of this eminent writer, and they must have observed the note of broadmindedness and sympathy with the country at large that ran through all his contributions.

Mr. Tripathi was born in 1855, and hence was about fifty-two years old when he died. He belonged to the Nagar Brahmin Caste of Nadiad, a town in Gujarat. He had the singular good fortune to belong to a caste from which Gujarat has replenished the ranks of her authors, poets, politicians and thinkers, in the past as well as now. The town itself has also furnished quite a cluster of the modern literary men of Gujarat. His father had a flourishing shop in Bombay, where he did shroff's business. The Share-mania of 1865, hit him hard, as it did many others, and from a state of comparative affluence, in his early years, Govardhanram found himself reduced well-nigh to poverty, with his father's debts staring him in the face. But still, through the help of his uncle, Mr. Manassukhram Suryaram Tripathi—himself a very well-

known author and thinker—who throughout his life, has acted the good Samaritan towards his nephew, he was able to avail himself of a good school and college education. When he graduated B.A. from the Elphinstone College, the most prominent traits of his character, which developed later on, had shewn themselves sufficiently well. The originality of his writings secured him some well-known Prizes and benefactions. Circumstances then compelled him to accept service: he had to pay off his father's debts and maintain himself. He also wanted to read for the LL. B. Examination. He was in good luck, for he was appointed to a sinecure office in the Bhavnagar State, as the Private Secretary of the Dewan. Here he read his law, but more important than that, here in leisure hours germinated those thoughts, and here were utilised those powers of observation, which later on developed in his best known works, the novel of *Saraswati Chandra*, and the poem of *Sneha Mudra*. Government and other State Services were open to him, but he had preferred to lead an independent life, and so, in spite of two or three failures, he persevered in his attempts and ultimately passed his Law Examination. Fresh and better offers of service were again made to him, but he declined them all, and went to Bombay, to join the Appellate Bar of the High Court. What a great acquisition he was to that Bar, can be readily seen by turning over the pages of any of the Bombay Law Reports, where his work, his subtlety of argument, and straightforwardness of character are writ large. His career as a lawyer was in every sense successful. He commanded the confidence of his *clientele*, who flocked to him from all parts of the Presidency, and the

Judges had also complete confidence in him. Above all, his fearlessness of speech, and the complete absence in him of all those indescribable little arts to which many advocates resort, to keep the Bench pleased and on their side, stood out in bold relief, when the Judges had to be tackled on any points of judicial or administrative hardship. His name was on every lip then, and his advocacy was successful. In the profession, he was on the crest of the wave, when his resolution which he had made when he first began to practice law, was ripe for fulfilment. It was, that as soon as he found himself in possession of a competence, sufficient to maintain him and his family outside Bombay, he should retire, leave off making money, and devote the rest of his life to study and literature. The persuasions of friends to the contrary were useless. They pointed out many pitfalls, but his steadiness of purpose never swerved, and only eight years before the close of his life—but a brief span, in place of one which should have been longer and more fruitful—he gave up work at its most lucrative stage, and devoted himself unfettered, in the calm of the Mufasssal, to reading, thinking, studying and writing. Even during this brief space, his financial calculations, relying on which he had retired, were found to have been wrong, and a less firm mind would have succumbed to the temptations of rejoining the ranks of the practitioner at the Bar, where his withdrawal had left a void, and where work was waiting for him, or accepted the offers which were made to him on his retirement by several first class Native States to become their Dewan. But he adhered to his resolve, not to bend his neck to any one or anything for earning money, and he died, not a rich man.

During his retirement, he travelled a little in Gujarat and outside, to Upper India, but he passed most of his time at Nadiad, studying the Mahabharata, Ramayana, the Upanishads,

several works on the Vedanta,—he was a first-rate Sanskrit Scholar—and Modern Science. He was studying the former two with a view to extract therefrom a picture of Hindu Society as it existed in those remote times, and the latter, to show that our ancient Rishis knew Physiology and Physics. Both these objects have remained unfulfilled.

In the busiest part of his professional career, he brought out successively, though at long intervals, the first three volumes of his novel, which has made his name a household word in Gujarat. As a vivid picture of the good and bad sides of Native States, of the mental turmoil and heart-struggles of the modern educated native, himself in the van-guard and his family quite at the rear, of the problems which beset the Dewan of the Native State and the British Political Agent, of the philosophic and religious aspects of the orthodox and advancing ranks of Hindu Society and of the thousand and one features of our domestic life, it stands unrivalled in Gujarati and would challenge comparison with any other such work in any of the Vernacular Literatures of India. Govardhanram's whole life-work and out-look on life are epitomised in it. It has been translated into Hindi and Marathi, and it is such a remarkable book that it would reward the efforts of any scholar inclined to translate it into any other tongue of India. It requires to be read to be appreciated.

His other works, writings, papers, and speeches are all distinguished by their originality, logicity, and an analytical tendency to reduce things to their first principles. But this is not the place to speak of them. They form a chapter of his literary life.

He was a sound Gujarati scholar, and the Bombay University appreciated his scholarship by successively appointing him an examiner in Gujarati at the M. A. Examination.

Although distinguished men like Telang and Ranade and Chandavarkar held him in great

esteem, his closing years were passed in a place where men of such activity as theirs were not. But still his retirement had attracted one sincere friend, and that was Professor T. K. Gajjar, whose work as a successful scientist is known all over India. He fondly watched over his declining health, and it was to his Bungalow at Land's End, Malabar Hill, Bombay, that he was brought from Nadiad, during his last and fatal illness. He developed

symptoms of dropsy there, and died on the 4th of January, 1907, painlessly and placidly. A chorus of lamentation has risen, from the Press—Indian and Anglo-Indian—and the public of the Presidency, at the setting of this star in the literary firmament of Gujarat, and this is our justification for contributing a short sketch of the life of Mr. Tripathi to this review.

KRISHNALAL M. JHAVERI.

19th January, 1907.

THE PRESENT STATE OF THE WEAVING INDUSTRY IN BANGALORE.

According to the census of 1901, the weaver population of the town, is 12,287, distributed as follows :—

Wool weavers	...	...	3,579
Silk	„	...	3,753
Cotton	„	...	4,964
<hr/>			
			12,296

It is more than $\frac{1}{9}$ of the total weaver population of the province, viz., 1, 12, 348 and consists of the following subjects, viz.,

I Saurastras	V Senigars
II Khattris	VI Thogatas
III Patwegars	VII Kureehinavaree
IV Devangas	VIII Nimbekayinavaree
IX Padma Sallevaree.	

2. The Saurastras came to Mysore during the time of Hyder and Tippu from Tanjore. They are now represented by Messrs. Subbayyachetty and Sons and Singayya and Sons. They were once expert weavers of Kinkab, Gulbadin, but even now are a very intelligent and enterprising class of artizans. They settled at first at Seringapatam and Ganjam and had the monopoly of silk and carpet manufacture granted to them.

After the fall of Seringapatam, they were patronised by Sree Krishnaraja Odeyar in Mysore. Finally they settled in Bangalore and confined themselves to the carpet industry and gave up their works.

The introduction of rearing silkworms into the province is credited to the enterprise of this class of people. Hyder Ali is said to have ordered some 6 or 7 of Saurashtra men to go to Calcutta on foot to fetch silkworms. In the beginning it appears that Saurastras alone were allowed to rear them. In recognition of the service rendered by the men that brought silkworms, they and their descendants are said to have been once honoured in all the social gatherings of their community with what is called the first *thambul*.

3. Khattris. These are said to have come to Bangalore from Bijapur, Gulburga and other adjacent parts of the Bombay presidency. It is this class that introduced the silk and lace industry into the province. This class is intelligent and hard-working. The most prominent of these families in Bangalore is at present that of Govinda Savji. This family has been under the continued kind patronage of the Royal House and so has its industrial skill best developed.

4. Patwegars. Patwegars also seem to have come from the Bombay presidency. They are not remarkable for any industrial skill. The other six classes of weavers are said to be of local origin. Of these Senigars and Devangas alone seem to have improved their industrial skill from their association with Khattris. The others have continued in their work without much improvement.

5. The variety of fabrics woven in Bangalore are :—

1. Silk and lace cloths.
2. Pure silk cloths.
3. Silk and cotton cloths.
4. Cotton cloths.
5. Woollen carpets.
6. Silver lace and ribbons.
7. Tinsel lace.

(1). Silk and lace manufacture is entirely in the hands of a few Khattris and Devangas, and mostly in the hands of the two families, *viz.*, Govinda Savji, military store contractor, and Matadimane Munisamappa.

(2). The production of silk cloths and silk and cotton cloths is almost confined to Devangas and Senigars.

(3). The Patwegars weave only a few kinds of silk-bordered cotton *Sadis* in addition to coloring and preparing silk for weaving.

(4). Cheap cotton *Sadis* are woven by Thogatas, Nimbekayinavaree and Kurmuhanavar.

(5). Woollen carpets are manufactured by Saurastras who employ on wages all classes of workmen. Even Mahomedans, Sudras and Thigalas have learned this kind of work.

(6). Silver lace and ribbons are manufactured by three Khatri families.

(7). Tinsel lace. This branch of industry is entirely in the hands of Khattris. The history of its development is rather interesting. In its inception it was produced by hand. Later on it was made with the help of a machine. The use of a machine certainly increased production, but the earning capacity of the operative, though increased for a time, has now been what it was before, varying from 2½ as. to 4 as. a day. The production by hand was only 35 yards per day as compared with from 250 to 300 yards by machine. But the selling price for a piece of 35 yards was 9 as. before, and now it is only 3 as. for the same. The introduction of this machine is accounted for as follows :—

Mr. Standish Lee, who started a woollen factory in Bangalore, had a kind of English hand-loom for weaving a dozen or more tapes at a time. A Khatri was engaged to work at the machine. The man had intelligence enough to think that the same

machine could be adapted for tinsel lace manufacture. With a determination to make one for this purpose he patiently worked at home for months together in his leisure hours and made successfully a copy of the machine which finally did serve his purpose. Giving up his appointment under Mr. Lee, he took to the manufacture of tinsel lace on his own behalf. For one year he made good profit and his business having extended he got a second machine also made and employed another man under him to work it, who in turn played his master's role and set up for himself. Now these machines are estimated to be 200 in number and cost from Rs. 8 to Rs. 15 each.

6. This particular instance enables us to conclude that cheap labour-saving appliances, if they only enable a weaver to do more work, are earnestly sought after and the use of such machines even though they increase a weaver's earning capacity, only for a time, assures him the local market for his goods in spite of keen competition from outside. And to have a ready sale for his goods assured in the local market is a necessary condition for a weaver's well-being. But those machines that involve radical changes in preparing material for work and in the kind of work to be done, have not been appreciated. I saw in the possession of a carpet weaver, Mr. K. Subbayyachetty, a fly-shuttle loom for weaving cotton carpets, which, with all earnestness, he got from Bombay. Because the method of weaving and preparing material for the loom was different from what he was accustomed to, he had not the patience and perseverance to learn the new method and thus benefit himself from the greater quantity of work that he would have turned out with the help of the machine. To take another example. Messrs. Singaiah and sons, who, as reported, had the enthusiasm to get three English hand-loom from England about 15 or 20 years ago for weaving woollen cloths, having, after a few attempts to establish the manufacture of cloths on a large scale, sustained some loss, gave up the work. These English looms with smoothers were shown to me in a building two miles off from the city. Again I quote another instance of this kind in Grama, a village in Hassan Taluq. A weaver, Lakshmana Setti by name, purchased a fly-shuttle loom for about Rs. 75 from the School of Arts, Madras. The loom he got was of an English hand-loom pattern, the warped threads required to be wound

round a roller instead of being spread and stretched on the floor. To this difference in preparatory process he could not adapt himself and to this day he has been prevented from deriving any benefit from the loom.

The failures in these three cases are, in my opinion, entirely due to their want of information, proper guidance and special technical skill in the handling of machines. It is here I should think that the Government has to step in and aid the efforts of artisans to improve their work. If Government should help the enthusiastic and enterprising artisans with expert supervision and advice in their early attempts at advancement, then such failures would be avoided or at any rate not be many and discouraging.

7. *Physical and mental condition of weavers:*—The Khatris are more intelligent and hard-working and are better off than the other classes. Patwegars seem to be the weakest and poorest of weavers. Senigars and Thogatas are physically stronger than the others. Senigars, who are all Sivachars, are most temperate and sufficiently well off, while many of the Devangas who form the largest part of the weaver population are said to be poor. On account of the cleanliness and spaciousness of the house-conditions that are necessary for their work, weavers are mostly well-housed. But education has as yet had no influence in developing their mental power. The wages earned by weavers generally range from 3 to 5 annas. Female weavers earn from 1½ to 3 annas per day. Padmasalle women, who are engaged in sizing warp, work the hardest and earn about 3 annas a day, while their husbands are the idlest lot.

8. *Economic Condition of the Industry: A Crisis:*—Political economists recognise 4 successive stages of Industrial development: 1st Stage: The home or family economy. 2nd Stage: The domestic economy. 3rd Stage: The organised manufacture or workshop economy. 4th Stage: The factory system.

The local industry may be said to exist in all these several stages. The primitive condition of manufacture called "Home economy" wherein the manufacturer makes things on his own account for sale to his neighbours, managing his own business, and undertaking all its risks, still survives to some extent.

"Domestic economy" which has succeeded the primitive stage of manufacture is the most prevailing

type. Herein workers instead of producing directly for their customers or for the public, produce for a wholesale dealer. They own their tools and raw material but they no longer own the finished products which belong to the dealer. The dealer stepped in between the worker and the public, because when the town market gave way to the world's market, the workers individually being too poor and too unenterprising produced at too great a cost to obtain control of the enlarged market. The result is at present that the workman is at the mercy of the wholesale dealer. Here and there we find attempts at "organised manufacture" or the "work-shop economy." Capitalists have brought a few dispersed workers together in one place. The worker owns neither the raw material nor the implements of production and no longer works at home and has become a wage-worker while the intermediary who possesses all these has his productive power increased. Under this condition the workman has often run into debt with his employer and has become an indifferent and irregular worker and has lost all his love for the work.

The crisis in the local economic condition, which is described below, has been brought on by a general glut of products, and obliges the producers, not finding an opening for their goods, to lower their price and ultimately decrease their out-put. The general fall of prices means lower profits or failure for the employer, while for the labourer it means lower wages and loss of work.

9. *Causes of the crisis:*—Under the force of competition the local weaver was not long allowed to continue in his old fashioned ways. The local market was flooded with goods from outside the province. The field for the selection of goods became wider for consumers. They found goods cheaper, fairer and more varied than local ones. So the supply of local goods became more than the demand. Thus the economic crisis began. To avoid this crisis there existed no industrial organisation nor captains of industry to lead the army of workmen in a bold self-defence. The capitalist tradesman who stood midway between the local producers and consumers were not skilled industrial men and could help the producer only by offering a low price for his goods. Workmen have no wide general education and so their minds are not so full of resources as will enable them

to adapt themselves to changed conditions. They have no facilities to adopt new processes of work or new appliances for so improving their goods, as to be able to compare favourably with outside goods; nor have they that productive mobility as to produce such new kinds of goods as would find ready sale in the market. Only they have determined to manufacture their usual kind of goods for the wholesale dealers. As those are not much in demand, they have gone on reducing their prices unmindful of what loss of money and consequent misery their reduction in price may cause to the producers. The ignorant mind of the weaver can hit upon no other plan than deception in manufacture to make up for his loss. Cheaper chemical dye stuffs have been substituted for costlier indigenous ones, though the right methods of dyeing are not learnt. Imitation silk is passed off for good silk. As the result of such frequent deception and consequent defects in some goods, even others free from such defects have suffered in trade. Generally Dharmawar *sadis* are preferred to local ones. It is solely due to their fastness of colour and better finish. Dharmawar gets its silk from Bangalore and sends its manufactured silk *sadis* back again here to be sold at a higher rate than the local ones. Coimbatore, Salem and other places get their silk likewise from here. The productions of these places are sold here readily, in spite of an increase in prices due to double transit charges and middle man's profits, mainly because of their tastefulness of colour and variety in pattern. Silk weavers of Bangalore have failed to maintain the local market for themselves for want of expert advice and business information, and on account of their irregular habits of work, while their productive capacity is not much inferior to that of their competitors. Then again the carpet, silk and lace manufactures of Bangalore came into existence and developed under the munificent patronage of the Royal Houses and officers of the State. When, under the changed conditions of the local market such patronage could not be assured, these did not continue long in their prosperous condition and even now are struggling for existence. But for the demand it has had from the richer classes of America, Germany, France and Australia, the local carpet industry would have long been extinct. It is only the occasional patronage from the Royal House and a scanty

demand from the Military stores of the city a contentment that has enabled the manufactures of lace, cloths, silver lace and ribbons to continue in existence. No woollen cloths seem to be manufactured with hand-loom in Bangalore. It is said that some years ago Mr. Standish Lee assisted by a local carpet and wool merchant established a hand-loom factory for the manufacture of various kinds of woollen cloths. In a few years afterwards steam power was substituted for manual labour in this factory and it continued to work in one of Mr. Arcot Narainsami Mudaliar's buildings under the proprietorship of Mr. Lee and one Mr. Andrews for some years more. Then it finally ended in the development of the present Woollen Mill Company. As the mill industry prospered, the woollen hand-loom industry decayed, and it has now become almost extinct in the town.

10. *How to get over this crisis* :—Widespread practical and general education, increased technical skill and knowledge, and co-operation appears to me to be the only means of effecting the desired improvements in the present state of industrial organisation.

In the weaver community, as in other industrial classes, the years of boyhood, most precious to develop the powers of observation, inquisitiveness of mind and dexterity of hand, on which alone the success of the artisan depends, are aimlessly wasted. Neither home nor school aids them to develop the human faculties which are as important a means of production as capital. At home the ignorant parents in their poverty and misery leave their playful children alone to pick up the knowledge of their art as best as they can and so acquire as much technical skill as the imperfect practice can give. Many do not attend school and are not overanxious to learn reading and writing throughout their lives. The few that attend a private school or a public primary school do so only for a time and so all are denied the advantages of that reading and writing which afford the means of that wider intercourse with the world which leads to breadth and elasticity of mind.

The first step to spreading education among weavers will be to open Primary Schools for teaching reading and writing with manual training. By manual training, I mean systematic instruction in weaving by means of various weaving occupations, such as mat weaving, tape, carpet, wick and sack weaving in the mode

kindergarten system. They may also be taught the preparatory processes of weaving such as spinning, winding, warping, and twisting, &c. By means of these exercises the children, having their powers of observation and inquisitiveness of mind developed, will also acquire much technical knowledge and skill. Such practical lessons in the different branches of the industry will enable weaver boys later in their lives to adapt themselves to any kind of weaving with interest and confidence, unlike their parents who know nothing about any work other than their own and whose aversion to change has often been the cause of their poverty and misery. In these schools drawing also, I think, should be taught to enable boys to understand intelligently the principles of weaving and designing. Two such schools may be opened, one for weavers that live in Ballapurpet and its neighbourhood, and the other for those that live in Arlepet, and Carpetpet, Akkipet and patvegar lanes. In these parts of the city there are at present 3 or 4 pial schools. Either Government schools of the suggested type may be established in their stead, or with proper grants-in-aid from the Government, it may not be difficult to raise them to the required standard.

These schools in the midst of the weaver population will secure a large and regular attendance of boys. This combination of early instruction in weaving with general education, leaves no excuse for parents to withdraw their children too early from school, and boys may be made to stay there till they are sufficiently advanced in the three R's.

Secondly.—To spread technical knowledge and skill a well equipped and efficient weaving school should be started.

(1) Weaver boys after they complete their primary education should pass through an apprentice course during which they have to develop their faculties of artistic skill and acquire such nervous and muscular strength and self-mastery as will give a general command over the uses of their fingers—an important element of industrial efficiency.

(2) Systematic experiments in the introduction of new appliances and processes of work should be arranged to be carried on.

(3) Opportunities should be afforded to educated persons to undergo so much of practical training as would aid them in the study of the theory of weaving

and the mechanical construction of the various appliances for the ultimate improvement of the industry. To emphasise the utility and importance of the above public institutions in the interests of the weaving classes, I cannot do better than quote the words of the eminent political economist, who says, "There is no extravagance more prodigal to the growth of the national wealth than that of the wasteful negligence which allows genius that happens to be born of lowly parentage to expend itself in low work."

Thirdly.—The formation of a Co-operative Society for weavers.

(1) This society should consist only of weavers by profession.

(2) The trade profit on the goods produced by them must be distributed among themselves.

(3) The cost of production must be made cheap by purchasing raw material wholesale and by distributing it among them at a little over cost price.

(4) Increase of production and trade should be ensured by the help of new appliances and processes of work and the supply of information about cost and new variety of cloths to be woven by the members.

(5) The workers should be furnished with good grain at a price not much above whole-sale rates. As the result of such combination and co-operation the wage-earners are sure to be educated, well-fed and properly housed. Thus they will have their fair share of that nervous and muscular strength which is the raw material of business ability.

By the abolition of middlemen the whole trade profits will be assured to the workman and hence the absence of unhealthy competition will have a desirable effect on the business morality of the weaver. In the words of an industrial economist, "Business co-operation and combination encourages diminution of trade secrecy, increased publicity in every form, development of business morality, uprightness in commercial matters, so that the leading officials of the great public companies yield little to the vast temptation of fraud which lie in their way and afford opportunities for workmen to practice themselves in the work of business management to grow into the trust and confidence of others and gradually rise to posts in which their business ambition will find scope."

11. The number of looms at work in Bangalore at present is roughly stated at 6,000 and on the average a loom is said to produce Rs. 25 worth of goods. The monthly production of these looms is worth Rs. 1,50,000 approximately.

A society to regulate and organise the production of so many looms and to establish a profitable trade in them requires a large amount of capital, business experts, good accountants and leaders of men as promoters and managers, all of whom cannot be easily found. Such an attempt will not only be futile but also requires violent change in the present state of industrial organism, while the question of relieving the wage-earners who have run into debts from the grip of their employers and large whole-sale dealers will be very hard to solve.

After discussing the broad question at length separately with almost all the leading weavers and merchants, I held a meeting of them all on the 29th May, 1906, in the house of Mr. D. Adappa. For five hours many of them very intelligently discussed the question in its difficult aspects, and finally it was agreed by them that the society can be at present formed mainly for the help of those poor weavers that are working, living from hand to mouth in their own houses, using their own material, and many of those present promised their help and co-operation in the matter.

In the formation and early stage of development of these industrial co-operative societies it is but just that Government should invariably aid the artisans with expert advice and supervision, lest doubt and difficulties should hamper and baffle them in their just attempts.

12. I think that special attention should be paid to the improvement of the local industry on the following lines.

Silk industry : The existing defects in the local silk industry are the following. Unevenness, non-continuity, spongy waste matter adhering to the threads, etc. These defects, together with the inferiority in quality, render the use of labour-saving machinery for the preparatory process of weaving and the use of the fly-shuttle loom unprofitable and inconvenient. But Tata's silk farm has shown how the existing defects in the Mysore silk can be overcome and the quality of the silk improved. By the adoption of such or similar processes it is possible, I think, for the local

silk producers to effect the desirable improvements. And it is for Government to kindly help them by trained sericultural inspectors, who will impart the necessary instruction to the ignorant and otherwise aid them in their work. A move in this direction has already been made and many beneficial results are expected. The use of warping and beaming machines will materially reduce the cost of preparing silk for the loom to the extent of Re. 1. 3 annas, and the use of the fly-shuttle will in some cases increase the output of a loom by about a half. A few days ago I had an occasion to discuss with the superintendent of the farm my calculations for preparing silk and how a reduction of 1 Re. or 1 Re. 4 as. per lb. in the price of his silk will make it cheap for the local weavers to use for their manufacture. He said that such a reduction in price was possible when silk was produced on a large commercial scale instead of for experimental purposes as at present. Improvement in our local reeling machine and more care in rearing silkworms on the part of our local men, make it also possible for a large quantity of such superior sort of silk to come to local markets. Cloths woven with this silk has as good finish and quality as with Bengal or Berares silk, and will secure a wider market than at present. If a specialist should examine all the variety of silk cloths, and determine, by correct calculations, favourable conditions for their production in Bangalore and also supply the needful information and assistance to the weavers in regard to the use of the machinery, &c., then the local manufactures will certainly command a large sale in and outside the province.

The day may not be far distant when under the benevolent help of the Government, Bangalore weavers will be able to export manufactured silk goods instead of raw silk to be subsequently imported in the shape of goods as at present.

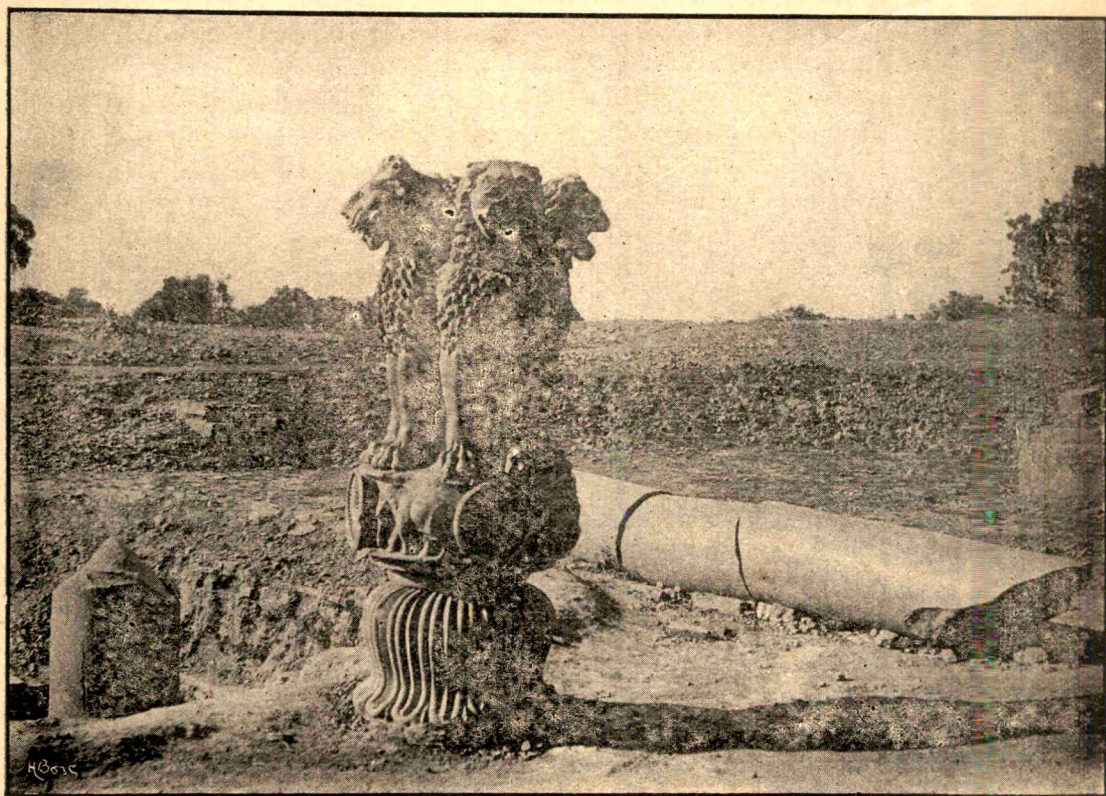
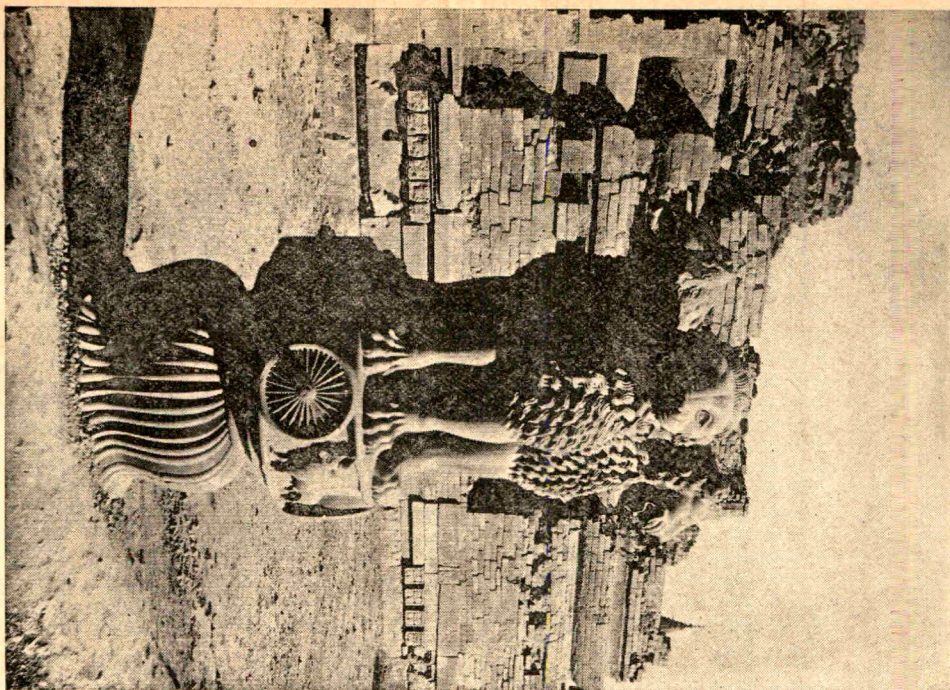
13. Next in importance comes the woollen industry. This subject has engaged my attention for the last three years. I went to the Bombay Woollen Mills once and the Bangalore Mills thrice to ascertain under what conditions handlooms can produce woollen cloths profitably. Without entering into minute details I may generally state that handspun woollen yarn is cheaper than mill-spun yarn, but it is not of uniform thickness nor as soft as the other, not being washed



Photograph by P. S. JOSHI.

M. RAMA VARMA, ARTIST.

CAPITAL OF THE ASOKA PILLAR AT SARNATH.



CAPITAL OF THE ASOKA PILLAR AT SARNATH—ANOTHER VIEW.



CARVINGS ON THE STUPA AT SARNATH.



DASASWAMEDH GHAT.

and oiled. To overcome these defects in hand spinning I made a cheap woollen machine which has given me, so far, encouraging results without increasing the cost of spinning. Well-spun yarn enables the weaver to weave woollen cloths on fly-shuttle looms. The production of these looms may be calculated to be twice as much as with the existing handlooms. Thus it is possible that blankets, coarse coatings and zule can be woven on the fly-shuttle hand-loom so as to compete with mill made ones.

Government may well institute experiments to be made in this direction to ascertain the conditions favourable for encouraging the wool industry on a large scale, as it has been almost extinct here now, while, as Prince Kropatkin says, half the woollen goods in Europe are even now made in hand-looms.

Carpet Industry.

14. The present pile carpet weavers were weavers of woollen cloths and cotton cloths as well. After the establishment of the woollen mill, the manufacture of woollens slipped from their hands and that of cotton carpets alone exists in its struggling condition. As the foreign trade in pile carpets is monopolised by one or two tradesmen weavers, many that were engaged in the industry not finding ready sale for their goods even in the local markets have abandoned the profession. There is much room for improving the manufacture of cotton carpets. Their warp threads can be more economically and cheaply twisted on a wooden doubling frame than by hand, as is done now, and by adopting the fly-shuttle loom for weaving, the output per day will be doubled. The wages of carpet weavers in fly-shuttle looms in Bombay vary from 8 annas to Re. 1 per day. And there is no reason why if properly directed this class of weavers here should be struggling for existence. The introduction of the new method of work will give fresh impetus for cotton carpet manufactures on a large scale. Further, there is scope for experimenting upon the manufacture of thick carpet-like cloth-pieces by using aloe and plantain fibre twines which are likely to develop fresh fields for manufactures.

15. Now that electric power is happily available for distribution in the town, the use of power looms by private individuals in their own houses for weaving such cheap cotton cloths as are largely in demand may be seriously considered. A new field for deve-

lopment is thus thrown open. In preparing yarn for looms, warping, and sizing machines worked by electric power may be economically made use of. If a large number of looms are at work in one and the same place and the several owners of these looms co-operate and purchase these requisite machines and work them in common, then the preparatory cost and working expenses for such looms may be very cheap. The immense possibilities that looms have are here suggested, and it is only after collection of statistics and careful calculation of various necessary details that the advantages of utilising electric power can be correctly estimated. An experiment of this kind may be instituted in one of the local mills if opportunities can be had. The Home industry has by economic evolution been more or less replaced by the Factory system in all countries but possesses nevertheless its own advantages. In France and Germany by the help of the distribution of electric and other motor power several successful attempts have been made to reconvert factory industries to Home industries with the result that enormous wealth instead of being accumulated in the hands of a few capitalists is distributed among many workers.

16. Our Province consumes several bales of coloured yarn and cloth, all of which except a very little quantity of indigo yarn is imported and the process of dyeing silk and wool locally is generally defective. It seems, therefore, necessary that a dye-house should be started in Bangalore and I am confident that it can be worked very profitably and can meet the local demand for coloured yarn. As already stated it is the absence of a guarantee for fastness of colour that has brought the Bangalore weavers to discredit, and early opportunities should, therefore, be taken to remedy this vital defect. I have on a small scale started a dye-house of my own in the weaving Institute of Holennagar and have found it more convenient and advantageous to dye yarn locally than to import dyed yarn. This is, I think, one of the main conditions for local goods successfully competing with foreign goods. Almost every large weaving factory in British India has its own dye-house. The opening of a dye-house in Bangalore will be facilitated if Government encourage Mysore students with scholarships to study dyeing at Baroda Kalabhavan or in any of the laboratories of Bombay.

17. *Summary.* In consideration of the large weaver population of the town and the importance of the weaving industry, it is necessary that government should appoint a man of professional knowledge and business experience to help weavers to introduce new appliances and processes for work as above suggested and in other ways to furnish the information about the variety of cloth that can be woven and their cost of production and the market they can secure for such goods and lastly to help the forma-

tion of a Co-operative Society and watch its developments. While the production and trade are thus organised, primary schools and a training school will produce better workers in the field of industry. Thus the outlook for the well being of Bangalore weavers is not as dark as it at first seems to be, if the Government interests itself in their cause.

A. SAMPATH AIYANGAR,

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A SKETCH OF BENARES

EVEN in great places, we cannot always command the passive moments of rare insight. It was already my third visit to Benares, when I sat one day, at an hour after noon, in the Vishwanath Bazar. Everything about me was hushed and drowsy. The *sadhu*-like shopkeepers nodded and dozed over their small wares, here the weaving of girdle or scapulary with a *mantram*, there a collection of small stone Sivas. There was little enough of traffic along the narrow footway, but overhead went the swallows, by the invisible roadways of the blue, flying in and out amongst their nests in the eaves. And the air was filled with their twittering, and with the sighing resonance of the great bell in the Temple of Vishweswar, as the constant stream of barefooted worshippers entered, and prayed, and before departing touched it. Swaying, sobbing, there it hung, and it seemed as if, in that hour of peace, it were some mystic dome, thrilled and responsive to every throb of the city's life. One could believe that these ripples of sound that ran across it were born of no mechanical vibration, but echoed, here a moan, there a prayer, and yet again a cry of gladness, in all

the distant quarters of Benares: that the bell was even as a great weaver, weaving into unity of music, and throwing back on earth, those broken and tangled threads of joy and pain that to us would have seemed so meaningless and so confused.

A step beyond were the shops of the flower-sellers, who sell white flowers for the worship of Siva across the threshold. Oh what a task, to spend the whole of life, day after day, in this service only, the giving of the flowers for the image of the Lord! Has there been no soul that, occupied thus, has dreamt and dreamt itself into *mukti*, through the daily offering?

And so came to me the thought of the old minsters of Europe, and of what it meant to live thus, like the swallows and the townsfolk and the flowers, ever in the shadow of a great cathedral. For that is what Benares is,—a city built around the walls of a cathedral.

It is common to say of Benares that it is Benares: her age. curiously modern, and there is on the face of it, a certain truth in the statement. For the palaces and monasteries and temples that line the banks of the Ganges, between the mouths of Varuna and Asi, have been built for the most part

within the last three hundred years. There is skill and taste enough in India yet, to rebuild them all again, if they fell to-morrow. Benares, as she stands, is in this sense the work of the Indian people as they are to-day.

But never did any city so sing the song of the past. One is always catching a hint of reminiscence in the Bazars, in the interior, and in the domestic architecture. Here is the Jammu *Chhattra*, for instance, built in the Jaunpore Pathan style, common in northern India from the twelfth to the fourteenth centuries. Not far off again, we have a glimpse of a roof-balustrade that retains many of the characteristics of an Asokan rail, so clearly is it a wooden fence rendered in stone. I have seen a pillared hall too, in a house looking out upon the Ganges, that might almost have known the two thousand years that its owners claimed for it. And here, in the bazar of Vishwanath, we are treading still, it may be, that very pathway through the forest that was followed by the Vedic forefathers, when first they saw the sun rise on the East of the great river, and offered the *Hom* where the golden grate of Vishweswar stands to-day, chanting their *Rijks* in celebration of worship.*

Nothing holds its place longer than a road. The winding alleys between the backs of houses and gardens in European cities, may, at no distant date, have been paths through meadows and corn-fields. And similarly, in all countries, a footway is apt to be a silent record of unwritten history. But who shall recover the story of this little street, or write the long long poem of the lives and deaths of those whose feet have passed to and forth along its flagstones, in four thousand years?

Truly the city, even as she stands, is more ancient than any superficial critic would suppose. It was here, at Sarnath, in the year 583 B.C., or thereabouts, that the great message pealed out, whose echoes have never

died away in history, "Open ye your ears, O Monks, the deliverance from death is found!" And the importance which the Deer-Park thus assumes in the life of Buddha, both before and after the attainment of Nirvana, sufficiently proves its importance as the University of Philosophy of its own age. Three hundred years later, Asoka, seeking to build memorials of all the most sacred events in the history of his great Master, was able, as the recent excavations show us, to make a tiny *stupa* with its rail, in some cell, by that time already underground, whose site had been specially sanctified by the touch of Buddha's feet. We thus learn, not only that the Deer-Park of Benares (so called, probably, because pains were taken to keep it cleared of larger game) was important in the year 583 B.C., and again in 250 B.C., but also that it was sufficiently a centre of resort throughout the intervening period, to guarantee its maintenance of an unbroken tradition, with regard to points of extremely minute detail. But it was not Sarnath alone that saw the coming and going of Buddha in the birth of the great enlightenment. Nor was it the Abkariyeh Kund alone that had already formed an important religious centre, for ages before the early Mohammedan period. The very name of the Dasasvamedh Ghat and Bazaar commemorates a period long enough to have included ten imperial sacrifices, each one of which must have represented at least a reign. Probably, throughout the Pataliputra age, that is to say, from 350 B.C. to 400 A.D., Benares was the ecclesiastical and sacrificial seat of empire. It contains two Asokan pillars, one in the grounds of the Queen's College, and the other, as we now know, at the entrance to the old time Monastery of Sarnath. And we know with certainty that in the youth of Buddha it was already a thriving industrial centre. For the robes that he threw aside, perhaps in the year 590 B.C., to adopt the *gerua* of the *sannyasin*,

* The allusion here is not only to the Sanskrit *Rik*, but also to the early Norse *Rijks* and *Runes*.

are said in many books to have been made of Benares silk.

But this is, in truth, only what we might have expected. For the water-way is always the chief geographical feature of a country in early ages, and the position of Benares at the northward bend of the river determines the point of convergence for all the foot-roads of the South and East, and makes her necessarily the greatest distributing centre in India. Thus she constitutes a palimpsest, not a simple manuscript, of cities. One has here been built upon another. Period has here accumulated upon period. There are houses in the crowded quarters whose foundations are laid in mines of bricks, and whose owners live upon the sale of these ancestral wares. And there is at least one temple that I know of whose floor is eight or ten feet below the level of the present street, and whose date is palpably of the second to the fourth century after Christ.

If, then, we may compare large things with small, Benares may be called the Canterbury of the Asokan and post-Asokan India. What Delhi became later, to the militarised India of the Rajput and the Moslem, that Benares had already been to an earlier India, whose eastern provinces had seen Buddha. At Sarnath, the memory of the great *Sannyasin* was preserved by the devoted members of a religious order, either Buddhist or Jain. At Benares, the Brahmins laboured, as citizens and householders, to enforce the lesson that none of his greatness was lacking in the Great God. That Siva, clad in the tiger-skin and seated in meditation like a Buddha, who is carved in low relief at the entrance to Elephanta, in the harbour of Bombay, was the Hindu ideal of the later Buddhist period. And so the Vedic City, through whose streets had passed the Blessed One, became the sacred city of Siva, and to make and set up His emblem there,—the form in stone of the

formless God,—was held, for long ages after, the same act of merit that the erecting of votive *stupas* had so long been in places of Buddhistic pilgrimage. Nay, even now, old *stupas* remain of the early Puranic period, and early Sivas, of a later phase of development, about the streets and ghats of Benares, to tell of the impress made by Buddha on an age that was then already passing away.

But Benares is not only an Indian Canterbury, it is also an Oxford. Under the shadow of temples and monasteries cluster the schools and dwellings of the pundits, or learned Sanskritists, and from all parts of India the poor students flock there to study the classics and ancient rituals of Hinduism. The fame of Nuddea is in her Sanskrit logic, but that of Benares in her philosophy and Brahmin lore. Thus she remains ever the central authority on questions of worship and of the faith, and her influence is carried to all ends of India, by every wandering scholar returning to his own province. It is a mediæval type of culture, of course, carried out in the mediæval way. It takes a man twelve years here to exhaust a single book, while under the modern comparative method we are compelled to skim the surfaces of from twelve to a score of books in a single year. It follows that we have here a study of the contents rather than the relations, of a given work. Significance, rather than co-ordination. But for this very reason, the Benares-trained scholar is of his own kind, secure in his type, as fearless in his utterance of that which he knows, as those other mediævalists in a modern world, John Bunyan and William Blake.

But in Benares as a culture-centre even in the present generation, though it is fast vanishing, we have another extraordinary advantage to note. Being, as she is, the authoritative seat of Hinduism and Sanskrit learning, the city stands, nevertheless, side by side with Jaunpore, the equally authorita-

Benares, the Indian
Canterbury.

Benares, the Indian
Oxford.

tive centre of Mussulmân learning in India. She represents in fact the dividing line between the Sanskrit civilisation of the Hindu provinces, and the Persian and Arabic culture of the Mohammedan. And consequently she still has members of a class that once constituted one of the most perfect types of national education in the world, elderly Hindu gentlemen who were trained in their youth not only to read Sanskrit literature, but also to read and enjoy what was then the distinctive accomplishment of royal courts, namely Persian poetry. And the mind that is born of this particular synthesis—rendered possible in Benares by the presence on the one hand of the Hindu pundit and the neighbourhood, on the other, of the Jaunpore moulvi—is not that of a great scholar certainly, but it is that of a member, polished, courtly, and urbane, of the wide world. One of the most charming forms of high breeding that humanity has known will be lost, with the last well-born Hindu who has had the old time training in Persian. Nor, indeed, can anyone who has seen modern and mediæval culture side by side, as we may still sometimes see them in Asia, doubt that the true sense of literature is the prerogative of the mediævalist.

Benares, then, is an informal University. And like other Universities of the middle ages, it has always supported its scholars and students by a vast network of institutions of mutual aid. It is no disgrace there for a boy to beg his bread, when love of learning has brought him a thousand miles on foot. Nor was it, in mediæval Leipsig, or Heidelberg, or Oxford. These are the scholars for whom our schools and colleges were founded. The wives of the burghers expected to contribute to the maintenance of such. And it is, in Benares, only food that is wanted. In the dark hours of one winter morning, as I made my way through the Bengalitollah to the bathing ghats, I could hear in the distance the sound of Sanskrit chanting. And soon I came up to a student

who had slept all night on the stone verandah of some well-to-do house, screened from the bitterest pinch of cold by carefully-drawn walls of common sacking, and now had risen before five, to read by the light of a hurricane lamp, and commit to memory his task for the day. Further on, studied another, with no such luxuries as canvas walls and paraffin lamp. He had slept all night under his single blanket, on the open stone, and the tiny Indian *bâti* was the light by which he was reading now.

Here is love of learning, with labour and poverty. It is obviously impossible for these to earn their bread, in addition to performing the tasks imposed by their schools. The spontaneous benefactions of rich nobles and merchants were doubtless enough, in the middle ages—when religious enthusiasm was high, and the problem still limited—to maintain the pundits in whose houses the students lived. But in modern times the institution of the *Chhatras* has grown up, and it is said that in the city there are three hundred and sixty-five of these. A *Chhatra* is a house at which a given number of persons receive a meal daily. Some give double doles. Some give to others besides Brahmins. Many have been themselves the gifts of pious widows, and a few of kings. But that it is the duty of the city to provide food for her scholars, all are agreed. Is not Benares to these children of Siva, Annapurna the Mother, She whose hand is ever “full of grain?”

How strange to think of an age in which men were grateful to those who undertook the task of scholarship, and felt that the nation must make itself responsible to them for the necessities of life, instead of striving to strangle their love of learning at its birth, by penalising it with high fees, and writing “Failed” against as many names as possible in the entrance lists!

But Benares is more than the precincts of a group of temples. She is more even than a University, and

Benares, the national
burning ghat.

more than the historic and industrial centre of three thousand years. The solemn Manikarnika stands rightly in the centre of her river-front. For she is a great national *shma-shan*, a vast burning ghat. "He who dies in Benares attains Nirvana." The words may be nothing but an expression of intense affection. Who would not love to die on those beautiful ghats, with the breath of the night or the morning on his brow, the sound of temple-bells and chanting in his ears, and the promises of Siva and memories of the past in his heart? Such a death, embraced in an ecstasy, would it not in itself be *Mukti*, the goal? "Oh Thou great *Jnanam*, that art God, dwell Thou in me." Such was the vision that broke upon one, who bent from the flower-seller's balcony to see evensong chanted by the Brahmins round the blossom-crowned Vishweswar. And never again can that mind think of God as seated on a throne, with His children kneeling round Him, for to it the secret has been shown, that Siva is within the heart of man, and He is the Absolute Consciousness, the Infinite Knowledge and the Unconditioned Bliss. Which of us would not die, if we could, in the place that was capable of flashing such a message across the soul?

All India feels this. All India hears the call. And one by one, step by step, with bent head and bare feet, for the most part, come those, chiefly widows and *Sadhus*, whose lives are turned away from all desire, save that of a holy death. How many monuments of *Sati* are to be seen in Benares, one on the Manikarnika Ghât, and many dotted about the fields and roads outside! These are the memorials of triumphant wifehood, in the hour of its bereavement. But there are other triumphs. Clothed and veiled in purest white, bathing, fasting, and praying continually, here in the hidden streets of Benares dwell thousands of those whose lives are one long effort to accumulate merit for the beloved second self.

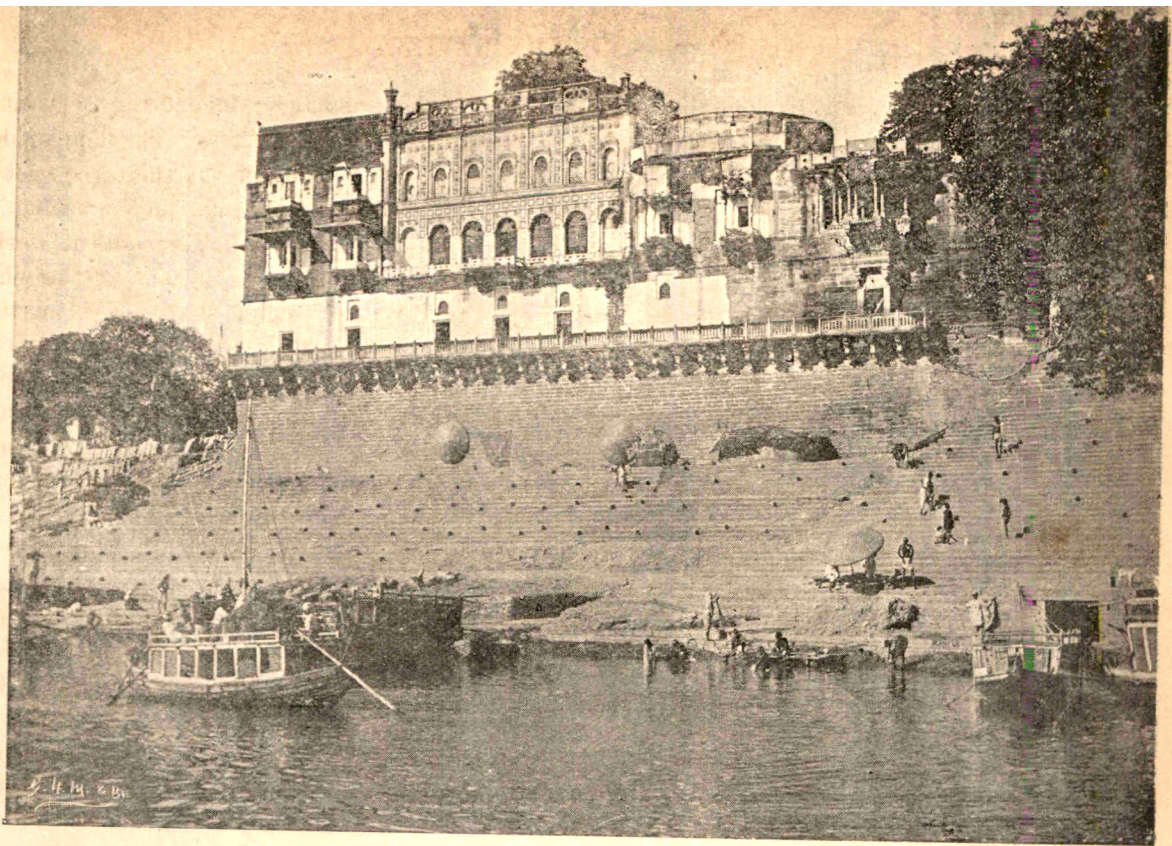
And if the scholar be indeed the servant of the nation, is the saint less? The lamp of ide womanhood, burning in the sheltered spot : the feet of the image, and "not flickering," this, or is it not, as a light given to the world

Benares, again, is an epitome of the who

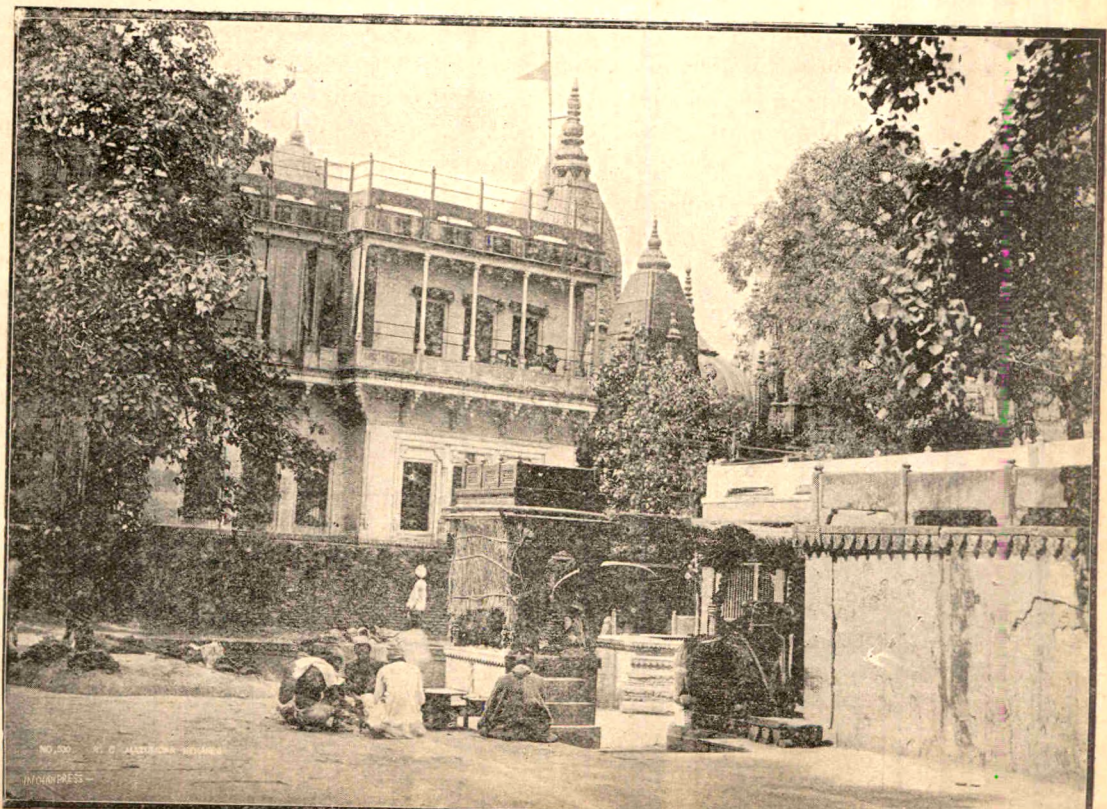
Benares, the epitome of Indian nationality. Indian synthesis of nationality. As the new-comer

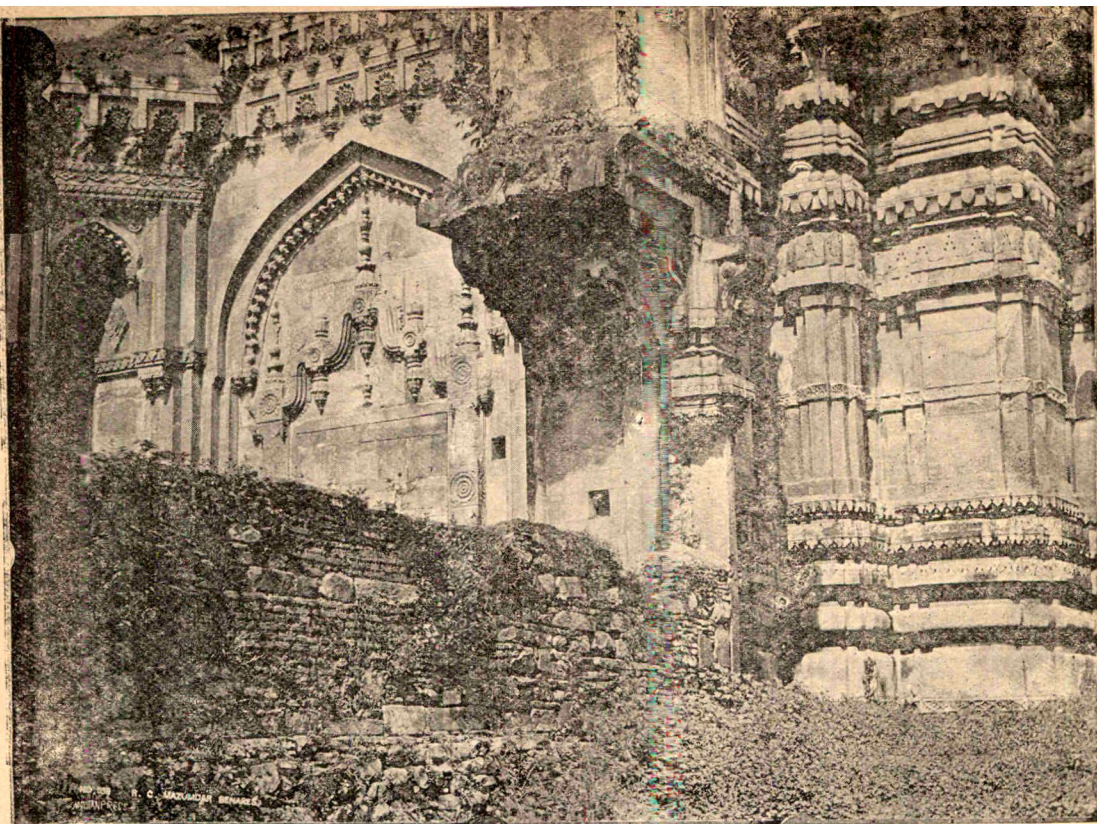
rowed down the river, past the long line of temples and bathing ghat while the history of each is told to him turn, he feels catching his breath at each fresh revelation of builded beauty, that roads in India always must have led to Benares. Here is the monastery of Kedarnat the head-quarters of the southern monk which represents to the province of Madras all the merits of Himalayan pilgrimage. He again is the ghat of Ahalya Bai Rani, the wonderful widowed Mahratta Queen, whose temples and roads and tanks remain all over India, to witness to the greatness of the motherheart in rulers. Or behind this, you may see the *Math* of Sankaracharya's order the high caste *Dandis*, whose line is unbroke and orthodoxy unimpeached, from the days of their founder, early in the ninth century, to the present hour. Again, we see the palace of the Nagpore Bhonslas (now in the hands of the Maharaja of Durbhanga), connecting Benares with the memory of the Mahratta power, and further on, the royal buildings of Gwalior and even of Nepal. Nor is everything here dedicated to Siva, Siva's city though it be. For here again we come on the temple of *Beni Madhab*, one of the favourite names of Vishnu. Even Mohammedan sovereigns could not submit to be left out. Secular science embodied in the beautiful old *Mân Mandir* of Akbar's time, with its instruments and lecture hall, and the Mussulmân faith in the towering minarets of Aurungzeb's mosque.

But what is true of the Ganges front becomes still more clear when we pass behind and consider the city as a whole. Run

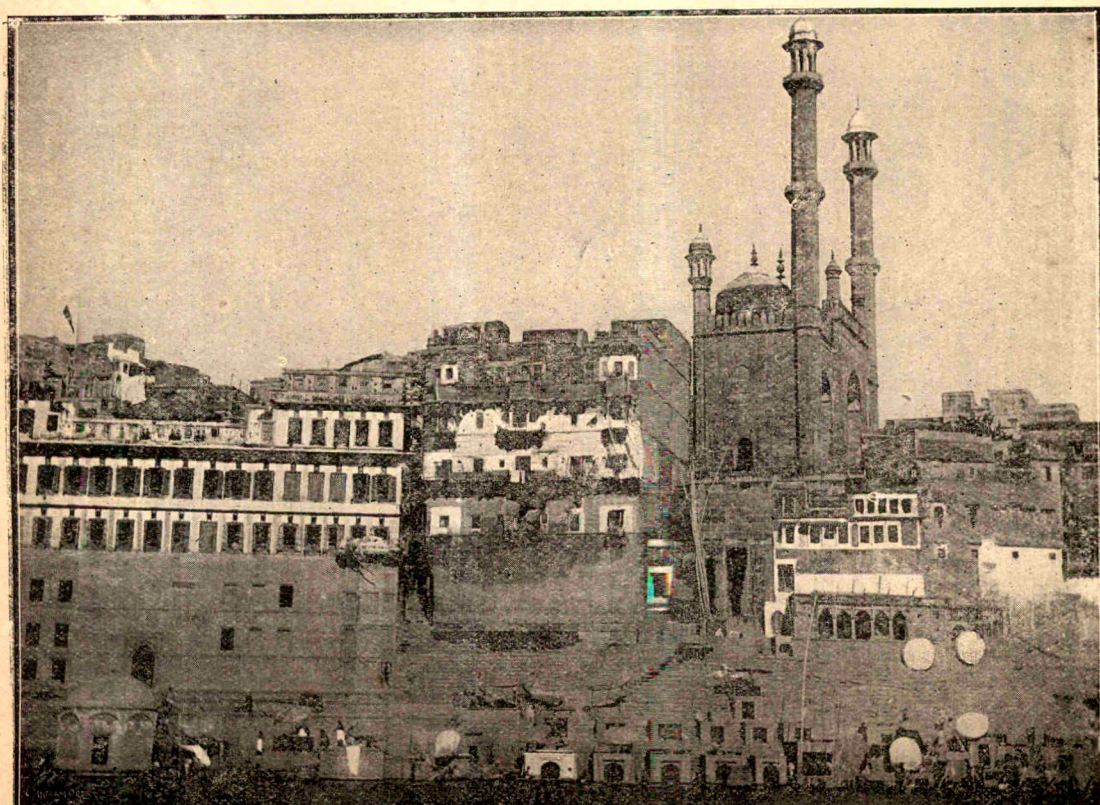


THE MAN-MANDIR.





RUINS OF THE OLD TEMPLE OF VISWESWAR.



Singh made no separate building, but he linked Vishweswar irrevocably with Amritsar, when he covered its roof with gold. Zemindars of Bengal, Sirdars of the Punjab, and nobles of Rajputana, all have vied with one another, rearing temples and shrines, charities and benefactions, dotted over the *Panch Kos*.

Or we may see the same thing industrially. We can buy in Benares, besides her own delicate webs, the saris of Madras and the Dekkan alike. Or we may go to the Vishwanath Bazaar for the carpentry of the Punjab. We may find in the same city the brass work of Nasik, of Trichinopoly, and of the Nepalese frontier. It is there, better than anywhere else in India, that we may buy the stone vessels of Gaya, of Jubbulpore, and of Agra, or the Sivas of the Nerbudda and the Salagrans of the Goomtee and Nepal. And the food of every province may be bought in these streets, the language of every race in India heard within these walls.

On questions of religion and of custom again, in all parts of India, as has been said, the supreme appeal is to Benares. The princes of Gwalior dine, only when the news has been telegraphed, that the day's food has been offered here. Here too, the old works of art and religion, and the old craftsmen practising quaint crafts, linger longest, and may still perchance be found, when they have become rare to the point of vanishing, everywhere else. Here the *Vyasa*s chant authoritative renderings of the epic stories on the ghats. And here, at great banquets, food is still considered only secondary to the reciting of the scriptures. Surely it is clear enough that as in the Latin Empire of City and of Church the saying grew up, "All roads lead to Rome," so also in India, so long as she remains India, all roads, all faiths, all periods, and all historical developments, will lead us sooner or later back to Benares.

A city in such a position, possessed of such manifold significance, the

pilgrim-centre of a continent, must always have had an overwhelming need of strong civic organisation. And that such a need was recognised in the city during the ages of its growth, we may see in many ways. No mediæval township in Europe gives stronger evidence of self-organisation than we find here.

"The mediæval city", says the great European sociologist, Kropotkin, "appears as a double federation: of all householders united into small territorial unions,—the street, the parish, the section,—and of individuals united by oath into guilds, according to their professions; the former being a product of the village-community origin of the city, while the second is a subsequent growth, called into life by new conditions."

This is a master statement, which can at once be applied here, if only we dismiss the European idea of *labour* as the main *motif* of this city's growth, and substitute the Indian equivalent of religion and learning. Labour is present here of course, and has flourished, as we know, in this spot, during at least three thousand years, but it has never reared its head, to become a predominant and independent factor in the growth of Benares. This central significance, this higher element in the federation, has been supplied here by the presence of priests and pundits, monasteries and poets, bound to each other, not by professional oaths, but by the invisible and spiritual bonds of caste and tradition, and religious bonds—by Hinduism in short. Not the craftsman, but the Hindu, carrying the craftsman with him, has made Benares what she is, and here in this city we have the picture of one of the finest things that the Indian faith—uninterfered with by foreign influences, and commanding the enthusiastic co-operation of the whole nation—could produce. It is no mean achievement. On Benares as it has made it, the Hindu genius may well take its stand. By the city of Siva, it may well claim to be judged,

It is, however, when we turn to the first element in Kropotkin's analysis of the city, that we find Benares to be most completely illuminated. In a pilgrim-city, we cannot but think that some mutual organization of householders for self-defence must have been a prime necessity. The policing of such a city was more than usually important. What were the arrangements made for sanitation, for ambulance, for hospital-service, for the clearing-out of vagrants? These things may not, in the Middle Ages, have been called by these names, but assuredly their realities existed, and such necessities had to be met. Householders united into small territorial unions,—the street, the *para*? And is not Benares filled with small courts and alleys, divided from the main streets by short flights of broad steps, each crowned by its own gate? Is it more than thirty or forty years since each of these had its own guard or *concierge* and was closed at night, to be opened again in the morning? In many cases, of course, the massive doors themselves are now removed, but the pillars and hooks and hinges still remain, to bear witness to their old function. In other instances they stand there still, pushed back against the wall, and one pauses a moment as one passes, to ask in a reverie, When was this last shut? These portals to each little group of important houses are a silent witness to the order and cleanliness of Benares as the Hindu made it. Just as in Edinburgh, as in Nurnberg, as in Paris, so here also, the consideration of wealthy houses thus barred in at a certain hour after dark, was responsible for the freedom of its own space from uncleanness and violence. It must undertake the connection between its own sanitation and the underground sewage system of the city, which was similar in character to that of ancient Pataliputra. It must be responsible for the proper alleviation of such suffering as fell within its limits, and its members must duly contribute their full share to the common

burdens of the city as a whole. But when we come to the gates of the *para* or section, of which some still remain, guarded by their watchmen, outstanding in the bazaars, we understand the full importance to the medieval mind, of the question of civic order and of a strong but peaceful civic defence. For here, within these gateways, we find the shrines of *Kal Bhairab*, the *Kotwal*, who perambulates the City of Siva, night after night with staff and dog, who is worshipped by sentinels and gate-keepers, and who has the supreme discretion of accepting or rejecting at his will those who fain would enter within the sacred bounds. Of the divine *Kotwal* every city-watchman held himself a minister and earthly representative. And in this worship of *Kal Bhairab*, the Black Demon of Siva, we may read the whole history of the civic organisation of Benares in the Middle Ages.

The modern age was later perhaps in arriving at her needs. Modern Benares : riving, here than elsewhere her needs.

But arrive it did, and its work when it came, here as elsewhere, was to multiply problems, and to discredit the solution that had been discovered by slow ages of growth. All that strong rope of self-defence twisted of so many strands of local combination and territorial responsibility, with which Benares had been wont to meet her own needs, was now done away. The communal sense, was stunned by the blow, for the fact was demonstrated to it *ad nauseam* that it was itself powerless against strong central combinations of force. Thus the old self-jurisdiction and self-administration of the civic group was banished. And at the same time the railways connected Benares with every part of India, and made it possible to pour in upon her daily as large a number of diseased, infirm and starving persons, as man once have reached her on foot or in boats, in the course of a year,

Thus a forest of needs has grown up in modern Benares, of which the past generations, with their commonsense, their spontaneous kindness, and their thrifty Municipal management, knew nothing. The dying still come here to die, but it is now so easy to reach the city that they are often also the utterly destitute, and lingering illness, hunger and suffering, on ghats and roadsides, is scarcely compatible with the Hindu love of humanity and decency.

Poor working-folk come, when the last hope has failed them, trusting that the Great God will be their refuge in His Own City. In the old days when Benares was a wealthy capital, these would have made their way to some house or *para* inhabited by well-to-do townsfolk from their own district, and through their kind offices, work would sooner or later have been found. But now they find themselves amongst strangers. The music of temple-bells is the only sound familiar to them. Priests and fellow-worshippers are alike unknown. And it may be that in the sanctuary-city they have but fled from one despair to another.

Or the poor student comes here to learn. In the old days he would have found house-room, as well as food, in the home of his *Guru*, or of some wealthy patron, and if he fell ill, he would have been cared for there, as a member of the family. To-day the number of so-called students is great, and possibly amongst them the indolent are many. For certainly temptations must have multiplied, at the same time that the moral continuity of the old relation between distant homestead and metropolitan *para* has been lost. In any case, even amongst the most earnest, some of these poor students have, as we have seen, to live in the streets. And when illness overtakes such, there is none to aid, for there is none even to know.

The *chhatras* are certainly a wonderful institution, showing the unexpected power of this ancient city to meet the needs of her own children. But the *chhatras* cannot offer home and hospital. And these also are sometimes needed.

And finally there is the case of the widowed gentlewomen who come to Benares to pray for their dead. As with others, so here also there is in many cases but slender provision. And yet, now-a-days, they cannot come to friends, but must needs hire a room and pay rent to landlord. Nor can we venture to pass too harsh a verdict on the capitalist who evicts his tenant—though a woman and delicately nurtured,—when the rent has fallen too long into arrears. For he probably has to deal with the fact on such a scale, that the course is forced upon him, if he will save himself from ruin. More striking even than this is that fear of the police, which we find everywhere amongst the helpless, and which drives the keeper of the apartment-house to dismiss its penniless inmates when near to death, lest he should afterwards be arraigned in court for having stolen their provision!

Prostrate, then, under the disintegrating touch of the Modern Era, lies, at this moment, the most perfect of mediæval cities. Is she to become a memory to her children, after four thousand or more years of a constant growth? Or will there prove to be some magic in the new forces of enthusiasm that are running through the veins of the nation, that shall yet make itself potent to know her ancient life-streams also? Sons and daughters of a National India, what have ye in your hearts to do, for the ancient cities, left ye by your fathers? *

NIVEDITA OF RK.-V.

* This sketch is printed, in permanent form, in the report for 1906 (to be published shortly) of the Ramkrishna Home of Service, Benares, and may be obtained on application to the Secretary.

G. M. TRIPATHI.

IN the death of Mr. Govardhanram Tripathi, in January last, India loses one of her greatest literary men and by far the profoundest thinker of modern times. His life would be described with greater scholarship and thorougher information by his closer friends. The present writer only wishes to present an impressionist view of his philosophy of life that leads him to assign the author such a prominent place in the galaxy of India's greatmen.

Mr. Tripathi was born in 1855, at a time when the Aristotelian Sir Alexander Grant was trying to create the Elphinstone College, Bombay. He entered College at a time when the first batch of University students had been already turned out and strewn broadcast throughout the Bombay Presidency, imbued with a negative iconoclastic enthusiasm that was as profound as it was unhistorical. I am not speaking here of their political work. I confine myself to their whole outlook on the problems of life, especially Social, Moral and Religious. This was an era of pure denial. If comparison of events on a much smaller scale though no less important be allowed, this new awakening reminds one of the European *Eclaircissement* heralded in France by Voltaire, the Encyclopædists and Rousseau, and in Germany by Lessing and the poets of the "Storm and Stress" period. The past had gone irrevocably wrong and could not be improved except by the application of the root and branch method. As I said before, there was real enthusiasm but little real culture. There was a desire to change, but no fixed outlook on life to guide them by. They went forward but would scarce have answered the eternal question that confronts us—*Quo vadis*. The eastern mind enfeebled by a period of political stagnation and intellectual anarchy,

could not digest thoroughly the doses of Western thought administered not in the wisest and most considerate manner by their instructors. People read Huxley and Macaulay and perhaps Mill—the soulless destructive *nuechtern* logic-chopping authors, as Carlyl would and does call them. So far as anything constructive goes the enthusiasm ended in sheer waste of energy. They destroyed some of the superstitious but their unhistorical mind left the social ideal in a chaotic condition. They forgot that to realise where we are, we must know where we came from.

"Our actions still follow us from afar,

And what we have been makes us what we are."

Even Macaulay's schoolboy knows that "the child is father of the man." Yet they wanted to create a new Frankenstein by giving a dose of western make to their Baby-Past.

This period was followed by a reaction. It was characterised by idiocy and ignorance and meant social stagnation. Even a man of Mandalik's type fell a victim to this obscurantist superstition. When Mr. Malabari was perambulating his muse in an English garb and Mr. Romesh Dutt was thinking of rivaling English novelists, the frantic cries of a generation hypnotised by the fetish of the past were joined with the babbling of puerile Theosophists too much given to telegraphic messages of H. P. Blavatsky. What could be the result? Simply chaos. Happily for India this thesis and antithesis—to use Hegel's phraseology—were transcended in a synthetic decade that brought Mr. Dutt round to write his fine novels—*Jivan Prabhat* and *Jivan Sandhya*—and inspired Mr. Malabari to pour forth his message in *Anubhavika* and *Sansarikā*. Mr. Tripathi belongs to this synthetic decade. His first poem—*Sneha Mudrá* or the *Love-Signet*—has, however, some fire-brand traces

of the reformer of the eighties. Mr. Vishnu S'astri Chiplunkar was preaching the same gospel in Poona in the series of essays that appeared in the *Nibandha Málá* and in his paper the *Kaisari*. In 1889, however, the author transcends the limitations of a partial view of life and comes out in his vol. 1 of *Saraswatichandra* as the calm sage in whom *Sat*, *Chit* and *Ananda* dwell for ever, whose business is to unfold the world-drama, in a purely objective spirit as befits a "Tatastha" Sage. Saraswatichandra is already a *Vidyārthi* and is anxious to become *Anubhavārthi*. This *Kavya*—for according to the best traditions of *Sahityakāras* from Mammat to Jagannāth Pandit, this novel can scarcely be called by any other name—is a grand epic delineating the temporary eclipse of a soul nurtured in the hot-house of seclusion, dreamy and contemplative, who had never known what reality was like, who never lived but in a dream-land of his own creation but who is subsequently brought back to life richer in his experience and more fitted to play the part of an actively benevolent citizen. He is an M. A. of the Bombay University and belongs to the Vadnagara Nagar Brahman community. After finishing his studies brilliantly in the Arts College, he does not as usual keep terms for law but joins his father's commercial firm. This is a great step in advance. That a Brahmin, intended as it were by an 'inscrutable dispensation of providence' for the three learned professions, should be so heretical as to apprentice himself in his father's commercial firm, showed a pronounced individuality of mind. Mr. Tripathi points here in the right direction. Commerce is an unexplored mine and would open up untold treasures if only the explorer goes to work in a businesslike way. At present commerce is in the hands of ignorant or semi-educated people who are not adventurous enough to gain, and still less farseeing in spending money. Saraswatichandra, however, has that rare union in him of Shri and

Saraswati whose abodes, as Kalidasa so nicely puts it, are naturally distinct and mutually excluding. He is a great favourite of his father and still more endeared to his circle of friends. Chandrakanta, an LL.B., as usual, and an advocate, is his greatest friend—sharing with him the same tastes and owing his education to the boundless liberality of our Hero. They are both Swadeshis even in 1889, and are determined to engineer new industries in the country and impart to the people the elements of technical and political education. Saraswatichandra, is coming more and more forward as a philanthropist and taking more and more the work of management from his father's hands when his mother dies. His disconsolate father, Lakshminandan, is brought round by his aged grandmother to marry again. The new daughter-in-law defies the old set and obtains complete control over the elderly husband. She has no delicacy and less education to speak of. Our Hero naturally feels a little nervous in entering his paternal shrine now presided over by an alien and unsympathetic deity; and this nervous constraint is turned into actual loathing when he finds that his father is so far neglectful of his duty to his first-born as to go out of his way to scold him for his attitude, which was, to say the least, most cordial and respectful under the altered circumstances. A step-brother is born to him, and the step-mother waxes more furious than ever. She persuades her fond husband to allow her brother to have a preponderant share in business management, and reduces our Hero to such a predicament that he can no longer continue his connection with his father's firm or live in his paternal house without loss of dignity and self-respect. He is cut to the quick. He is a stranger in his ancestral home. Where was he to lodge his beloved Kumud whom he was shortly going to marry! He must break off the match. How dare he bring that loving being into a house presided over by this unnatural fury!

This drives the high-souled inexperienced youth to distraction. He leaves his parental roof and marches off, unmindful where he was going, but going somewhere he surely was. "He is now poor in goods and favour and a stranger in the scene which from youth he had looked upon as his inheritance. His temper assumes a mournful tinge. His past condition he remembers as a vanished dream. It is in vain that his friend Chandrakanta strives to cheer him. The feeling of his nothingness will not leave him. The second stroke that came upon him wounded deeper, bowed still more. It was the breaking off of his connection with Kumud. His mother is dead. He has thus no hold on the living, no help from the dead. Not sorrowful by nature, sorrow became for him a heavy obligation. Then will he have recourse to a drastic remedy? No! Trouble and astonishment deprive him of his reason."

"The time is out of joint; oh cursed spite
That ever I was born to set it right!"

In these words we find the key to Saraswatichandra's whole procedure. We see the "effects of a great action laid upon a soul unable to accomplish it. There is an oak planted in a costly jar which should have borne only pleasant flowers; the roots expand, the jar is shattered! A lovely, pure, noble and most moral nature without the strength of nerve to form a Hero, sinks beneath the burden which he cannot bear and must not cast away. All duties are holy for him. The present is too hard. He winds and turns and torments himself; he advances and recoils; is ever put in mind of his sacrifices, ever puts himself in mind of the hard problem to face; at last does all but lose his purpose from his thoughts; yet still without recovering his peace of mind". Does not this analysis of Hamlet given by Wilhelm Meister describe, with a few changes, the exact motives of our Hero's conduct?

He could have solved the problem very simply by living apart from his father and

doing independent business. But, no! with a father living and without his order how could he act so undutifully? and after all what claim had he on his father's money? How could he be so unmindful of past obligations? But why should he have fled from his house as from pestilence? His vanity was touched. He thought, his presence after these insults, would simply imply an utter lack of self-respect, a confession of his inability to stand on his own legs. An overconsciousness of the purity of his motives had made him a sort of intellectual prig—oversensitive and overanxious to cut the most respectable figure.

What does Laertes do when he hears that his father has been slain in the palace of Claudius? He rushes on the king till satisfied by the latter as to who the author of the evil was. Does Hamlet act like that when he sees his uncle at prayers? He has read too much! Perhaps, despatched at a holy moment of his life, he may go to heaven! This thought ruins him.

There are epochs in national existence when the easiest way out of the difficulty is to go straight. But savants will torture themselves with suggestions of circuitous paths. That is what is meant by the famous mot of Freiligrath 'Deutschland ist Hamlet.' Does not this mot describe India more fitly in 1889 and even now? India is Hamlet and our Hero is Saraswatichandra—holding the mirror up to nature.

I was informed of an all-important conversation that took place between the author and another well-known novelist whose guest he was. At an after-dinner conversazione the host told the guest 'your philosophic vagabond is the true child of this generation, which thirsts after knowledge as such, but is devoid of activity and still less capable of applying his knowledge to the rehabilitation of our social fabric.' The author replied, 'that is exactly the idea I mean to convey by my portraiture of the Hero. He is a child of his age, not above it.' The author, if further

asked, whether the Hero was his ideal, would probably have answered, No! He was not his ideal but a Hero nevertheless. He sympathised with him, for nearly every Indian passes through similar experiences. He ought to have been brought up amongst his equals. He would have been then more free and would have developed that ease and social grace or dignity which solitude and the consequent self-brooding can never produce.

We find Saraswatichandra in Suvarnapur—a Native State managed by ministers on the cynic principle made immortal by its successful advocacy by Cosmo de Medici—'Better the State ruined than the State lost to us.' The subordinates at the agency are kept well pleased. The Raja is surrounded by enjoyments that will leave him too little time and still less inclination to look into the state of affairs. Buddhidhan—a man rich only in his intellect as his name implies—however, succeeds in bringing order into chaos by annihilating in a manner worthy of Chanakya—Master Rogue and his brother. The Hero is disgusted with this inevitable Machiavellian element in the management of States. However, he reconciles himself to the fact that government by one *Paksha* or Party is inevitable whether it be England or a Native State. The maiden, Kumud, with whom he broke off his match, is married to the worthless son of Buddhidhan. However, our Hero meets his former fiancée with great composure. They meet and talk on subjects which interest them the least, until he is forced to feel that he cannot any longer share the same roof with her—his heart-image—without ruining the happiness of Kumud and exposing his own weakness in an untoward moment. I refer the reader to the chapter entitled

जवनिकारुच्छेदन and विशुद्धिनुं शोधन.

"The opening of the curtain & the discovery of purity." He will then scarcely consider Bhavabhuti more of a tragic poet. This *Vina*-souled Damsel feels powerful love for him to whom

she has confided her youthful heart, but she feels still more strongly how hopelessly impossible is her love of realisation. She boldly goes into his room and leaves a note. I give here a free translation of her poetic epistle. "My wings are clipt. I am down-fallen, dearest. But do not, oh soul of my soul, deprive me—unfortunate—of the only joy I could now have, *viz.*, —in seeing you—my ideal—soaring heavenwards. Why do you, oh Sun-Bird, tarry here on earth? Why do you ruin and waste your life by imagining complaints against established order? What has befallen you improve by all means in your power. Do not make yourself a plaything of circumstances but make your noble life a beacon-light to warn and instruct others." Kumud is a real Arya—proud of her birth and still more proud of the strength of her volitional energy. She is the exact opposite of our Hero. Tender and delicate like the flower she is called after, she is condemned to watch her lingering ruin, still more the ruin of him whom she holds dearer than herself. Yet does she think of suicide? पड्युं पातुं सुधारीनि, Improve the lot allotted to thee.

"Thy lot is appointed; go follow its hest
Thy course is begun: thou must walk not rest,
For sorrow and care cannot alter thy case
And running not raging will win thee the race."

She was of the stuff Rajputanis are made of. In all love-stories, whether it be Sakuntala and Dushyanta, Malati and Madhava, Rosalind and Orlando, Beatrice and Benedict, Imogen and Posthumus, it is the woman par excellence that bewitches the mental eye, and Kumud is no exception to this rule. Women are all determined. They bear their burdens and try to lighten those of others. Do not their lovers seem to us like so many bunglers—as lovers always are—unworthy to 'untie the shoe laces' of the weaker sex, to use a Swinburnian expression? Read their letters, their dialogues, their poems, you see there is more of the heart-reality, more of the self-abnegation which when unreciprocated by an

untoward turn of affairs, form the truest stuff of which Tragedies are made. There is, on the other hand, a lack of abandon, an over-consciousness of one's superiority in knowledge and experience in the sterner sex which form the most proper subject for a comedy. The reader will find our Heroine and Hero scarcely forming an exception to this rule.

Now Saraswatichandra runs off to the outside world and after various experiences, with a perfidious *Bania*, with a band of so many misguided Götz von Berlichingen and at length with a party of *Bairagis*, comes again in contact with Kumud—exiled and widowed—on the summit of Yadushring where the author's spiritual Utopia is situated.

It is impossible to recapitulate the whole story. Read the dialogues between Kumud and the various Maiyas, Bansari and Mohini, and you will find more of that Shelleyan freedom in the relation of the sexes (Mr. Tripathi is an ardent lover of all that Shelley loved and lived for) than is consistent, as many would imagine, with the ordering of an established society. The Maiyas boldly declare that he to whom Kumud has voluntarily given her heart, is her real lover and husband, while the conventional husband is a mere *Jāra* or paramour. There are problems of social reform, widow-marriage and advanced marriage which he has dealt with a profundity of knowledge which many of their annual advocates absolutely lack and with a psychological insight which makes his views, heterodox as they are, acceptable to the man in the street and the philosopher in his closet. Read the myth-interpretation and the application of the truths of the Mahabharata to modern life; or look at the appositeness of the arguments advanced by Virarao against joint families; or at the political idealism that has pictured forth another Platonic state presided over in Mallaraj by a more vigilant and less self-torturing Marcus Aurelius; or the elevated ideal of royal education which theoretically

and practically has proved a success in the case of Maniray; or the ministerial ideal of selfless Vidyachatur; or the application of bestiary methods to the delineation of the temperamental peculiarities of European nations; or the fig-tree ideal of a joint family, the extended branches of which are supported by the self-denying sagacity of Gunasundari; or the impassioned language in which the Sadhu's conception of the world is bodied forth; or the charming portraiture of the confusion in Vidyachatur's house when the cementing genius is ill in bed, how Madame Sorrowful is looking vacantly at the fire with vegetables undressed in her hands, how Madame Quarrelsome is quarrelling and Master Musicfond is singing, how the servant has left the door open and is chatting away with the neighbour's servant while a stately dog is standing in the passage panting and master of all it surveyed; how the old man took away the family idols from the faith-blind eyes of his wife and how he vented his rage on the family gods by throwing them in a water jar; one feels one is moving in the portrait galleries of the Hague or Bruges,—so marvellously Dutch is the grouping of details on a small canvas;—or in the end, the creation of that sprightly little dainty—Kusum—protesting all along against the conventional idea that “there never died an aged spinster”—determined to falsify this kitchen-philosophy by her own example, and yet to show how pious resolutions are taken and how inevitably they are broken, she is caught in the net cleverly laid by the Bodiless Hero, constraining Saintly Kumud to chide the vanity of human wishes by murmuring “*Gheli Mahri Kusum*”!—oh my infatuated Kusum—with which words the novel ends.

Mr. Tripathi does not preach the renunciation of the world. His ideal, as he puts it in practice in his own case, was retirement at a suitable age from money-making concerns and devoting one's energy to the amelioration of

the lot of one's countrymen. It was not a gospel of culture for itself. His Vedantism had imbibed too deeply the active benevolence of Buddhism, to be neglectful of the claims of his countrymen. He, therefore, does not leave Saraswatichandra on the summits of Yadushring rapt in the ecstatic contemplation of the beyond, but brings him back to the world and makes him enter—that is what we have to guess—गृहस्थाश्रम life with Kusum as his guiding star. Back to life! Remember life! Try to make it beautiful! Try to make it worth living! Leave it better than you found it! There is none of that sickening consciousness of the skeleton at the dinner-table, of the essential sinfulness of life which Christianity likes to brood over and Buddhism with its depth has not exorcised away. There is nothing of that Weltschmerz, which it has pleased Sciolists to consider as the element which dogs Indian philosophy. The Aryan spirit is cheerful, buoyant, philosophic and ennobling, sublimating us into a higher region where *Sat*, *Chit* and *Anand* can for ever visit us. Does not this remind us of the well-known passage where Mignon's burial is described by Goethe:—

Boys—Let us weep and remain with her.

The chorus (invisible)—Children! Turn back into life! Fly from night! Day and pleasure and continuance are the lot of the living.

Boys—Up! Turn back into Life! Let the day give us labour and pleasure till the evening (*Vānaprastha*) brings us rest and the nightly sleep (death) refreshes us.

Chorus—Children hasten into life! In the pure garments of beauty may love meet you with heavenly looks and with wreaths of immortality.

Mr. Tripathi looked at the world with the same resigned cheerfulness. He accepted the four stages of life. The student learning, assimilating; the householder practising teaching and modifying his pet theses of student days. But before the second period is gone through, his life would be incomplete. You cannot unlock the secrets of *Vānaprastha*

Ashram without “the open Sesame” of *Grihasthi* experience. Hence with Goethe Mr. Tripathi says—

Travel! Travel back into life! Take along with you the holy earnestness! For earnestness alone makes life immortal!

कर्मण्येवाधिकारस्ते मा फलेषु—

His doctrine, as he preaches it directly in his “*Lilavati*” is the thirst after Beatitude or श्रेयः in preference to worldly goods or प्रेयः—as we find in कठ उपनिषद् (*Katha Upanishad*).

अन्यत् श्रेयो अन्यत् उ तैव प्रेयः ।

तयोः श्रेय आददानस्य साधुर्भवति

हीयते अर्याद् य उ प्रेयो ब्रूणीते—

But this beatitude is to be secured in this world by beautifying oneself and making others beautiful, in the endeavour after self-realisation and improvement of the race. To him as to Charudatta “the world is his family” वसुधैव कुटुम्बकम्. His philosophy did not lead him like Nietzsche's Zarthustra to frequent mountains and breathe the upper air, while looking complacently at the weeding out of the ‘Hinterwelter’, or laggards behind. His superman was not at the same time callous. His talk was always elevated. In a letter written to me in England about the end of July last, he wrote with great enthusiasm on the Nagari Pracharini activities in Gujarat, and hinted that he would set the example himself.* On a broad-bottomed system of education conducted by private enterprise and financed by the community, he never was tired of dwelling. I scarcely knew then that that was the last letter I should receive from him, and that the next occasion, I would be writing about him, would be about his untimely death.

V. N. MEHTA.

* When more than four years ago I published the prospectus of a quadrilingual vernacular review called *Chaturbhashi* to be printed in the Devanagari character, Mr. Tripathi was one of the first to send me literary contributions. I intended to publish articles written in Hindi, Bengali, Gujarati, and Marathi. Mr. Tripathi desired that I should include six more vernaculars.

THE STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

II

In the first part of this paper I dwelt on the abolition of the Professorship of Zoology and Comparative Anatomy in Grant Medical College, Bombay. To continue my remarks further, I propose now to show the inadequacy of the Teaching Staff as regards the "Natural Sciences" in the Bombay Presidency Colleges and Collegiate Institutions recognized by the Bombay University in the Faculties of Arts and Civil Engineering.

In Elphinstone College, Bombay, until the retirement of Dr. MacDonald as Professor of Biology there was a *Professor* of Biology of British University qualifications. Now, for the last three years there has been only a *Lecturer* of local distinction and on reduced salary. If the *Lecturer* was fit to teach Biology, why was he not fit to be appointed to the Professorial chair? The Deccan College located in Poona has no Natural Science teacher! Wilson College of Bombay has only a *Lecturer* in Biology of local distinction. There is only now provision made for teaching Geology in this College. At one time graduates of the Edinburgh University in the persons of Dr. D. MacDonald and Rev. Dr. Alexander were *Professors* of Biology, one after another. St. Xavier's College, Bombay, this day leads the van in solid teaching in all the subjects included under the head "Natural Science." In the single person of the Rev. Father E. Blatter, S. J., who is called only Professor of Biology, there is now a very learned man cap-

able of teaching Botany, Zoology, and Geology. Gujarat College located at Ahmedabad has Professor of Science of local distinction. He took his B. A. degree with Natural Science for one of his subjects. What subjects he teaches I have not the means of knowing just now. Rajaram College of Kolhapur has Lecturer on Physical Science, but there is no teacher of Natural Science. Baroda College founded in the central seat of his Government namely Baroda, by His Highness Sir Sayajira Gaikwad on 1st October 1881, has two very distinguished graduates of the Bombay University, Professor M. K. Kanga, M.A., B.Sc. L. M. & S., as Professor of Chemistry and Physics, and Professor Adarji M. Masani M. A., B.Sc., as Professor of Biology. They are both ideal teachers in their respective subjects. I have known them well personally since their student-days. His Highness the Gaikwad Sir Sayajirao Maharaj is essentially the highest product of British education all round. He is nothing if not original. He has in every possible way encouraged Professor Masani to organize and furnish a Museum of Natural Sciences in Baroda with the finest specimens of Zoology that a student can see in India. It redounds much to the credit of Sir Sayaji Rao Gaikwad, not less than to the credit of Professor Masani that he has established a Museum of Natural Science for substantial progress in the study of subjects which need to be studied most in

this country at the present day. I hear that Professor Masani is now the Director of Public Instruction in the Baroda State, and yet he is in a position to control the future rise and progress of the Natural History Museum attached to the Baroda College. There is much to look for in Baroda for the advance of Natural Science under the regime of such an enlightened scholar as Maharaja Sayaji Rao Gaikwad. In Poona we have an Institution named Fergusson College which has been recognized for Arts Degrees since 1884. The distinguished Cambridge "Wrangler", R. P. Paranjpye, M.A. (Cantab), B. Sc. (Bombay), is its Principal now. For a long time the College has been steadily teaching Natural Science (Botany and Zoology) with an energy which ought to shame all Government Colleges in the Arts Faculty. My friend Professor Bhate occupies the Chair of Biology. It has always had teachers of the Biological Sciences under the modest appellation of a *Lecturer*. It shows very fully that where there is a *will* to teach a particular subject there is a *way* to teachers on even the most moderate pittance. Samaldas College located at Bhavnagar has a Lecturer in Science, named Mr. Maganlal N. Bhatt. He is a Licentiate of Civil Engineering of the Bombay University. He took his degree in the first class, but what he teaches I do not know. Dayaram Jethmal College of Sindh has a Lecturer in Bioglogy in the person of Dr. S. M. Kaka, D.PH. (London), F. C. S. His English qualifications are a guarantee of sound teaching. Baha-uddin College of the Junagad State has a Lecturer in Biology in the person of Chaganlal G. Kaji, L. M. and S.

To pass to the consideration of the professorial staff of the only College in the Faculty of Civil Engineering connected with the Bombay University, namely the College of Science, Poona, I have to observe that this is the only College, in the entire Bombay Presidency, where there is a well-qualified

professor of Geology in the person of Mr. H. M. Page, F. G. S. Professor Gammie teaches Agriculture and Botany, and Professor J. B. Knight, B. Sc., M. Sc., teaches Agriculture and Agricultural Chemistry. As Director of the Botanical Survey of the Bombay Presidency, Professor Gammie has the command of a vast collection of Indian plants in the Botany Museum of the College of Science which must at all times be of service to every student of Indian Botany.

It will appear from my foregoing remarks that if a Bombay University student has to study Geology, he can only do so in the Poona College of Science, or in St. Xavier's College, Bombay or now in Wilson College, Bombay.

Going over the pages of the latest Bombay University Calendar, let me see what I find, as the disastrous result of an inadequate staff for teaching the Natural Sciences, in the matter of competing for the various medals, scholarships and prizes of books or money, open to the graduates and undergraduates of the Bombay University. Be it said to the credit of the various classes of citizens of the various parts of the Bombay Presidency that their large-hearted munificence, their desire to advance Eastern and Western knowledge, and their public spirit for the true advancement of education generally, have secured for the Bombay University no less than 104 Endowments of the value of nearly 12 Lacs of Rupees, and ten Benefactions of nearly 5½ Lacs of rupees. Of the 104 Endowments. Endowment No. II is the Manakji Simji Gold Medal to be awarded annually for the Best Essay by a graduate in Arts, Science, Medicine, Law, or Civil Engineering. Of the subjects set annually for the Competitive Essay between 1865 and 1906, I select here only such subjects for essays as could be competed for by graduates knowing any of the Branches of Natural Science, and show the deplorable result in the following table:—

TABLE No. 1.

Year.	Subject.	Medallist.	College.
1866	The advantages and means of diffusing Scientific Practice of Medicine in India.	Medal not awarded.	
1869	The connection between the Physical Geography of India and the History of the Country.	B. B. Vakharkar, B. A.	Deccan College.
1872	The Economic Results and probable developement of Botanical and Geological researches in India.	No essay received.	
1876	The application of modern discoveries in Chemistry to Indian Farming.	Medal not awarded.	
1878	The advantages and means of diffusing a knowledge of Natural Science in India.	Medal not awarded.	
1880	Meteorology in India in its relation to Agriculture and the Mechanical Arts.	K. M. Joglekar, M. A.	Elphinstone College.
1882	Subject for 1878, set again.	K. B. Sethna, B. A., LL. B.	Ditto
1884	Subject for 1876, set again.	No essay received.	
1886	Do. do. set again.	Do.	
1888	Can the organisation of credit as lately introduced into European countries be usefully employed for the development of Manufacture and Agriculture in India?	Do.	
1892	The dwellings of the poor in Indian cities: How can European Science and Arts be most effectively applied towards their improvement?	Do.	
1898	The application of the principles of Sanitary Science to Indian cities.	Medal not awarded.	
1899	Plague in India in ancient and modern times.	No essay received.	
1900	Subject for 1892, set again.	Medal not awarded.	
1902	The expediency and practicability of successfully introducing into India the electric methods of power-transmission.	No essay received.	
1904	The application of European methods to the development of the Mineral Resources of India.	Medal not awarded.	
1906	Subject for 1898, set again.	Result sub judice.	

Endowment No. IV is entitled "*The Homeji Cursetji Dady Prize*." It was established in 1863 for an Annual Prize or Medal "for the best English Poem by a University student" with a view "to afford a useful stimulus to the cultivation of literature and to the development of good taste and refinement" in the Bombay Presidency. In the year 1864 F. R. Vikaji carried off the first Poem-prize on the "*Himalaya Mountains*." In the year 1867 B. E. Modi wrote a poem on the Solar System and carried off the Prize for that year. In 1869 J. E. Kohiyar carried off the same Prize on the River Indus; and in 1870 another on Vasco de Gama. All these afore-mentioned Prizemen were the pupils of John Powell Hughlings, who as Professor of English Literature in Elphinstone College fostered among his pupils the spirit of writing English in English verse. Professor Hughlings believed that if an Indian student wanted to understand English Poetry, he should cultivate, nay, master the Art of English versification. In his sad death, Elphinstone College lost a consummate teacher of the English Language and Literature. In every possible way he encouraged his pupils to understand and master the English language by mastering English versification. Since his death, the study of English versification has come to an end, which is much to be deplored. For, as one of his pupils, I cannot but realize the fact that if an accurate knowledge of the English language is to be successfully mastered, it can be done only by the study of English Poets and an imitation of them through English versification. Mere versification may not secure to an Indian versifier in the English Language the dignity of an English Poet, nor even the qualification, but it is sure to secure to him at least this, that he is able to understand the broad-mindedness of the English Poets who have adorned the literature of their country with the brightest and the noblest thoughts the human head and heart can ever

conceive, or has at any time conceived, and poured them forth in the most melodious and the most elevating language that ever can be conceived and uttered for the gratification and enlightenment of the human heart and mind of any country whatsoever understanding or studying the English Language and Literature.

Let me not omit to mention here that Mr. Edward H. Aitken of Deccan College, now known to the scientific world as "*E. H. A.*," carried off the Homeji Cursetji Dady Prize for a Poem on "*Suttee*" in 1871. Between 1872 and 1879, no prize for an English Poem was awarded. The Bombay University found, and I found it too, that with the passing away of Professor John Powell Hughlings, the desire and prompting for writing English verse had passed away. So, in the year 1879, on November 22nd, at the instance of the Donor of the Homeji Cursetji Dady Prize the Poem-prize was withdrawn, and the prize was set down instead for the best *Essay* in English on some scientific subject. Let us see what the result has been. It may well be studied in the following table, headed No. 2:—

TABLE No. 2.

Year.	Subject.	Prizeman.	College.
1884	A description of the Progress made in India during the last ten years in some branch of Physical or Natural Science.	No essay received.	
1886	The best method of spreading a knowledge of Popular Science in India.	Prize not awarded.	
1892	The South-west Monsoon, &c.	No essay received.	
1896	Ditto ditto ditto	Prize not awarded.	
1894	Influence and effect of the study of Science, &c.	M. V. Tilak.	Baroda.

Let it be noted that in the above list I have not mentioned the subjects set for this prize between 1890 and 1904 in Physical Science and Physiography or Physical Geography, with the result that in 1890, 1898, 1900, and 1904, the prize was not awarded; in the year 1902, "No essay received." The subject for 1906 was "Earthquakes, and Modern Scientific methods for recording them". The result is not yet known, as to who competed and with what result.

Endowment No. XV is entitled "The Chancellor's Medal." It is a substantial Gold Medal founded in 1869 by His Excellency the Right Honourable Sir Seymour Fitzgerald, G. C. S. I., D. C. L., Governor of Bombay and Chancellor of the Bombay University, with a view to encourage the Graduates to aspire after the highest honours the University can bestow. The medal was ruled by the Senate to be awarded annually in connection with the M. A. degree to the candidate who passes the M. A. Examination in the First Class with the highest number of marks in the branch of study notified in the previous year for the Gold Medal of the succeeding year. The following Table No. 3 will show the result of competition in the "Natural Sciences:—"

TABLE No. 3.

Year.	Medallist.	College.
1877	Naigaumvalla, K. D. ...	Elphinstone.
1884	Kanga, M. K. ...	Ditto.
1885	Masani, A. M. ...	Free General A. Institution.
1888	Surveyor, N. F. ...	Elphinstone.
1896	Medal not awarded. ...	...
1901	Ditto ...	...
1906	M. S. Jayakar ...	St. Xavier.

Endowment No. XXII is entitled "The Dossabhoy Hormusji Cama Prize."

It consists of an award of books of the value of Rs. 500 every alternate year for the best English Essay on a medical subject. The Prize is open to all the Licentiates of Medicine and Surgery of the Bombay University, and to the Graduates of Grant Medical College of the days when the University of Bombay was not in existence, and when Grant Medical College granted the diploma of G. G. M. C. to the successful men turned out therefrom as Practitioners of European Medicine, Surgery and Midwifery under its own examining body subject to the direct supervision of the Government of Bombay. As the subjects set for the Prize indicate an accurate study of the Physical and Natural Sciences, I am tempted to add a table showing the subjects set for the Prize and dwell upon the results of the competition, but I will not encroach upon the pages of this journal by a lengthy tabular scrutiny. Suffice it to say that between 1876 and 1904 the competitors who gained the Prize are shown in the following

TABLE No 4.

Year.	Subject.	Prizemen.
1879	The effects of Famine upon the Public Health, &c.	Mehta, K. N. G. G. M. C.
1880	On recently recognized forms of diseases in India, &c.	Do.
1884	On the advantages and risks attaching to a system of water carriage for Sewage in Bombay, &c.	Aquino T. Hannibal, L. M. and S.
1885	Is Quarantine of advantage in preventing the spread of communicable diseases ?	Gomes, L. P., B. A., L. M. and S.
1886	Recent progress in the Microscopic Investigation of Disease.	Do.
1887	Varieties of Bombay Fevers, &c.	Do.
1890	Adulteration of Food in Bombay.	Do.
1891	Infant Mortality in Bombay, &c.	Kallianvala N. K., L. M & S.
1892	Density of Population on the health of Bombay, &c.	Gomes, L. P., B. A., L. M. and S.

Year.	Subject.	Prizemen.
1896	On the advantages and disadvantages of the various modes of the disposal of the Dead.	Kalapesi R. M., L. M. & S.
1902	Do. do.	Bardi D. R., L. M. and S.

Let it be noted that the prize was "*not awarded*" nine times ; and "*No essay received*" eight times. Is this not a poor result ?

Endowment XCIX, the Sir D. M. Petit (1st Baronet) Science Scholarship.

This handsome Prize was started in 1902, to be awarded annually to the candidate passing the Intermediate Science examination for the Degree of B. Sc. in the First Class with the highest number of marks, &c. Between 1902 and 1904, the Scholarship was not awarded.

Here ends my review of the Bombay University Prizes and Scholarships left unawarded. I am constrained to say that it is all due to inadequate teaching in the affiliated Colleges on the one hand, and to the well-known fact that the students who study the physical and natural sciences during their College curriculum do so only to secure pass-marks in their respective examinations for securing a degree, and no more. I have known many instances where graduates after securing a degree, have failed, and failed most disastrously, even in the face of suitable opportunities to further their knowledge in the subjects in which they had secured their degrees and to master those subjects. It is altogether a mercenary way, which is most deplorable, to say the least of it. Many a golden opportunity is consequently lost by our Bombay graduates not only to increase their own knowledge, but also to serve their country by adding substantially to the scientific literature of their country whose pressing needs they unfortunately fail to recognize at the present day.

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

RESIDENTIAL COLLEGES IN INDIA

UNIVERSITY education in India is now passing through a thorough process of reconstruction, and one of the main features of the new system that is being inaugurated is the attempt to convert silently and gradually the existing colleges into residential ones. The Governments of what may be called the Old and New Provinces of United Bengal are very laudably interesting themselves in this phase of educational activity. A large residential college is being built at Dacca. Sir Andrew Fraser proposed to build a model residential college at Ranchi; but that scheme having been knocked on the head by the Government of India, he has now invited the criticism of distinguished educationists and public men on the proposal of removing the Presidency College from its present site to a more suitable locality with a view to its ultimate conversion into a residential college. Evidently the idea seems to be gaining ground in certain quarters that because residential colleges play a most important part in the education of the youth of England in the great centres of light and culture like Oxford and Cambridge, therefore, they must be equally successful in India. Residential colleges have undoubtedly their usefulness everywhere, and unless scandalously ill-managed, they cannot be dead failures in any part of India. But it is well to note their limitations under the peculiar and exceptional circumstances of this country; for, do what we may, limitations of a serious nature and drawbacks not altogether to be disregarded, they must have, for the very plain reason, that the conditions that crown with success the career of a residential college at Oxford or Cambridge are different in many

vital respects from those that obtain in this country.

The four principal elements that go to build up the corporate life of an undergraduate in one of the great seats of learning in England are the Play Ground, the Dining Hall, the Chapel and the Club. Of these four, the first alone can be utilised in full in the formation of the character of an undergraduate in an Indian college. Its value in the education of a young man, the citizen of the future, cannot be over-rated. It is hardly necessary to refer to the celebrated saying of the Duke of Wellington to the effect that half the battles of England were won on the play-ground of public schools. Till recently, Indian youths, especially the talented section of them, did not take kindly to outdoor sports and games; but a change is now clearly discernible everywhere, and some few colleges have made it compulsory for their pupils to pay greater and closer attention to the training of the body than they had hitherto done. The time may or may not have come when a systematic course of physical culture should be made compulsory for every aspirant to the hall-mark of the University; but one fact is undisputed; it is, that the play ground is a most powerful factor in moulding the character of a student, and that, for this latter purpose, a residential college can take advantage of it to a far larger extent than a college that is not residential.

But a residential college in India, unless it be strictly denominational, cannot have a common dining hall for all its pupils,—and the dining hall is not a negligible factor in University education in England. “The Undergraduates,” says the late lamented Dr. Sathianadhan in his *Four years in an English University*,

"dine together in the College Hall. * * * It is indeed an interesting sight which these College Halls present,—crowded with young undergraduates, all in their black gowns, the whole place filled with bustle, talking and laughter. * * * Many a joke goes round the table and many a discussion on politics and other topics of general interest is held." Unfortunately in India, in more than half a century, English education has touched only the outer fringe of society, and the result is that the caste-rules are to all practical purposes as rigid to-day as they were in the days of the famous controversy between the Orientalists and Anglicists. In the hostels attached to our colleges these rules have been relaxed only so far that young men belonging to the three higher castes—and what we say is limited to Bengal—do not object to dine in the same room; but the time seems to be yet far off when in a mixed college of Hindu and Muhammadan youths it will be possible to have one common dining hall.

The most noticeable feature of a residential College in Oxford or Cambridge is the Chapel. To quote again the words of Dr. Sathianadhan, "we must look upon the Universities of Oxford and Cambridge as having a spiritual power in the kingdom, in order to realise the subtle influences at work, insensibly moulding the young men, who in their after lives, play the most important part in every sphere of English activity. * * * Regular religious services form a necessary part of the corporate life of all existing Colleges." Of late we are hearing much about the utter absence of any religious training in Indian Schools and Colleges; but we do not know that any body has suggested how it is possible to impart religious instruction in a non-denominational institution, much less how its pupils, professing as they do different faiths, and holding a variety of creeds and dogmas within the same faith, can have a common spiritual exercise. We have seen in the Central Hindu College at Benares

provision made for the purpose of enabling its pupils to perform their *pujahs*; but it is, as its very name indicates, a denominational College; and even here, the programme of spiritual culture that has been adopted cannot exert the same influence on the lives of its *alumni* as a chapel does in a residential college at Cambridge. For, we should always remember that while Christian worship is congregational and has, therefore, in all ages deeply influenced the corporate life of the worshippers, Hindu worship is essentially individualistic.

Every English College has a club attached to it, as most Indian Colleges have, though these latter do not often display a superabundance of life and vigour; in fact, in comparison with their European prototypes, they may be regarded as being constantly in a moribund condition. Be that as it may, there can be no two opinions on the valuable work that is done by the College and University clubs in fashioning the life and destiny of an English undergraduate. Who has not heard of the Oxford Union and the Cambridge Union, and of the intellectual feats achieved in them by rising young men like Macaulay and Gladstone and a host of others too numerous to be named? That the club can play an equally important part in this country is admitted on all hands. But does the club in a College, especially in a Government College, in India, mean the same thing as the club in an English College? Then in Oxford and Cambridge, young Englishmen discuss with unrestricted freedom and boldness all manner of topics, social, political and literary, and the debates on political subjects, according to the testimony of those who have participated in them, are usually the most interesting. Will the Government of India or for the matter of that the Governments of Western and Eastern Bengal, permit the free discussion of political topics in the College under their immediate control? We do not mean to contend that a young inexperienced undergraduate should be forthwith turned into

a full-fledged politician. But what we do maintain is that the interdiction of any branch of inquiry in the education of a young man cannot but stunt and dwarf his whole mind. There can be no partition of the soul with impunity. Bar the avenue of knowledge in one direction, and it will exercise a depressing and paralytic influence on the mind even in those directions which were left open. As in the domain of politics, so in the domain of knowledge: the intellectual slave is not less incapable of solid original work, than the political slave of achieving all-round national greatness.

We shall now take a hypothetical case. We shall suppose that the premier educational institution of Bengal, with a numerous European staff, is transformed into a residential College. The young men receiving instruction in it will in that case come into closer contact with their teachers than they do at present, and this will doubtless do them some good; but will it be an unmixed good? One effect of the altered circumstances will very probably be a change in the personal and social tastes of its *alumni*. It is just possible that when on completion of their collegiate education they will come back to their own parents and relations, they will be found perfectly denationalized in dress and manners. Different styles of dress form no mean barrier between the classes and the masses. As Tolstoy very wisely remarks, "The wearing apparel also becomes a means for segregating oneself from the poor." This is notoriously true of the European style of dress imported into this country. For even the most casual observer must have noticed that the indigenous style whether in Bengal, the Punjab, Madras or Maharashtra, is pretty nearly the same in all grades of society. In the last Calcutta Congress, there was nothing in the dress of His Highness the Maharaja of Baroda, that could distinguish him from an ordinary Mahratta delegate. But the European style of dress

invariably scares away the ignorant cultivator or artisan from the patriotic educationalist or barrister-at-law. This was distinctly perceived in the very first stage of the great national movement in Bengal, and it has consequently led to a wholesome change in many of our distinguished countrymen.

Religion is the most potent lever of society. Unless our rulers choose to violate the policy of *laissez faire* so wisely practised in religious matters for over a century European Professors will not exercise any appreciable influence in shaping the spiritual life of their pupils. With regard to moral influence, the unwieldy numbers on the rolls of popular institutions like the Presidency College should be taken into account. Of all colleges in the two ancient English Universities, only Trinity College, Cambridge, with 629 undergraduates (1903), makes an approach in this respect to the Calcutta Presidency College. No other college in Cambridge, and no college in Oxford, has 300 undergraduates, and about half-a-dozen colleges in either University have less than 100 pupils each.

Residential colleges were and are not unknown in this country. History has preserved the memory of the University of Nalanda with its monastic Colleges full to overflowing, and every seminary of culture in ancient India was a residential college. But the complete success of these institutions depends on the identity of the interests of the teachers and the taught. So long as the policy of England in the government of India remains unchanged, all attempts to bring about more intimate intercourse between European teachers and their Indian pupils must be more or less futile. The object of education in Greece was the training of the young for the service of the State. This object is also constantly kept in view in European and American Universities. No one deems it improper on the part of English undergraduates to deliver scathing philippics against the ministry of the day, or

on a great national occasion to make a huge bonfire with things that do not always belong to them. But what is sauce for the gander is not sauce for the goose. What is patriotism in the West, spells sedition and "indiscipline" in India. Here the service of the State means employment in the lower ranks of the Secretariat, and the faintest aspiration to be anything better than mere hewers of wood and drawers of water must be sternly suppressed. Nobody, who has followed with any degree of attention the educational policy of more than one provincial government in India, can have much faith in residential government colleges. For where the service of the country is sedulously obstructed and discour-

aged as being diametrically opposed to the interests of its rulers, these colleges may turn out very docile, inoffensive graduates as harmless as dead mutton—they will seldom or never produce self-respecting, self-helping citizens, capable of independent thought and action and fully equipped for the service of the fatherland. The aim of discipline should be, says Herbert Spencer, "to produce a *self-governing* being; not to produce a being *to be governed by others*." If residential colleges fail to produce self-governing beings—we use the phrase in its widest sense—they will prove worse than a curse to the future destiny of India.

RAJANIKANTA GUHA.

THE NATIONAL OUTLOOK: THE GREAT NEED OF THE SITUATION

PROBLEMS of the gravest import await our solution—problems which need all our nerve, all our determination, all our courage, all our hope and which affect the life and death of us all," were the words uttered by one of the most popular divines of England, portraying "national perils" for the consideration of his countrymen. Well did he say that the conditions of things then or at any time may be looked at in two different ways. There is one set of facts, which when considered exclusively, would make us hopeless pessimists. There is another set of facts which when taken by themselves may furnish good ground for the most sanguine optimism.

The truth, however, generally lies between the two. While pessimism is positively harmful as dispiriting and discouraging, optimism may be misleading as tending to produce a frame of mind which is always sanguine, prone to ignore difficulties and to neglect

very necessary precautions. The best and the safest course, therefore, will be to steer clear of extreme views, to weigh the situation as accurately as may be possible in the light of our own history, that of the ruling race, and that of other countries and peoples similarly situated. Practical wisdom lies in eschewing over-estimating as well as under-estimating. While it is no good under-estimating our difficulties and over-estimating our capacities, it is perhaps more harmful to have a very low opinion of ourselves and our people. Both are equally bad; though if compelled to make a choice between the two, I would rather choose the former than the latter. Keeping the past history of the Hindus in mind I would rather see them indulge in optimism than in pessimism.

We have so long been in doubt about ourselves, about the world and about the good in the world that it is time to exchange this

atter attitude of mind for confidence in self, confidence in our people, and hope for a better future, which may give us better opportunities to use and enjoy the good and the beautiful in the world. We have known enough of misery and it is time we made up our minds to discard it at any cost, even at the risk of having to suffer and undergo greater misery in the attempt to achieve the desired end.

But while recommending this attitude of mind to the nation at large, I cannot help asking those engaged in the work of awakening the people to a sense of their rights, to make no attempts to under-estimate the difficulties or to ignore them. I know there are a number of people, ill-disposed towards us, who exaggerate our difficulties so that we may sink under their weight and give up all efforts to rise. These honourable gentlemen, past masters in the art of diplomacy as they are, leave no stone unturned to make us and our people believe that there is no hope for us; that it is perfectly futile for us to make any attempt to gain our liberty; that in fact, we are happier now than we can possibly be in a state of Self-Government. While they do not scruple to threaten us with fire and sword now and then, at other times they are disposed to use the milder weapon of persuasion, trying each in turn and hopeful of favourable results. While constantly dinning into our ears the vastness of the resources of their empire, more than sufficient in their opinion to bring down the whole of Asia to their feet, they never forget to remind us of our shortcomings and failings and weaknesses—our state of disunion and our helplessness in their grip. While some of us they threaten, others they cajole and flatter, going even so far as to bribe some, who are susceptible of being won over in that way. Our wisdom, moderation, prudence, and humanity are all, in turns appealed to, nay, our patriotism also is requisitioned at times on their side. All our weak points are assailed and a superhuman effort is be-

ing made to persuade us to give up all efforts to win Self-Government, the latter being at times painted as very pernicious, injurious and harmful, in the case of Asiatic peoples. Oh, how shocking must it be to those who believe in the innate sense of goodness and justice of human nature and in the native integrity of human conscience! But self-interest blinds a man and it is no wonder, that blinded by self-interest, carried away by the lust of gain and power these imperial wolves in the shape of men, should belie their innate good natures and in the degradation of their own souls try to bring down even truth and uprightness. One is at times disposed to lose all faith in the goodness of human nature when one sees the *professed friends* of ours preaching sermons of unswerving loyalty, and forbearance and moderation to us, in their efforts to make us believe that our state of complete subservience is nothing but perfect bliss for us, and that an attempt to throw it off is sinful and likely to land us in greater disasters. I will advise my people to decline to listen to these friends of ours, if they desire to go forward and to attach no weight whatsoever either to their threats or their promises or their reasoning but all the same, to try to study the situation well, find out the truth and do what is right and just, be the consequences what they may. At the 22nd session of the Indian National Congress our worthy president, the grand old man of India, has laid down our political goal. The aim of all our efforts and the object of all our agitation, has been placed before us in clear, unambiguous and unmistakable terms. In a happy and inspired moment Mr. Sarojji struck upon that noble word—"Swaraj," which sums up all our political aspirations. Hence-forth, "Swaraj" is our war-cry, our all-inspiring and all-absorbing aim in life. Hence-forth, the duty of our earthly existence should be to forget self in this aim prescribed for us by the exigencies of the times and accepted

by us after consideration of all the pros and cons.

For the first time in the history of political agitation in this country under British rule, the goal of all our political effort has been so clearly laid down before us; and thank God that for that we are indebted to no other but one who is the flesh of our flesh and the bone of our bone—a chip of the old block. We are now no longer groping in the dark as to the final goal of our political ambition. Swaraj has now been, officially, so to say, and definitely set up as the Pole-star in the firmament of Indian nationalism, and there it shall stay and shine with ever-resplendent glory and splendour as the guiding star of our hopes and aspirations. So far well and good. The next question that now arises is how to reach that goal and how to realise that aim? Like practical men, who have every desire to go into the matter in a business-like spirit, we should first of all make a complete survey of the difficulties in the way of our success and then take stock of our resources, so that we might successfully employ the latter to meet the former. Coming to our difficulties, in my opinion the foremost place amongst them must be given to our want of faith in ourselves, to the scepticism that is the ruling doctrine of our life, to the habit of too close an analysis which paralyses both action and thought.

Unfortunately for us, though born in a country dominated by a religious atmosphere of great depth all round, we are wanting in “that power of faith and will which neither counts obstacles nor measures time.” At present, we are nothing more than a set of doubting Thomases fond of analysis and entirely devoid of synthesis. Perhaps we are getting into a habit of destroying rather than that of building. We can calculate profits and losses to annas and pies, but we are devoid of that spirit of enterprise which can dare and at times play boldly. In a country whose

history is brimful of instances of thousand of men and women having willingly and gladly sacrificed their all for the sake of honour and faith, we find that a century of Western domination has so changed the ruling impulses of life as to convert the people into a set of clay-puppets having no will or faith of their own. Thank God, the country has not lost all sense of spirituality. The gold is there. It requires the touch of a magician to find it out and to make it over to them whose it is by birthright. The true solution of the problem lies in appealing to the true instincts and tendencies of the Indian heart, mute just now, but revealed to us in the pages of our history. In the words of Mazzinni, the first step towards this aim is

“to make war against the existing idolatry of material interests and substitute for it the worship of the just and the true; and to convince the [Indian] that their sole path to reality is through sacrifice—constancy in sacrifice. The work before us is not only an endeavour to create a united nation but to make her great and powerful—worthy of her past glories and conscious of her future mission.”

India is just now materialistic, believing in the benevolence of English Ministers or English Parliaments, seeking rather the amelioration of the condition of the classes than to constitute itself a nation. The country and its leaders rather fight shy of high principles, and are ready to accept any compromise, any offer of a post here or a post there, any tinkering with their rights, any mode of assistance and last but not the least “always ready to accept any man brought forward with a promise of relieving her immediate sufferings” as their *Messiah*. Our attitude towards the questions of the day is not determined by its inherent righteousness, but by the chance of its reception at the hands of the powers that be. We are not always actuated by truth and justice, but by expediency and tactics. Our object is to propitiate our foreign rulers, but not to inspire our people. We choose to live in a world of

myth and fiction and not in a world of truth, faith and duty. We conceal our sentiments not because they are not true and just but because we cannot afford to offend those whom they might hurt. In trying to deceive others we often deceive ourselves. The result is that we are lacking in that power of faith which alone can make us men, able to create a nation and win liberty for the same.

"Our mortal disease is that unlimited confidence in every thing bearing the outward semblance of all calculation and tactics, that constant distrust of all enthusiasm, energy and simultaneous action—three things which sum up the whole science of revolution. We wait, study and follow circumstances; we neither seek to dominate nor to create them. We honour with the name of prudence that which is, in action, merely mediocrity of intellect."

Our whole life from top to bottom smacks of fear, deadly fear of losing pence and pies, fear of losing in the estimation of those whom we in our heart of hearts believe to be only usurpers; fear of losing the sunshine of the smile of those whom we believe to be day and night engaged in the exploitation of our country and the spoliation of our people, fear of offending the false gods that have by fraud or force taken possession of our bodies and souls; fear of being shut up in a dungeon or prison house, as if the freedom that we enjoy, is not by its own nature, one to be abhorred, despised and hated, —a freedom by default or by sufferance. In my opinion the problem before us is in the main a religious problem—religious not in the sense of doctrines and dogmas—but religious in so far as to evoke the highest devotion and the greatest sacrifice from us. Our first want, then, is to raise our patriotism to the level of religion and to aspire to live or to die for it. We believe in religion for the sake of the truth in it which is to secure for our souls communion with God. There in the presence of our God we forget our tiny selves, the pettiness of our minds and rising above the same, drink from the pure fountain of bliss and love. In the same way,

let the edifice of patriotism be raised on the solid rock of truth and justice. In worshipping truth and justice let us be honest and bold, regardless of worldly losses and gains. Let the people first learn to think honestly and boldly. This will in course of time be followed by honest, bold and truthful words and the latter by honest, bold and inspiring deeds.

If we do this, the future of our country is in our hands. There is no power on Earth that can stand between us and our country as there is no petty god that can ever come between the conscience of an honest, bold worshipper and his Almighty Maker. The first step of the political ladder, then, consists in our educating the people in a school of true politics, of our initiating them into a religion of true patriotism with a creed of Nationality, Liberty and Unity, to be believed and striven after with all the sincerity of heart and devotion, worthy of the oriental mind. Let us first renounce all kinds of self-interest and class-interest, in favour of a noble and universal patriotism embracing all the people and all the provinces of mother India, irrespective of creed, caste and colour. All talk of unity is futile unless we succeed in bringing about a unity of purpose in the minds of the people whom we desire to unite. An attempt to base this unity of purpose on material interests, might land us in interminable dissensions and endless controversies—in insuperable friction and unsurmountable irritation. But a sincere effort to give a higher and spiritual basis to our unity of purpose might save the situation and lead us safely to the haven of our hopes. That oneness of purpose is very happily summed up in the sacred salutation "Bande Mataram," and in the war-cry of 'Swaraj.'

Let us next proceed to examine the forces that are likely to oppose us in our propaganda. Here again, the greatest danger is, in my opinion, from within and not from without.

To the Government there are only two paths that are open—a system of terror or a system

of concessions. The latter possesses more possibilities of success than the former. A system of terror invariably recoils over the heads of those that resort to it, and I am confident that the British are sufficiently wise not to forget that there is a great deal of truth in what is so often quoted by European revolutionists that

"Blood calls for Blood, and the dagger of the conspirator is never so terrible as when sharpened on the tomb-stone of a martyr."

A system of small concessions, however, might be more effectual to stem the rising tide of nationality. Therein probably lies a greater danger to the rapid growth of the idea of nationality in the country than in a system of repression. Trivial changes in administrative machinery, the reform of the most crying Governmental abuses and a few more ineffectual concessions not involving any fundamental change in the principles of Government or in the constitution of the same, should not satisfy our people, unless the same are accompanied by a guarantee of fixed institutions, and a fundamental pact recognising a right, a power and a sovereignty in the people. That the opposition of the dominant race will be tremendous and terrible, I readily grant; but what I fear most is the opposition from within, the opposition of the classes enjoying the special patronage of the Government, the opposition of interest, the opposition of privilege, and last but not the least, the opposition of timidity and cowardice. The divine, whom I quoted in the opening lines of the paper, has in one of his essays on social amelioration drawn the following picture of the attitude of his countrymen towards the social evils existing in English society. He says:—

"The attitude of some—let us hope very few—is simply not to care at all; to live in pleasure on the earth and be wanton; to have hearts as fat as brawn, and cold as ice, and hard as the nether mill-stone; to heap up superfluous and often ill-begotten wealth, to be hoarded in acquisition, squandered in luxury, or reserved for the building up of idle families. But

to men, whose immense riches are squandered, in all but an insignificant fraction, on their own lusts and their own aggrandisement, comes the stern strong message of St. James, "your riches are corrupted, your garments are moth-eaten. Ye have lived delicately on the earth, and taken your pleasure. Ye have nourished your hearts in a day of slaughter." The attitude of others is that of a scornful pity, half cynical, half despairing. * * * * The attitude of others again is stolid acquiescence. They are weary of the whole thing; sick of hearing anything about it. It annoys them. Tell them of it and they shrug their shoulders with an impatient "what can we do!" Ask them for help, and they have "so many claims," that they practically give to none. Press the claim and they resent it as a personal insult. Suggest a plan and they will call it "Utopian." Describe a case of anguish and they will call you "sensational." Take part in a public effort and they will sneer at you as "self-advertising." The one thing they believe in is selfish *laissez faire*. Things will last their time, and that is all they care about. They grow too indulgent and too selfish to care about anything but their own indulgences and their own ease."

Applying this to Indian society, I am afraid, the picture will have to be painted a great deal blacker. There are at any rate no traitors in English society. In our case the chief difficulty does not solely lie in the persistent and deliberate discouragement which is held out by a large section of the community to all efforts towards progress. Here it is not the scoffer and the cynic only that stand in the way of advance but even more dangerous are those who insist to be of you, and with you, but whose heart is not with you, and whose interests, as understood by them, lie the other way. Although they are apt to betray themselves at every other step, they cover their shame by ridiculing the zealous and the earnest, by quietly and philosophically questioning their motives and by poisoning the minds of others against them. Their attitude undergoes no change whether the reform advocated is religious, social or political. The first bores them as an affection of the brain; the second annoys them as tending towards pu-

ritanism and misanthropy ; the third frightens them. The beauty of the whole thing, however, lies in the fact that a large number of them cannot help poking their noses almost everywhere. They enlist as members of societies whose proposed object is to preach religion. They display great interest in social reform so long as it does not interfere with what they call the joys of life. Maintaining an attitude of boldness and defiance to public opinion when the latter proposes to interfere in any way with the "pleasures of life", they are docile as lambs when their ladies and *biradari* (caste) people insist on the celebration of the marriages of their boys and girls at tender ages. As for political associations, these are their special hunting grounds. They have no objection to preside at public meetings or to move or second resolutions or to attend Conferences and Congresses, if it suits their convenience or is likely to be profitable, but all the same they will continue to revel in scoffing at and laughing down those who are serious and earnest about the matter. The general mass of the people are so ignorant of political ideas that it is impossible for them to understand or find out the real game which these gentlemen are playing. Consequently they are often cowed down and persuaded to let matters alone rather than make a bold stand for their rights.

The first necessity of the situation is, therefore, the coming forward of a number of whole-time workers in each province, devoted to the work of giving political education and imparting right ideas, irrespective and regardless of the scoffer and the cynic. Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji exhorts us to agitate, agitate and agitate. I say, Amen ! but on the clear understanding that agitation is an educational duty which has to be performed regardless of success in the shape of concessions. Let the public be accustomed to *agitate for the sake of agitation* and not in the hope of getting any immediate redress. That is, in my opinion,

the only way to ward off disappointments and to prepare the people for more effective methods of political activity. Our esteemed countryman Mr. Tilak advises the people to make the work of administration on the present lines impossible by passive resistance. I say, that is only possible by training the people to a habit of suffering for principles, *i. e.*, to dare and to risk ; and by infusing in them a spirit of defiance wherever a question of principle is involved. The way is to be shewn by personal example and not by precept alone. There is the old truth 'no risk, no gain.' The line of least resistance, of empty resolutions on paper, of simple resolutions, memorials, and not petitions backed up by anything which would place our earnestness beyond the shadow of a doubt, is a line of action more worthy of women than of men. If I may be permitted to question the political leaders of the country, what irresistible proofs have they up to this time given of their earnestness for the political demands made by them ? If the time was not and is not ripe for these proofs, then why did they not follow the Japanese in making quiet preparations at home before coming out openly with fiery speeches and long-winded resolutions ? (If, however, we have not wasted 22 years on political agitation and if the Swadeshi and Boycott are not lip-platitudes to be indulged in for the edification of our audiences, let us now take to it seriously and give incontestable proofs of our earnestness for political privileges.)

Hitherto our work has lacked that system and solidity which are the outcome of well thoughtout and well organised plans. Hitherto the political movement has only been carried out by fits and starts. It has completely depended on the moments of leisure which gentlemen engaged in learned professions and business, could conveniently spare for the same. It has been a labour of love to them, but it has always occupied a secondary position in their thoughts. The

country has so far failed to produce a class of men whose chief and prime business in life will be political agitation and political education. The chief and crying need of the national movement, is the coming forward of a class of earnest, sincere, able and devoted men, who will move about the country freely and preach the Gospel of freedom, both by word of mouth as well as by example—men who will win over the masses to the cause of Truth and Justice, by words of wisdom and lives of service. The non-existence of this class at the present moment, combined with other difficulties makes the national outlook very gloomy indeed, but the remedy to change the face of things lies in our own hands.

There is an all round awakening in the land, and if the awakening were to be properly utilised by the class of men I have spoken of above, I am sure that the dense gloom that prevails now, will soon be thinned by streaks of encouraging and cheering light, followed by the dawn of hope and the sun-rise of national birth. Most of our people are unnerved by the prevailing disunion and other vices which are the necessary outcome of a foreign domination. It is true that foreign domination is always brought on by disunion, but once it has come in, it accentuates the same and adds to its volume and intensity, as without it, it loses the chief reason for its continuance. Some of our people are very angry (and at times rightly) at the narrow, sectarian, denominational spirit that is rampant in the land. In their eyes, it is the chief obstacle in the way of political independence and as a means to obtain the latter, they set about in all sincerity and earnestness to root out the former. All honour to their sentiments and to their impulses. But a calm consideration will show that the task is almost impossible. If the boon of Self-Government is to be denied to us so long as the people of this country do not give up denominationalism and do not take to one religion or no-religion, I am afraid there can

be no hope for us. The problem before us is, to accept the facts before us as they are, and then to build up the edifice of nationality on them or in spite of them. I hope I shall not be misunderstood. I am not opposed to the cultivation of a spirit of catholicity amongst the followers of the different religions that are to be found in the country. By all means carry on your work in this direction as zealously as you can. I wish you all success. But I can not persuade myself to believe that it is possible to uproot denominationalism from this land and for the matter of that, from any land. Our best efforts should then be directed to create a nation in spite of them. I am not quite sure, if it is desirable to do away with religion or with religious denominations altogether, even if it were possible to do so. All these differences in religion serve their own purpose in the general economy of the world, and there are a good many people whose views are entitled to the greatest respect from us, who are inclined to think that the world would be poorer and monotonous by the entire removal of these differences. Our readers are probably aware of the rebuke administered by Burke to the authors of the French Revolution in their efforts to enforce a universal equality. In his "Reflections on the French Revolution", addressing the people of France, he questions the wisdom of the sweeping changes effected by them in their constitution in the following words:—

"In your old States you possessed that variety of parts corresponding with the various descriptions of which your community was happily composed; you had all that opposition of interests, you had that action and counteraction which in the natural and in the political world from the reciprocal struggle of discordant powers, draws out the harmony of the universe."

I express no opinion upon the force of the anathemas hurled by Burke on the French Revolution, but I cannot help remarking that there is a great deal of truth in the general observation quoted above. The world is, no

doubt, good and beautiful only with its diversity. The chief object of human yearning is, has been, and ought to be, to find harmony in diversity. Nations are built and unified by the differences that exist between the various classes of their population. The Apostle of Unity in order to succeed must find a common object to achieve and a common enemy to fight. All differences must be sunk in the presence of the latter and to achieve the former but not necessarily otherwise.

For as this and this only can be the common basis of nationality, I do not think there are insuperable difficulties in the way of Indian Unity, if the denominational and other differences are faced in that spirit.

Another evil which often staggers us, is the illiteracy and ignorance of our people. Here again, while admitting the absolute necessity of educating the masses, I fail to see the soundness of the proposition that universal education must precede any demand for self-government. In fact it is hopeless to expect anything like universal education without self-government. Over a century and a quarter of British rule has failed to educate more than 5 or 6 per cent. of the people of India, while Japan has been wholly educated within less than 40 years. The educational work is one of the most important of our national duties, but

by no means should it be made a condition precedent to our demanding self-government. Here, too, the principal question is of men and money. Find out the former and the latter will be forthcoming. That is, therefore, the chief thing, for the finding of which, the nation should put forth its best energy and talent.

Give us a dozen men, in each province, exclusively devoted to the work of national regeneration, and the situation will at once assume a bright appearance and will promise the most hopeful results. Let us hope that the best talent and the best patriotism of the country are engaged in tapping the resources which are eventually to give us the desired class of men, who shall be our national Sannyasis in the present crisis. It was probably said of times like these that

"These are the times that try men's souls. The sunshine soldier and the sunshine patriot will, in this crisis, shrink from the service of their country; but he that stands to it now, deserves the thanks of man and woman. Tyranny like hell is not easily conquered; yet we have this consolation with us, that the harder the contest, the more glorious the triumph. What we obtain too cheaply, we esteem too lightly; it is dearness only that gives everything its value. Heaven knows how to set a proper price upon its goods; and it would have been strange indeed if so celestial an article as Freedom should not be highly rated."

LAJPAT RAI.

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

2. THE STORY OF PRINCE SHAMSHER JANG.

THERE was a king who had no son. He called all the holy men of his realm, and asked them to pray for him for a male child. The prayers of the holy men found acceptance, and a very beautiful boy

was born to the king. Great was the joy of the king on seeing the dearest hope of his life realised, and large gifts were made to sacred shrines and temples, and there was great rejoicing throughout the kingdom. Then the king called the astrologers, and requested them

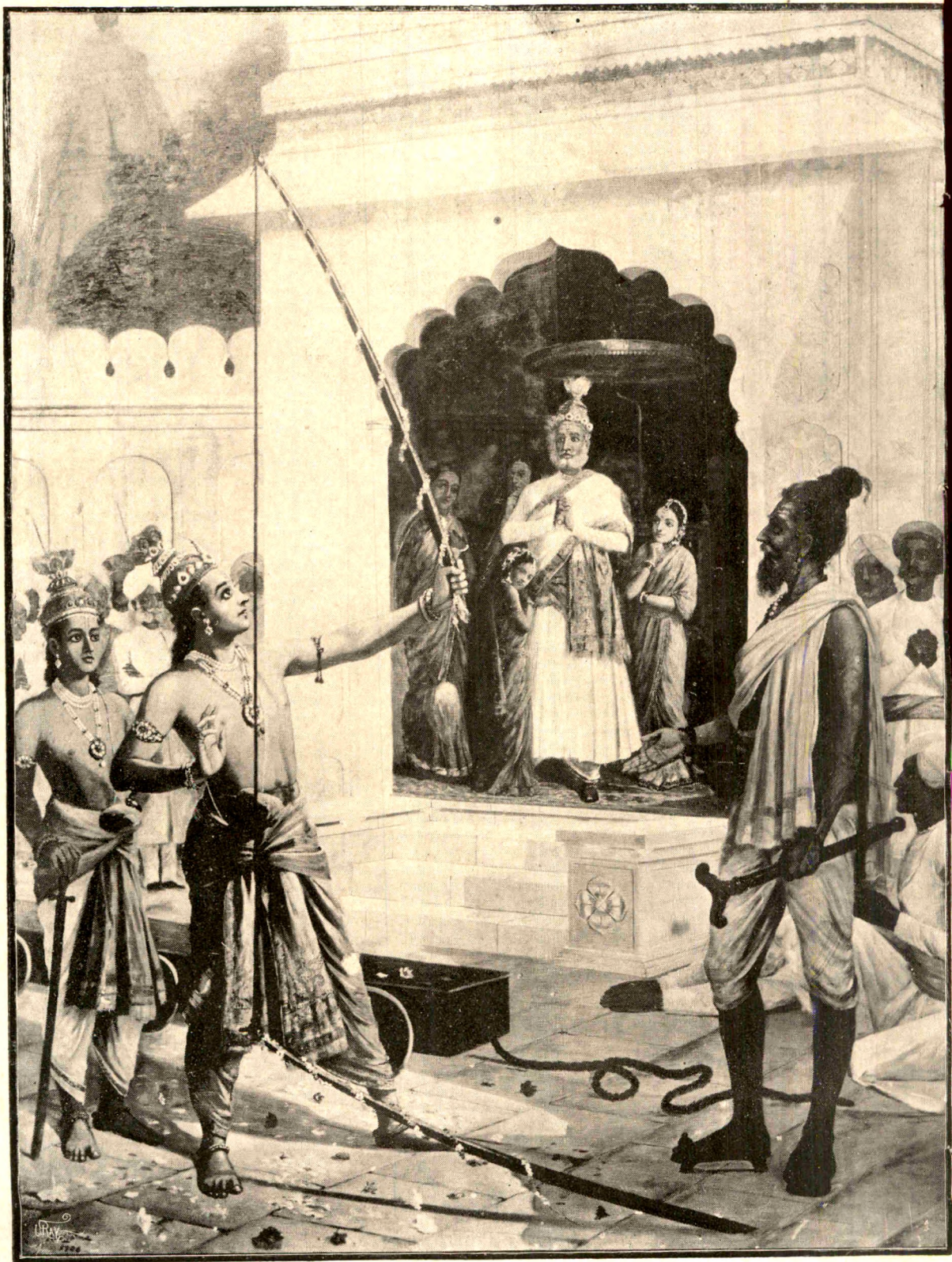
to cast the nativity of the child. They all predicted many auspicious things of the infant prince,—that he would be the strongest among men, and very fortunate in all his adventures; that a happy conjunction of the stars shed its genial influence on his birth, and that everything augured long life and happiness. But the king, the holy men added, should take one precaution, which was, that the prince should never be permitted to see the face of the sun before he had completed his fourteenth year, and that he should, therefore, be brought up in a strong fort whose walls should be of massive iron seven feet thick. The king did as the astrologers and the wise men of the realm told him to do. When the fourteen years had expired, the prince, who, by the bye, was named Shamsheer Jang, one day struck the wall with his fist, and so severe was the blow that the seven feet thick iron wall broke into two, as if blown up by a mighty cannon, and fell in pieces on the ground. The young prince issued out of his prison-house, and went forth towards the east.

In the way he saw a man digging the hot parched earth with a spade. Shamsheer Jang asked him, "What are you doing, my good friend? You must be very strong indeed to be able to dig with your spade such a burning and rocky soil as this." The labourer replied:—"Young man, I am no doubt known as the strongest among my class, but we have a prince called Shamsheer Jang who has broken a seven feet thick iron wall with his fist. He is stronger than I." Then the prince made himself known to the labourer, saying:—"I am the prince of whom you speak." On this the earth-digger knelt down, and kissing the ground said:—"Henceforth, I acknowledge myself as your inferior; I offer myself as your disciple and slave, and will accompany you whithersoever you may travel." The prince accepted the labourer, whose name was "Weak-body", and proceeded on his journey. When they had travelled some distance they found

themselves about noon one day in a spacious maidan, in the midst of which was standing a man with a bow who was crying out:—"Take care, take care, move aside, move aside, or you will be pierced through by yonder arrow." The prince asked him what he meant by this nonsense. The man replied:—"Sir, my name is Weak-sight, and I shot an arrow fourteen years ago at you star in the zenith, and it is just returning, so I warned you lest it might injure you in its fall." The prince and Weak-body strained their eyes to see the arrow and the star, but could see neither. They waited there expecting to see the fall of the wonderful arrow which had been shot fourteen years ago and after an hour they saw a burning meteor fall on the ground with tremendous velocity and pierce the earth many a yard deep. It was the arrow which Weak-sight had shot fourteen years ago, and which he had descried falling from the height of a thousand miles.

On seeing this the prince said:—"Friend, you must be the strongest man to shoot an arrow so far, and the farthest-sighted to see it from such a distance." Weak-sight replied:—"Sir, up to a short time ago, I deemed myself the strongest of men. But we have got a prince called Shamsheer Jang, who has broken down with his fist a seven feet thick iron wall. He is my superior in strength." Hearing this the prince answered:—"I am Shamsheer Jang, of whom you speak." On this Weak-sight also became the disciple of the prince and accompanied him on his journey.

The prince and his two companions went onward, meeting with no adventure till they reached a very delightful garden full of many a tree laden with fruits. In the middle of the garden on a raised dais was sitting a man strong and glowing with health and vigour. He appeared to be absorbed in the contemplation of the fruits, and, as soon as he perceived the prince and his followers approaching, cried out:—"Away, you people, away. Have you



*From the original oil-painting
by RAVI VARMA.
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RAMA BREAKING SIVA'S BOW.

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come to beg these fruits of me? Have you come to starve me? I won't give you a single fruit, or even a single branch, root or leaf, however hard you may beg." Struck with this address, the prince replied:—"Sir, you need not be afraid of our begging of you any fruit. We are not hungry. But explain to us, good Sir, what you will do with these countless fruits. There is no city near where you can sell them, and we see no one to share these with you in this lonely place." The man of the garden replied:—"Sir, you appear to be a gentleman from your speech and conduct, as you have not come to beg for fruits; but if you knew me, you would not think me churlish, as my speech might have led you to imagine. Know, Sir, my name is Weak-appetite. I planted these trees exactly fourteen years ago; and have been tending them so long fasting all these fourteen years. Now they have brought forth fruit as you see,—mangoes, apples, annanas, pears, berries, &c., and I am awaiting the hour of my long deferred repast; and in fact the hour is not far distant, when I will eat up not only the fruits, but also the trees themselves, branches and all. Wait and you will see whether I lie, or speak the truth." The prince sat down with his friends on the dais and just as it struck the hour of noon the gardener fell on the trees like a hungry giant and soon left not a shrub standing. The prince, seeing this wonderful feat, accosted the gardener, saying:—"You are the strongest of all men." The gardener said:—"No, Sir, our prince Shamsheer Jang is the stronger of us two. He has broken a seven feet thick iron wall with his fist." The prince said:—"I am he of whom you speak." Weak-appetite fell on the ground, acknowledged the prince as his master and accompanied him in his travels. They went on and on till they came to a large tank, on the banks of which was seated a man looking anxiously at the water. The prince and his three companions approached him and asked, "Why are you sitting here?"

The man replied:—"I dug this tank exactly fourteen years ago, and have been ever since sitting here and awaiting its filling up by the rains. It has just filled up to the brim and I am going to drink it all off. My name is Weak-thirst." The prince observed:—"You must be the strongest of men to drink off such a large tank." Weak-thirst replied:—"No, Sir, our prince Shamsheer Jang is the stronger. He has broken down an iron wall seven feet thick with one blow of his fist." The prince then made himself known to Weak-thirst and the latter thereupon became his follower and accompanied him. The prince tarried there for a while and then proceeded on his wanderings with his friends. They came to a large city where there were many shops and large buildings and palaces. The shops were full of every kind of merchandise and contained all that comfort or luxury could demand. They were all open, and the varieties of sweet delicacies exhibited on the stalls for sale whetted the appetite of the travellers, although it needed no whetting, hungry as they were after their long journey. But, strange to say, none of the shops had any keeper, there were none to sell, nor any to buy—the whole city was desolate and lifeless. The prince and his companions searched one shop after another, but found no human being. So they helped themselves freely to every thing that pleased their fancy and ate and drank to their heart's content. They remained there for the whole day and when it was night they entered one of the most spacious and well furnished of the untenanted palaces and laid themselves down to rest. When it was about midnight, a monster, fourteen inches high, carrying in his hand an iron rod fourteen yards long, entered the desolate city, shaking the houses with his heavy tread, and roaring out: "I have eaten all the men of this city, but now again I smell human flesh. Come out, ye rogues, that I may eat you." Shamsheer Jang hearing this menace came out with his

drawn sword and facing the dwarf coolly said:—"What dost thou brag of, fellow? Know I am Shamsher Jang, who has broken an iron wall seven feet thick with one blow of his fist. Come, fight with me." Hearing this the dwarf, whose name was Gootia Deo, or little gaint, at once fell on the ground and kissing the dust of the prince's feet, replied with great humility:—"I acknowledge myself your servant and slave. Be you my master, for you are my superior in strength. I also will accompany you in your travels. Deign to accept my services." The prince was, of course, glad to receive such a desirable enforcement to his company and accepted Gootia Deo as his follower and fellow-traveller. Then the six friends leaving behind that city without citizens proceeded forward.

They travelled for months till they came to another large and well-peopled city. They took up their lodgings in an inn outside the city walls. Their land-lord was a kind and cheerful host and welcomed them most heartily. The travellers had reached the inn in a very happy moment, for it was the day on which the eldest and only son of the host was going to be married to a beautiful and rich heiress. The six travellers also joined merrily in the festivities of the day. When the marriage ceremony was over and a priest had tied the indissoluble knot between the bride and the bridegroom and when felicitations were pouring in upon the happy couple from all sides, a king's officer in red entered the inn and calling aside the host whispered something in his ears. The man gave a loud scream and fell in a deadly swoon on the ground and wailings and lamentations rose on all sides. The prince and his companions wondered at this sudden change and asked a marriage-guest to explain to them what the king's officer could have whispered which caused such wailing and lamentation in the house where a moment before all were so happy and gay. The marriage-guest replied with a deep

sigh:—"Know, Sirs, that about fourteen years ago a very horrible calamity befell our city. A terrible giant came here and began to spread havoc wherever he went. He began to swallow and devour whatever he could catch hold of. The citizens began to abandon the city and at last the king was forced to make peace with the cruel monster. It was agreed that the king should supply the giant daily with forty tons of bread, ten tons of ghee and one human being. So one of us was daily devoured by the giant and to-day the lot has fallen on the bride-groom just married and the king's officer came to inform the prince of this. When Shamsher Jang learned the cause of the grief of his landlord he at once resolved what to do. So going up to the company, he said:—"Gentlemen, you need not be saddened, but go on with your festivities. I will willingly go to this gaint in place of the bridegroom, and help to rid your fair city forever of this plague." Thus raising with his promise the damped spirits of the company, the prince went up with his companions to the place where the giant used to come for his food. He found there already four carts loaded with sweetmeats, cakes, and bread and one cart full of ghee. So the prince with his five friends began to keep watch, and when it was about midnight, a loud roar like that of thunder was heard, and a giant, whose head touched the sky, made his appearance. The five friends who had promised to back up the prince, ran into the carts and hid themselves under the loads of bread and butter as soon as they saw the hideous and frightful monster. But Shamsher Jang undaunted, though alone awaited with perfect composure and with drawn sword the approach of the giant. As soon as the giant had drawn near, the prince suddenly attacked him and separated his head in a moment from the trunk. Then cutting off the nose and the ears of the giant and putting them into his pocket, he returned to his friends and called them to come out of their recesses

as the giant was no more. As soon as they heard that the giant was killed they all jumped out and every one began to brag of his great courage. Weak-thirst said addressing the prince, "Master, master, shall I drink off the whole blood of this rogue of a giant?" Weak-sight not to be left behind his friend came forward and said:—"Master, shall I blow off the carcass with one arrow to a distance of a thousand miles?" Weak-appetite also came forward and said:—"Order me, prince, that I may devour this carcass whole and intact." So everyone began now, when the danger was over, to vaunt of his might and strength. But the prince calmly said:—"Friends, there is no necessity now of your valour and courage. I have had already many examples of your courage this night, so let us go back and have some sleep before it is day." So the prince and his friends returned to the inn and slept soundly.

Here, when it was day, the news reached the king that the giant was no more. His majesty hearing this happy news issued a proclamation ordering the giant-killer to come forth and receive the reward of his valour, *viz.*, the hand of the king's daughter and sovereignty over half the kingdom. The greed of this rich reward raised a host of claimants, each of whom swore that he had killed the giant. So the good monarch found himself in a dilemma, but the vizier soon helped him out of the difficulty, saying: "Your Majesty, when walking round the city this morning I happened to see the dead body of the giant. Observing the carcass with attention I found that the ears and the nose were missing. So if any of these claimants be the real giant-killer, he will be able to produce the missing nose and ears and that will solve the difficulty."

So when the king called upon them to produce the missing nose and ears all failed except the prince Shamsher Jang. So the king dismissed the others with a sharp reprimand: and, offered his daughter and half his kingdom to the prince. But Shamsher Jang declined the offer with thanks and asked the king to confer the great favor of his daughter's hand on Weak-body, and to divide the offered half of his kingdom among his five companions. The king granted the request of the prince, and the latter saw his friend Weak-body married to the Princess and his other friends enthroned as kings of five several kingdoms.

Then the prince took leave of the king and his friends, and went forward on his journey accompanied only by the faithful Gootia Deo. After months of travel and great hardships, the two friends reached a large and beautiful city. They entered the town and walked through it doing justice to all its sights, seeing its splendour and riches displayed in its well-stocked shops, and well-furnished houses. At last they came to a palatial building which out-shone all others in its magnificence and grandeur, and stood surrounded by houses like a king among his courtiers. The walls of the house were of pure gold, set in with diamonds, and other precious stones. Never had the travellers seen such a glorious and imposing sight. They entered the portico, and were struck with wonder and dismay on seeing a human skeleton in military accoutrements standing on either side of the entrance and a drum in the middle. On enquiring of the people what it meant, they learned that the house belonged to an heiress, the daughter of a rich merchant. She had taken a vow not to marry any person who could not fulfill four conditions; these skeletons being the bleaching remains of the unsuccessful lovers. Hearing this the prince gave a loud succession of blows on the drum, and made the palace ring with the noise, thus announcing the arrival of another candidate for the heiress' hand to the inmates of the house. Hearing the loud drumming, the merchant's daughter sent her maid-servant to enquire who might be the daring person who had beaten the drum so loud. The servant soon

returned conducting in the prince Shamsheer Jung. When the merchant's daughter saw the prince and found him good-looking, brave and well-spoken, she inwardly prayed that he might come out successful from the trial. The prince was no less charmed with the beauty, grace and intelligence of the merchant's daughter, and asked her the four conditions which must be fulfilled. She replied:—"Prince, the conditions are these: first, I have been preparing food for the last fourteen years and it is stored up in yonder house. It must all be eaten up at once by a single person; secondly, that tank which you see in the middle of the palace has been filled by the rains of fourteen summers. It must be drunk off by a single person; thirdly, on your left you see another tank; it is of hot water, which has been boiling by a perpetual fire underneath, these fourteen years; some one must bathe in it for an hour; fourthly, I have a cousin living five thousand miles from here. She must be brought here in a single day. These are the four conditions; now, can you fulfill them?" The Prince replied that he would try; but asked fifteen days' leave for the purpose. Taking the lady's leave, he came out of the house, and going up to Gootia Deo who was waiting outside, sent him to fetch all his friends whom they had left behind. The dwarf at once started on his errand and gave the message of the prince to his late travelling companions and followers.

No sooner had they received the prince's message than they started on their journey, and before the fortnight had expired, they presented themselves before their master. Prostrating themselves before the prince, they said:—"Master, we can never forget the kindness which you have shown us, and can never repay the deep debt of gratitude under which we lie. Tell us how we can be of any service to you." The prince told them that their respective powers would soon be put to the test, and that they could be of the great-

est service to him in his present emergency. He then related to them his encounter with the merchant's daughter and the four conditions, which he must fulfill or lose his life. The friends reiterated the proffer of their services, and when the appointed fifteen days were over they all accompanied the prince to the house of the merchant's daughter. When the prince and his friends were ushered into the presence of the lady, she asked:—"Are you ready to perform your promise?" The prince replying in the affirmative, the lady pointed to the house full of the fourteen years' accumulation of food and said, "Eat that up." The prince addressing Weak-appetite said:—"Now is the time to show the capacity of your stomach; fall upon the mountain of food." Weak-appetite replied:—"Master, shall I make a *sip* or a *sup*?" The prince who did not understand what his friend meant by the two words, asked him to explain himself. The other replied:—"Dear Master, by *sip* I mean the eating away of the food alone stored here; by *sup* is meant the eating up of the food together with the baskets, dishes, cups, tables, glasses, and the room containing it." The prince said:—"Friend, let it be *sup* then."

By this time the news had spread that wonderful feats of eating and drinking, bathing and walking were to be witnessed at the house of the rich lady, and thousands thronged the court-yard to see the performances. Great and deafening were the shouts of "Wah!" "Wah!" which the citizens raised when they saw Weak-appetite take hold of large sacks full of food, put them into his mouth and thrust them down his throat by an iron rod. Soon he emptied the house of its food, and began swallowing the dishes, cups &c. But the lady fearing lest all her precious furniture should find room in Weak-appetite's stomach, stopped the havoc, declaring that she was satisfied. Then the prince turning to Weak-thirst said:—"Now friend, dry up

yonder tank." The friend replied:—"Dear Master, shall I make a *nip* or a *nup*? "What do you mean by these words, my friend?" asked the prince. Weak-thirst replied,— "Master, *nip* is the simple drinking off of the water, and *nup* the drinking off of the water together with four yards deep of the mud and earth underneath and surrounding it." The prince replied: "Let it be *nup*." Then Weak-thirst fell upon the tank and drank off the whole water together with the mud, fountains, marble ghats, banks, &c. The shouts and cheers of the spectators echoed back from the sky. Then the prince addressing Weak-body said, "Friend, enter you tank of hot water." Weak-body replied, "Shall I bathe in the fashion of a *lip* or a *lup*?" On being asked by the prince to explain himself, he said:—"Dear master, *lip* is the method of simple bathing in this hot water for an hour or so. *Lup* is the process of bathing in this hot water as well as in the fire that heats it." The prince said:—"Let it be *lup* then." Then Weak-body plunged into the burning waters and swam and dived and played a hundred tricks therein for a full hour, and then bursting open with his foot the floor of the tank entered the furnace beneath and remaining in it for an hour came out amidst the applause of the by-standers.

Then the prince said to Weak-sight:—"Friend, look to the four quarters and see where is the cousin of this lady at this moment." Weak-sight did as he was asked to do, and after surveying the four-quarters of the globe carefully, replied:—"She is at this moment exactly five thousand miles due north from this place sitting in a delightful garden." The prince then asked the dwarf Gootea Deo to fly and fetch her. The Deo went there with the speed of lightning and entering the garden presented himself before the lady and gave her the message that she was required at her cousin's, the merchant's daughter. The lady asked the dwarf to sit down and

take some refreshments; he agreed to the proposal most gladly and had a most delicious repast. But no sooner had he finished it than he fell into deep sleep, for the food was all drugged. Here the prince became impatient and fretted at the delay which the dwarf made. But as hours rolled away and the dwarf made no appearance, the prince's brow became clouded at the prospect of certain death which awaited him. Then, when it was an hour to sunset, the merchant's daughter said:—"Prince, you are lost. Prepare to meet the reward of your temerity." "No, I have not yet lost my wager. It is an hour still to night and my servant may return in the meantime," said the prince, with the greatest coolness and indifference, though he had but little hope in his heart. Then the prince asked Weak-sight to see what was the matter with the Gootia Deo. Weak-sight looking towards the north cried out:—"Ha, ha, the rascal is sleeping under a tree. Wait, Master, I will soon awake him." Saying this he took up his bow, and discharged a well-aimed arrow at Gootia Deo, and it fell with a loud whirr near the ear of the sleeping dwarf. The sound at once aroused Gootia who rose up, rubbed his eyes, looked towards the sun and finding it was still one hour to nightfall went up to the lady and with the greatest composure and without betraying his own weakness, asked her to accompany him. Then without giving her any time to reply caught her by the waist, he put her on his shoulder and placed her before the merchant's daughter just as she was going to order the executioners to cut off the head of the prince. Great was the joy of the prince, his companions and the crowd assembled, at this sudden change of fortune, and at the very hour in which the prince was to have been executed, he was joined by the ties of matrimony to the merchant's daughter.

SHAIKH CHILLI.

AN OLD GERMAN EPIC

THE story of the Nibelungenlied is not so well known, outside Germany, that a writer can presuppose an acquaintance with it. Accordingly, the first part of our business is to recall it.

Once upon a time, it appears, there ruled in Burgundy a prince named Gunther, an unmarried man, with a sister named Kriemhild. Not far beyond his frontier lived Siegfried, a young knight of the Netherlands. Siegfried heard of Kriemhild's beauty and her reluctance to accept a husband; and he went off to Worms resolved to win her. He had the good fortune to help Gunther in a serious war, and soon afterwards he accompanied him to Iceland, and procured for him the hand of Brunhild. This is one of the great episodes of the poem. The Princess of Iceland, like Kriemhild, was not easily to be won. She had a magic girdle which conferred on her the strength of twelve men, and she challenged her suitors to a trial of strength in hurling rocks. If they lost, they lost their lives; and Gunther would have perished like his predecessors if Siegfried had not helped him. Siegfried had a little cap which rendered him invisible*; he came secretly to Gunther's aid, and Brunhild was beaten on her own ground. So Gunther's courtship ended in marriage, and Brunhild went back with him to Worms; but an uncomfortable wedding night he had of it. The lady repulsed him from her bed, tied his hand and foot and hung him up on a nail till the morning. He had to call in Siegfried's aid once more, and that stout hero wrestled with Brunhild till he secured her girdle and left her an ordinary mortal virgin.

* Similar accounts of magical caps are to be found in Indian Folk-tales. See, for instance, the one referred to in the folk-tale published in our last issue.—ED., M. R.

After that she subsided into a meek wife, and Gunther had no reason to complain of her. Siegfried now asked for Kriemhild, and with everyone's approbation and her own consent took her to wife. She loved him well, and returned with him to the Netherlands, a bride.

All this we may consider to be introductory. The tragedy of the poem is still to begin, and from Brunhild it broke out. She thought the alliance with Siegfried too low for her husband's sister, and she thought he stayed away too much in the Netherlands. She wanted him to come and do homage to Gunther, and after ten years she induced Gunther to send for him. He came bringing Kriemhild, and Gunther received him with a royal welcome; but Brunhild never forgave her suspicions. She took an opportunity to remind Kriemhild that Siegfried was only her husband's vassal; and she met with an answer that not a little surprised her. For Siegfried had told the story of the girdle to Kriemhild, and Kriemhild at once threw it in Brunhild's face. The two ladies parted in wrath; and Siegfried, when he heard the tale from his wife, knew that mischief would follow. No wonder he gave Kriemhild a sound beating; and next morning penitently she sought Brunhild, and asked her to let the matter rest. Brunhild affected to consent; she then proceeded to enquire of the foolish woman whether there was any danger that Siegfried particularly feared. She learned that he had one weak point. Long ago he had slain a dragon, and bathing in its blood had made himself proof against all weapons, save in one spot, on his shoulder, where a linden leaf had fallen and kept him dry. This was his weak spot; and Brunhild struck him through

it. * She arranged a hunting excursion, in the course of which a knight named Hagen treacherously slew him.

Thus ends the seconde episode of the story. Siegfried was bewailed and buried; his wife lived to avenge his death. She was sought in marriage by Etzel, the king of the Huns; and she accepted his hand to further her vengeance. Years passed away, and when she had won every heart in Hungary she sent a kindly invitation to Gunther to visit the Hungarian Court. Gunther was blind, but Brunhild knew what this meant, and Hagen, who is now the hero of the tale, knew it too. Nevertheless they scorned to show themselves afraid, and along with the chivalry of Burgundy Gunther undertook the fatal journey. When they reached the Court, the two kings, who had no quarrel, met on pleasant terms, but Hagen and Kriemhild wasted no time in pretences. The quarrel first broke out among the squires and inferior knights, and soon every sword was drawn. The Burgundians seized the banqueting hall, and defied the Huns. They were few in numbers, but all desperate men. Time after time they repulsed the Huns, who would have come to terms with them, had Kriemhild allowed such a thing. But she now faltered in her purpose, or flinched from the cost. Almost all the heroes of the two nations perished, and one by one the chief actors in the tragedy fell. Hagen and Kriemhild lived till the last, when Hagen overcome with wounds was bound and led into her presence. She struck off his head with Siegfried's sword, and accomplished her heart's

desire. A moment later she was killed by a Hungarian knight, who was angered by her cruelty.

Thus the story ends. When it is ended and we have read it through, what impression is left upon our minds?

In the first place, we are perhaps surprised to find that the theme is touched in so superficial a style. Religious sentiment plays no part in the poem. The court occasionally goes to mass; but outside the church religion does not affect them. The name of God they occasionally utter, but He is never present in their minds as a refuge or an avenger. One character alone, on one occasion, speaks in a different vein, the Margrave Radeger, who appears in the closing scenes. He is a follower of Kriemhild, bound by a positive promise to serve her, but no enemy of the Burgundians, whom he has no desire to fight. Kriemhild insists on his doing so, and with much agony of mind he enters the fray "Woe to me," he cries, "God-forsaken, that I have seen this day! I must forsake all my honour, all the truth and virtue that God has entrusted to me. Alas, O God in Heaven, that no grief will spare me this! Whichever side I leave and turn to the other, I have done wickedly; if I avoid both, all men will cry shame on me. Now may He, who gave me life, arise and guide me!" This is the language of a pious man; and it is curious it should be unique in the poem. The author is conscious of the horrid nature of his theme, but he never raises the eternal problem of evil. He differs, therefore, by a long interval from the Shakespear of King Lear.

He writes, most people could say, as an artist. He has a tale to tell, and thinks of nothing but telling it. This is his sphere and within it he is completely successful. No tale has ever been better told. The language employed is simple, in all senses; too simple in one, for its simplicity approaches rudeness; but it is perfectly direct, there is nothing

* A similar account is met with in the Mahabharata. Gandhari, the queen of the blind king Dhritarashtra, deprived herself, too, of the luxury of sight, by tying a strap of cloth over her eyes. During the great war of Kurukshetra she asked her eldest son Duryodhana to come to her quite naked, so that his body might become quite invulnerable to any weapon by her looking at him. He could not go to his mother all naked, but went with a narrow strip of cloth round his loins. On Gandhari's looking at him his whole body became invulnerable, except the hidden part. He was killed by Bhima with a stroke of his strong club at that weak point.—Ed., M. R.

tedious about it and in the course of the story it assumes at times tremendous power. The descriptions are never too long; they are carried just so far as to place before us the spirit of the scenes. At the right moment, we always find ourselves in sympathy with the situation.

The story, as already noted, falls into three parts. In the first part the artist lavishes all his colours on the portrait of Siegfried. Of him we may perhaps say that he is the finest expression in literature of the youthful hero. The great figures in the epics are not youthful; they are like Fitz-James:—

On his bold visage middle age

Had slightly stamped its signet sage.

Siegfried, however, meets us in the first flush of youth. Being a warrior and living in a warlike age, he regards the world as the prize of the strong arm, and when he visits Gunther for the first time, he greets him with the audacious proposal that they shall fight for their kingdoms and the victor shall take all. Happy, we may say, that Golden Age, when the native hue of resolution was not sicklied over with the pale hue of moral scrupulosity; and thrice happy Siegfried, who had such a glorious confidence in himself. He did not on this occasion need to justify it; he won his bride by helping and not by vanquishing his brother-in-law. But there was no vanity in his boast, nor any ferocity in his heart. Brave and kind and unsuspecting, he remains the ideal of youth, as men see it when years have taught them to value it. How pleasing are all his relations with Kriemhild! It was a case of love at first sight between them, swift in decision, unerring in fidelity. No one will grudge Siegfried his prize; if any one could do so, his modesty would disarm them. When Gunther proposed and Kriemhild accepted him for a husband, "Siegfried blushed under the eyes of his love; he offered his service to the lady. The court bade them stand side by side and formed a circle round them; then they

asked Kriemhild if she would take the hero's hand. Like a modest maiden she stood awhile abashed; yet such was Siegfried's happy destiny that she would not say "No" outright: so the prince of the Netherlands plighted his troth to her. Before all the heroes he took her in his arms and kissed her lovely face." The union thus happily begun was happy throughout; if Siegfried, as we have seen, once gave Kriemhild a beating, it was well meant, well deserved and accepted in the proper spirit. Soon afterwards when he set off on the fatal chase, "he kissed his true wife on the mouth:— 'God grant I may see thee well again, wife and thou see me; beguile the time with thy fair maidens; I must away.'"

During the chase we see him in all his glory. The hunters divided into parties, and Siegfried went off with one dog to explore the forest. Nothing could escape him, boars and lions and bison and deer fell beneath his arrows and the strokes of his keen sword, Balmung. At last he grew tired of success, and rejoined his comrades for the evening meal. It was nobly furnished, as became a royal chase, but one thing was wanting, the wine, for Hagen had cunningly sent it astray. So they had to drink at the stream, and as Siegfried bent to do so, Hagen stabbed him in the back, on the fatal spot where the linden leaf had fallen. He did not die without a struggle, but the wound was dealt by a sure hand and he perished. His dying words commended his wife to Gunther, and reminded his murderers that vengeance might overtake them.

So he passes out of the story; we see nothing more of his beauty and hear no more of his gay cheerful speeches. His place in the poem is taken by Hagen. One does not quite understand the root of Hagen's hostility towards him. It is not aversion to a foreigner, it is not jealousy; it is not devotion to Brunhild's person. It seems to be simply the antipathy of an alien temper. Hagen is as warrior as dauntless as Siegfried himself

but dark and fierce, impatient of all gaities and kindly jests, and implacable, once kindled to resentment. He never explains or justifies his hatred of Siegfried; it is like Siegfried's love for Kriemhild, a passion at first sight, that will not rest till it is satisfied. As for the course he took to satisfy it we do not feel that it deserves the charge either of cowardice or treachery; it was the only plan against Siegfried's magical powers. In other scenes Hagen evinces no lack of courage.

From the hour when Kriemhild sent her invitation to Hungary, all interest centres in him. He feels that he is pointed at and he assumes the lead throughout. Some one dreams an inauspicious dream, and dissuades him from the journey. "The man who trusts in dreams," says he, "cannot see what perfect honour requires of him." So off he rides, at the head of all the army, till they reach the Danube. The river is high in flood. "You must look for a ford, Hagen," says the king. "I am not so weary of my life," says Hagen, "that I mean to be drowned in these broad waves. Before that happens, many a man of Etzel's shall die by my hands; I am glad to think of it." So he went to look for a ferryman; and behold! he heard a splashing in the water, and he saw a group of women bathing in a lovely fountain. Mermaids they were; that flitted about the stream like birds. He knew they had mystic powers of prophecy and he asked them what the end of the expedition would be. "Not one of you shall return", said they, "save the King's chaplain". And Hagen proved this soon after, for he found a boat and got himself and the army ferried over and on the passage he suddenly threw the chaplain overboard. "By God's help," however, as the poet vaguely says, the chaplain swam ashore, and Hagen knew that the mermaids' prophecy would not fail.

So the Nibelungs travelled onwards till they reached the domains of Rudeger. This was a vassal of King Etzel's and he serves in the

poem as a foil to Hagen. He is not, like Siegfried, a hero who is a little more than a common man; but he is a model of common humanity at its best, graceful and accomplished. He lives in his castle with his wife and daughter; in connection with him we have a glimpse of domestic life. For two weeks he entertained the Nibelungs; and he sent them on their way with rich presents and good wishes. We have seen how he met them later on in battle. "Ye gallant Nibelungs," he cried, as he entered the hall, "take heed to yourselves; you shall put me to the proof and I you; once we were friends, but now I release me from my troth." They would scarcely believe it, but he assured them it must be; at last Hagen asked him for a new shield, as his shield was broken, and the Margrave handed him his own. In return Hagen promised that he should not die by his hand; and all the warriors wept. But a spirit of frenzy came over the Margrave, he rushed on the foe and perished; "in Rudeger, the father of all virtue lay dead."

But we are anticipating. We must follow Hagen to the court. Kriemhild welcomed her brother; but the words that passed between her and Hagen were few and menacing. When she approached him, he refused to rise; he sat grimly in his place with a sword laid across his knee. It had a golden hilt, adorned with a jasper greener than grass. Kriemhild knew it for Siegfried's sword and her heart burned within her. She charged him openly, for the first time, with Siegfried's murder; and he avowed it. But none of the knights who were with her took her hint to slay him; so the day passed away quietly. At night Hagen kept watch with his friend Volke, the Fiddler. This warrior, like a true German, was a musician; he played the violin, and he had brought one with him to Hungary. Moreover, his sword was shaped like a fiddle-bow, and great execution he did with it. Throughout the night Volke played and Hagen watched.

Next day there were courtesies again; in the evening Etzel feasted the visitors and showed them his little son, and promised to send him some day to Burgundy. "Methinks", said Hagen, "I see the mark of death on him; I shall not often pay my court to him." He meant what he said; next day there was a quarrel of the servants; and one Burgundian knight who was with them escaped alone to the court. He entered the room where all the knights were seated and told his tale, and Hagen knew that the hour was come. "Take we the king's wine, and drink love to each other," he cried, "let the young prince of the Huns taste it first;" with the words he struck off the child's head; and every sword at once was drawn. A moment's truce was allowed for the two kings to retire, with Kriemhild; then the struggle went on, till every Hun within the hall was slain. Kriemhild, escaped from slaughter, with bribes and entreaties persuaded all the chivalry of the Huns to take up the struggle; and for two days it lasted. The Burgundians fought incessantly; they took no sleep and for refreshment they drank the blood of the slain. Kriemhild set the hall on fire, but the Burgundians survived this; Hagen's spirit never failed him. "Stand by the wall," said he, "take heed the burning rafters fall not on your heads; tread them ever deeper in the blood." So the strife was renewed, and at last, as we know, Dietrich of Berne overpowered Hagen and brought him before the queen. She asked where Siegfried's hoard was hidden; "Daughter of hell!" said he, "you shall never see it."

Then he perished. We see him consistent to the end. Kriemhild too is consistent; yet in the course of her life there is a change. Before Siegfried's death she is not a remarkable figure, save for her attachment to her husband, which is deep and amiable. "See how he stands there," she said to Brunhild, "how loftily he steps before the knights, like

the bright moon ruling the stars. Truly I may well rejoice." One feels, she might have been more discreet; but there is nothing strange in the sentiment. After Siegfried's death every idea vanishes from her mind save that of vengeance.

The poet does not tell us that he considers this immoral; he neither praises nor dispraises her. Such is his attitude throughout. There are no moral judgments in the poem. It is more plain what he admires than what he condemns. Courage, fidelity, generosity and courtesy—these he clearly appreciates; but he passes no judgment on Kriemhild or Hagen. This is a notable fact; the *Nibelungenlied* may be cited in support of the maxim "art for art's sake." The same may be said of Homer and in more respects than this. Homer shows the same impartiality between the contending sides of his poem; Hector and Achilles are treated with equal sympathy; so are the Burgundians and the Huns.

Moreover, the author of the *Nibelungenlied* must be placed almost as high as Homer in artistic power. His story is finely planned, and the action moves with unfailing spirit. How different is the chaos of the Arthurian legends. The language of the speeches is forcibly characteristic; every word of Siegfried or Hagen displays the man. And the atmosphere at each stage of the tale is equally well maintained; the unclouded sunshine of the proem the horrors of the close. In fact there is no piece of literature that proceeds with greater power to a climax.

Criticising it from a wholly different point of view, we might ask "what is its relation to the life of its own age?" It seems to have been written about the end of the XIIth century, but when or by whom nobody knows. Like all such poems it draws on much older materials, but we cannot tell exactly what they were or how they were used. It is clear from the opening lines that the author conceives himself to be reciting a tale of the past

"In old stories we hear wondrous tales, of noble heroes and great deeds, of feasts and weddings, of tears and lamentations and strife between bold heroes; now may you hear a wondrous tale from me." But we may suppose his knowledge of the past to have been less perfect even than ours, and his picture is probably a picture of his own age with the attractive elements thrown into prominence. In some ways his notions of the past are obviously false; his political system, for instance, is not that of the earlier ages. His kings are already invested with an inherited divinity, which contrasts with their inactive rôle. * We may suppose the old German kings to have been less sacro-sanct but more vigorous rulers.

Nor can it be said that the poem is much evidence of the age in which it was written. The serious interests of life are absent from it. We can hardly believe the writer was almost a contemporary of Dante. Neither politics nor religion comes into view; and of course nothing is to be gathered about the daily life of Germany, though in England this very theme was soon afterwards to furnish the pages of Chaucer. The poem seems in fact to be related to its own age much as Trollope was to the Victorian era. It was written for novel readers of courtly circles. It reflects the lighter social side of chivalry; lighter, in spite of its tragedy, because the visionary and mystic elements of chivalry were not present in it. The chivalry of the Nibelungenlied would not have provoked Cervantes to write the adventures of Don Quixote.

We may find this a little curious when taken in connection with the characteristic German temper. The Germans are the mystics of Europe, and all the idealism of chivalry is theirs. Certainly one might have expected their national epic to possess a more spiritual tone. Wagner, I believe, in these

latter days, has tried to infuse into it something such; but I suspect, as they say, the old bottles have burst. Anyhow the Nibelungenlied cannot be taken very seriously; it is not a criticism of life. This is perhaps the reason why it has not been placed in the first line of literary works; and, if so, we have finally after all to reconsider the view that art should exist for art's sake. Such art as seems to abide by this canon is found in the end to be limited in power and interest.

To return, however, to the relation between the Nibelungenlied and Germany, one must add that in many ways the poem is thoroughly German. Very German is the unaffected pleasure which the knights and ladies feel in each others' company. There is no harm meant and none follows; it is all in accordance with the universal German view that the mutual admiration of the sexes is a lawful source of human happiness. The banquets, too, are thoroughly national; and finally, the occasional little touch of domestic happiness. It is easy to feel that we could have entered this world and lived comfortably in it. In this way the poem is interesting evidence of the continuity of European life.

With regard to its moral, as we have said, it has none, not even *cherchez la femme*. We must remember what the cynics mean by this, that women are more spiteful and more mischievous in the world than men. Now the Nibelungenlied no doubt centres on a feminine quarrel and one which suggests this conclusion; yet nothing would have come of it except for Hagen. The feminist may, therefore, answer that his vindictive temper is as great an evil in the world as Brunhild's inquisitive jealousy and her petty desire to humiliate Kriemhild. As for the nobler sides of the feminine temper, it is no doubt a mere misfortune that they are not depicted in the poem. And Kriemhild's inflexible pursuit of revenge is unquestionably a kind of wild justice.

* "I have died," says Wulfhart, "by a king's hand, a glorious death."

The Nibelungenlied belongs to the class of recreative literature. It is not easy for it to assume its own place in the libraries of the present day. To enjoy it one would have to master its old German, so far as not merely to make it out but to read it easily. This is not a very hard task, but the man who is busy with daily work must make a special hobby of it. And I wonder that old German poetry does not claim more votaries among English people, merely as a hobby. While its themes are not

uncongenial, its language escapes the hackney associations of the newspaper and the sixpenny magazine. In reading it we feel that we have escaped once more to the woods and the meadows, the birds and the flowers that Germans and Englishmen and most Europeans love. And in the Nibelungenlied the human characters are real, and we can really understand them. "Old wood to burn; old wine to drink; old books to read; and old friends to keep company with."

J. NELSON FRASER.

CO-OPERATIVE CREDIT SOCIETIES

HOW to relieve agricultural indebtedness and ameliorate the woful condition of the average ryot, with about 7 to 10 acres of land for cultivation, from year to year, is the problem which has occupied public attention these many years. That it is a problem set with many difficulties can not be gainsaid. But it is not one which defies solution. Indeed a laudable attempt was made some twenty years ago to establish an agricultural bank on a modest scale to extricate the Deccan peasantry from their chronic condition of want and distress. Sir William (then plain Mr.) Wedderburn, in consultation with a few earnest friends, notably the late Messrs. Ranade and Mandalik, had sketched out a skeleton scheme on a most practical basis, which, as is well known, passed the searching ordeal of Lord Ripon's Government, with so able and trained an expert in economics as Sir Evelyn Baring, now Lord Cromer. Sir William next interested himself in getting the approval of some of the sympathetic parliamentarians of the day, specially Mr. John Bright. With that object in view,

he read a carefully prepared paper explaining his scheme before the East India Association. It was intelligently discussed and heartily approved of. But the India Council, with its deep-rooted conservatism, its bureaucratic instincts, and woful want of practical experience, pigeon-holed the modest scheme, so well-considered and far-reaching in its beneficent effects. As the ultimate tribunal for sanctioning or vetoing all reforms, having for their object the welfare of the masses, the India Council is infinitely worse than the House of Lords. However strong the opposition of the latter, it is subject to the solvent criticism of the nation at large. No such check or influence could be brought to bear upon the former, which for all practical purposes is more potential in its absolute autocracy than the Kaiser and the Tsar or the Ottoman ruler on the banks of the Bosphorus. Thus the first practical scheme of an agricultural bank came to grief.

Since that date spasmodic efforts have been made here and there but to no avail. The Viceroyalties of Lord Lytton and Lord Dufferin

were notorious more for glory and gunpowder, for foreign conquests and frontier wars, than for peaceful domestic reforms, specially agricultural. But more disastrous than the Afghan war, the seizure of Upper Burmah, the Benjdeh scare, and other kindred warlike expeditions—utterly uncalled for and criminally wasteful—was the Lansdownian regime, which by its reckless and blind currency policy destroyed by one stroke of the pen half the petty savings and hoardings of the masses, specially the tillers of the soil. It created the dishonest Rupee, which has still to be rehabilitated. The agriculturist, impoverished as he was, and hopelessly involved in debt, was now hit beyond all compare. So that it is using only the language of sober truth to say that his material condition in 1893-94 was infinitely worse than what it was during the calamitous famine year of 1876-77. But no thought was bestowed on improving the condition of that miserable entity. The rulers were more keenly anxious how to award a compensation allowance to the members of the services, who had fallaciously raised the cry of low exchange, than to redress the wrongs of the ryot. It was alleged that this exchange was most unfavourable for family remittances; but the fact was ignored that the fewer sovereigns which were exchangeable at the time for Rupees, in no way diminished their purchasing power in the gold using countries. On the contrary, it was demonstrated that the greater appreciation of gold had diminished prices from forty to fifty per cent., which was every way favourable to the families of Anglo-Indian officials residing in England. But when has India ever witnessed practical statemanship in finance and economics at the seat of Government?

Famine, however, once more visited the land, aye, two famines one after the other, more widespread and disastrous in their intensity than the one of 1877-78. The attention of the sympathetic British people was drawn

to the melancholy fact. The true causes of famine were more intelligently discussed than ever they were before. The amelioration of the condition of the peasantry was the theme of many a well-meaning critic in the British Press. The net outcome of that criticism was the establishment of a Famine Union under the presidency of Lord Courtenay, owing mainly to the disinterested and untiring efforts of Sir William Wedderburn. The Union made it clear to the British public that the two severe famines were famines of money more than of food. It also appealed to the then Secretary of State to cause a survey to be made of typical villages which might be found in a condition of increasing agricultural indebtedness, with the ultimate object of relieving it by some practical means. The urgency of extended irrigation works in tracts constantly liable to famine was also earnestly pleaded; and, next, the project of instituting agricultural banks on the lines previously laid down was once more revived. Owing to the circumstances stated above, the question was not only persistently discussed by the Indian press but was vigorously urged on the Government of India. That authority deputed Sir F. Nicholson to consider how far the institution of co-operative credit societies, which have proved such a success on the continent of Europe, might be possible and practicable in India. That official, with commendable industry, energy and ability, submitted his report, with the result that the Government of India, after some delay, was enabled to enact the legislation which is known as the Co-operative Credit Societies Act.

It is superfluous to enter into the details of that enactment. It is contended for it by those who support it, that as the practical operations of the Act come to be tested, its beneficence and utility will come to be universally recognised. On the other hand, there is a school of pessimists which has expressed its scepticism about its general success.

Credit Societies, it is urged, must have a basis of substantial credit to carry on their operations. But where, in the case of the majority of the poor agriculturists, was credit? It was nowhere. To found co-operative societies without credit, was a hopeless task, liable even after years of experiment to dismal disappointment. But it is rejoined that in spite of indebtedness and lack of credit, agricultural credit societies have flourished in Europe and are recognised to-day as an unqualified success. What is there to prevent such societies, if well nursed and economically managed, from becoming an equal success? The cardinal principles of that success were self-help and thrift. It is the persistent carrying into effect of these principles that has made the condition of continental farmers so much better to-day than what it was half a century ago. The principle and work of what are known in Germany and Austria as Raiffeisen associations are well worth following in this country, subject to the idiosyncrasies of our Indian ryots. It is no doubt the fact that to-day not only are these Co-operative Credit Associations established all over the German Empire, in direct and vital connexion with a Central Institute at Neuwied, but there are Farmer's Co-operative Stores affiliated to them. These exist in great numbers, while the central authorities have called into existence, for the common good, a series of huge establishments for the supply of agricultural requisites of all kinds. The magnitude of the system of Raiffeisen institutions is undoubted. An idea may be gained from the fact that it requires a permanent staff of 300 officials of all grades. During the half a century of their existence, it has not happened once that a member has suffered owing to the enforcement of the rules on which their financial foundation is laid by means of what are called "business shares."

Considering all that has been urged about these continental associations, it seems proble-

matical whether the credit societies which have now sprung up in India are destined to achieve the same success. In the first place there is the illiteracy of the Indian ryot which cannot be made light of. No doubt farmers everywhere are supposed not to be well educated; but still it cannot be said of the continental farmers that they are as bereft of the knowledge of the three R's as the mass of our poor tillers of the soil are. And the question is whether these illiterate cultivators would thoroughly understand the guiding principles, and strive to exercise the virtues of unselfishness and mutual help. Secondly, it may be pointed out that the 4,000 and more rural co-operative loan associations which are affiliated to the Neuwied Central Organisation all draw their funds from that great reservoir. The motive power of the entire Raiffeisen organisation comes from that source. The Central Bank is recognised to be absolutely essential. It is admitted to be a great practical advantage to have such a central institution to which the many minor organisations could look forward for obtaining funds which are beyond their own power to raise. This Central Bank, it may be observed, was established thirty years ago with a capital of £250,000 in shares of £50 each. It has an annual turnover of over 25 millions sterling. It can hardly be said that in India there has yet been established a single Central Bank in a single province, let alone a district, with a capital commensurate even to the moderate requirements of the agricultural population, to feed the co-operative Central Societies which may have been established. Our information is that three years ago there were as many as 4,000 rural co-operative loan associations in Germany affiliated to the Neuwied central organisation. There were about 2 lakhs of farmers from whom loans were outstanding representing over fifteen millions sterling. These had been advanced for the purchase of land and buildings, improvements to farms

purchase of live-stock and so on. The rate of interest ranged from $3\frac{1}{2}$ to 3 per cent. It is not surprising under the circumstances that Raiffeisen institutions have become firmly rooted on the Continent and are a great financial success.

Thirdly, continental agricultural conditions are in no way identical with those prevailing among Indian peasantry. It is not right, therefore, to say that with the planting of credit societies somewhat on the continental principles, we shall attain the same success here or anything approaching it. To predicate such success is to draw too largely upon our credulity. It is here that the ardent advocates of our Indian Co-operative Credit Societies are stumbling and groping in the dark.

But it is said that these institutions must grow and that sufficient time should be allowed to enable us to judge of their success. Granting that adequate time must be allowed for a healthy and natural growth, the question might still be asked, whether under the conditions existing in this country our Indian co-operative credit societies are likely, even after another ten years, to take a firm root in the land and achieve the primary object with which they have been started, or are there intrinsic defects in the whole scheme itself which must sooner or later require wholesale amendment? It is the opinion of those who have given serious thought to the matter, and that with an open mind, that the legislation is in itself inherently defective and that, therefore, it will fail in its object. At the best it is a palliative, not a radical remedy, for extricating the ryot from his debt and helping him on to the path of comparative agricultural prosperity. It is not by means of societies of the character now springing up that any material amelioration in the condition of the Indian peasant could ever be looked for. The legislation is as much liable to prove a comparative failure in the end as

the Deccan Agriculturists' Relief Act after the experience of a quarter of a century.

Here, we may take a brief survey of the existing situation. According to the latest official statistics, there is a total agricultural population of 17.26 crores which is fully assessed for purposes of land revenue. This population, more or less, is known to live from hand to mouth, though it is not possible to say what may be its total indebtedness. From the recent Despatch of the Government of India to the Secretary of State, dated 17th January last, it appears that the number of co-operative credit societies recorded was 490, of which 433 were rural, 35 urban and 2 central; and that the total number of members registered was 26,720. In other words, one ryot in every 6,500 of the agriculturist population belonged to these societies! Next, the capital raised by them amounted to Rs. 4,97,125, say, 5,00,000 in round numbers. This works out to a loan of Rupees eighteen per head on an average! But private persons contributed 1,40,539 Rupees and the share capital came to 1,23,925. The actual deposits of members themselves came to 1,23,925 Rupees and the State advance came to 70,152 Rupees. Thus the individual contribution of each of the 26,720 persons came to Rs. 4.6 on an average. This was the measure of the contribution per each unit, and it must be left to the reader to say whether with this help of 4.6 Rupees or the conjoint one of Rs. 18, each one of the 26,720 agriculturists could have derived such a substantial benefit as to have partially, if not wholly, extricated themselves from their heavy load of debt, let alone improvement in tillage, which is the same thing as better production. Contrast this co-operative contribution of Rs. 18 per unit with single loans, ranging from £ 10 to £ 50, in Egypt under the beneficent scheme so successfully carried on by the Agricultural Bank of Egypt. As many as 45,267 loans, ranging from £ 10 to £ 50 were advanced only in a single

year, in 1905, according to Lord Cromer's report. The total number of loans of a similar description outstanding at the end of 1904 was 96,234. Therefore, in all, 1,41,501 loans were given. Taking an average of £ 15 or say 225 Rupees, the sum advanced in five years amounted to Rs. $225 \times 141501 = \text{Rs. } 3,18,37,725$. It may be reasonably asked whether there is the slightest prospect of the Indian societies advancing, say, even 1 crore at the end of their operations during the coming ten years? Judging from the very nature and constitution of these institutions, with their restrictions and limitations, he would indeed be a bold person who could forecast such a happy future. At any rate we are in no way sanguine.

The despatch of the Government, moreover, is silent on the subject of the financial condition of these borrowers. Were they all free from debt? And if not free, what was the aggregate amount of their debt, and what was the actual average rate of interest? The great object is to see the peasant first extricated from his former financial obligations with the sowcars. For unless he is wholly emancipated from the thralldom of that entity, it is idle to look for any prosperity, however modest, in his own farmstead. The greatest scepticism must, therefore, prevail on this subject so long as the operations of these credit societies show such poor and unsatisfactory results as are revealed in the State despatch. We are free to make every allowance for the fact that the societies are still in their infancy. But it is a question whether even at the end of the next ten years they would be in a position to show sufficiently satisfactory results. Will they be able to inform the public that even 50 per cent. of the existing debt of their constituents or borrowers will be wiped off; and that they will be

agriculturally better off every way? Looking from the practical and business point of view the prospect seems, we repeat, to be far from hopeful. At a rough computation, based on official figures, the value of the principal agricultural products—food grains and merchantable—raised last year, amounted to 600 crores. How much of this actually belonged to the 17·23 crores of agriculturists who were assessed to the full value of their land, and how much of it was pledged to sowcars or middle men? Unless data of the character essential for a right and correct understanding of the economic situation of the agriculturists are made available, it is impossible to say how far the Co-operative Credit Societies are likely to prove either a success or a failure. At present considerable scepticism must necessarily prevail on the subject, and it is altogether problematical whether, without the aid of central banks of the character now to be witnessed in Germany and Austria, which are really the great reservoirs of the immense funds from which the thousands of rural co-operative institutions are fed, it is at all possible to expect that even after an experiment of ten or fifteen years any material amelioration will take place in the condition of the ryot. Meanwhile the experiment should be carefully and sympathetically watched and all practical difficulties which may become discernible from time to time should be removed. Ten years would suffice to give us ample data to found a definite judgment and pronounce on the success or non-success of the present method. And though we entertain the greatest scepticism on the subject, we are willing to keep an open mind and watch the operations of these organisations from year to year.

AN INDIAN

THE VEDIC FATHERS

10. *The Pitris were more or less deified.*

(a) They have sometimes been addressed as gods.

महिम्न एषां पितरश्च नेशिरे देवा देवष्व दधुरपि
क्रतुम् ।

[Translation given above.]

(b) They attained divinity.

ये तातृषुर्देवत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदः स्तोमतष्टासो
अकैः ।

आग्ने याहि सुविदत्रेभिरवाङ् सत्यैः कव्यैः पितृभि-
र्धर्मसद्भिः ॥ १० । १५ । ९

Those thirsting fathers who attained divinity, who knew how to invoke gods and who carved out hymns with riks—with them, the sages, the truthful, the poets and who used to sit near the *gharma* vessel (for boiling milk for the gods), come to us O Agni.

—X.15. 9.

(c). They were prayed to as if they were both for favours and to abstain from any harm.

भवन्तु नः पितरः सुप्रवाचना उत देवी देवपुत्रे
तातृषु । १ । १०६ । ३

May the sweet-hymn-uttering fathers as well as the divine couple, heaven and earth, magnified by sacrifices and having gods for their children, protect us.—I. 106. 3.

ब्राह्मणासः पितरः सोम्यासः शिवेनो द्यावा-
पृथिवी अनेहसा । ६ । ७५ । १०

May our hymn-uttering, Soma-loving fathers and sinless heaven and earth, be beneficent to us.

—VI. 75. 3.

मे भू णो अत्र जुहुरन्त देवा मा पूर्वे अग्ने
पितरः पदज्ञाः ।

पुराण्योः सन्नोः केतुरन्तः.....॥ ३४ । ५५ । २

May the gods never hurt us—may the fathers who knew the home, O Agni, never hurt us when the banner of light (= the sun) makes his appearance between the two old homes...III. 55. 2.

मा हिंसिष्ट पितरः केन चिन्नो यद्वा आगः पुरुषता-
कराम । १० । १५ । ६

Harm us not for any sin we might have committed through human weakness.—X. 15. 6.

(d). They were invited to the sacrifices along with the gods and were believed to come in the same cars with the gods and like them to drink the Soma-juice and eat the *prodasas* sitting on the grass seats :—

इमं यम प्रस्तरमा हि सीदांगिरोभिः पितृभिः सं
विदानः ।

आ त्वा मंत्राः कविशस्ता वहं त्वेना राजन् हविषा
मादयस्व ॥ २० । २४ । ४

अंगिरोभिरागहि यज्ञियेभिर्यम वैरुपैरिह माद-
यस्व । विवस्वतं हुवे यः पिता तेऽस्मिन् यज्ञे बर्हिष्या-
निषद्य ॥ ५ ।

यमाय मधुमत्तमं राज्ञे हव्यं जुहोतन ।

इदं नम ऋषिभ्यः पूर्वजेभ्यः पूर्वैभ्यः पथिकृद्भ्यः
॥ १५ ॥

United with the Angirases, O Yama, come and sit on this grass seat spread here. May the hymns uttered by the Kavis bring you. Be exhilarated, O King, with this libation. X. 14. 4.

Come, O Yama, with the adorable Angirases who can assume any form they please and rejoice in our sacrifice.

I call also Vivasvan who is your father to sit on the grass seat in this sacrifice—5.

[X. 14. 15. Translation given above. I give below in original as well as in translation hymn 15 of the tenth *mandal*—the only entire hymn in the Rīgveda Samhita on the Pitris.]

पितरः

उदीरतामवर उत्परास उन्मध्यमाः पितरः
सोम्यासः । असुं य ईयुरवृका ऋतज्ञास्ते नोऽवन्तु
पितरो हवेषु ॥ १ ॥

इदं पितृभ्यो नम अस्त्वद्य ये पूर्वासो य उपरास
ईयुः । ये पार्थिवे रजस्या निषत्ता ये वा नूनं सुवृजनासु
विश्व ॥ २ ॥

आहं पितृन्सुवित्रां अवित्सि न पातं च विक्रमणं
च विष्णोः ।

बर्हिषदे ये स्वधया सुतस्य भजन्त पित्वस्त इहा
गमिष्ठाः ॥ ३ ॥

बर्हिषदः पितर उत्थर्वाणिमा वो हव्या चक्रमा
जुषध्वम् ।

त आगतावसा शन्त मे नाथा नः शं योररपो
दधात ॥ ४ ॥

उपहृताः पितरः सोम्यासो बर्हिष्येषु निधिषु
प्रियेषु । त आगमन्तु त इह श्रवन्त्वधि ब्रवन्तु तेऽव-
न्त्वस्मान् ॥ ५ ॥

आच्या जानु दक्षिणतो निषद्येयं यज्ञमभि गृणीत
विश्वे ।

मा हिंसोष्ट पितरः केन चित्रो यद्वा आगः पुरुषता
कराम ॥ ६ ॥

आसीनासो अरुणीनामुपस्थे रयिं धत्त दाशुषे
मर्त्याय ।

पुत्रेभ्यः पितरस्तस्य वस्वः प्रयच्छत त इहोर्जे
॥ ७ ॥

य नः पूर्वे पितरः सोम्यासोऽनूहिरे सोमपीथं
वसिष्ठाः ।

तैमिर्यमः संरराणो हवींष्यशन्नुशद्भिः प्रतिकाम-
मन्तु ॥ ८ ॥

ये तातृषूदेवत्रा जेहमाना होत्राविदः स्तोम
तष्टासो अर्कैः ।

आग्न याहि सुविदत्रेभिरर्वाङ् सत्यैः कव्यैः
पितृभिर्धर्मसद्भिः ॥ ९ ॥

ये सत्यासो हविर्देहा हविष्पा इन्द्रेण देवैः सरथं
दधानाः ।

आग्ने याहि सहस्रं देववन्दैः परैः पूर्वैः पितृभि-
र्धर्मसद्भिः ॥ १० ॥

अग्निष्वात्ताः पितर एह गच्छत सदः सदः
सदतः सुप्रणीतयः ।

अत्रा हवींषि प्रयतानि बर्हिष्यथा रयिं सर्ववीरं
दधातन ॥ ११ ॥

त्वमग्न ईक्षितो जातवेदोऽवाङ्मह्यानि सुरभीणि
कृत्वी ।

प्रादाः पितृभ्यः स्वधया ते अक्षन्नद्धि त्वं देव
प्रयता हवींषि ॥ १२ ॥

ये चेह पितरो ये च नेह यांश्च विद्म यां उचन
प्रविद्म ।

त्वं वेत्थ यति ते जातवेदः स्वधाभिर्यज्ञं सुकृतं
जुषस्व ॥ १३ ॥

ये अग्निदग्धा ये अनग्निदग्धा मध्ये दिवः स्वधया
मादयन्ते ।

तैभिः स्वराल सुनीतिमेतां यथावशं तन्वं कल्प-
यस्व ॥ १४ ॥

May the highest, middlemost and lowest Soma-offer-
ing fathers start for our sacrifice—May they who have
obtained the life of a spirit, who are gentle and
know the sacrificial laws, protect us when we in-
vocate them—1.

May this salutation, to-day, be for those fathers
who had gone away first and to those who followed
to those who are staying in the earthly region and to
those who are surely in houses where great sacrifice
are performed—2.

I have known the wise fathers. I have known the
descendants of Vishnu and his stepping (1). Those
fathers who sit on the sacrificial grass have come.
May they enjoy the Soma-libation offered with the
utterance of *Svadhā*—3.

Fathers who sit on the sacrificial grass, come ye with
your succour and this libation made for you, enjoy
You come with protection that gives happiness. Give
us happiness and sinlessness—4.

The Soma-loving fathers have been invited to the
dear thing laid on the sacred grass. May they come
may they listen to us; may they speak about us; may
they protect us—5.

The report on the Industrial Conference work and the record of general industrial activity in the country during the year 1906, prepared in the office of the Indian Industrial Conference at Amraoti and presented to the second session of the Conference held recently at Calcutta, contains a mass of useful information not otherwise easily accessible to the general reader. The work done in the office of the General Secretary of the Conference is creditable, considering the limited resources at his disposal and the fact that it was the very first year of the Conference. Less seems to have been done by the several Provincial Committees established by a Resolution of the Benares Industrial Conference. India being a country of vast distances and local conditions varying widely as they do, it is not altogether easy for one central office to do much by way of practical work; and it is to Provincial agencies that one has to look for large efforts in this direction. This being so, it is undoubtedly a matter for regret that the Provincial Committees should have done so much less than their opportunities permitted. We need not, however, be discouraged. The committees were not wholly inactive, and give promise of acquitting themselves more creditably this year. We should also bear in mind that the members of the Provincial Committees did much in other capacities for the promotion of industrial development in their several Provinces. Provincial Industrial Conferences were held last year in the Central Provinces and Madras Presidency; this year they will be held in the Bombay Presidency and the United Provinces as well. The record of general industrial activity is most interesting as well as useful. The Government of India and the several Provincial Governments have not been idle. Section A of Part II, in which is given in

publication of the Government of India, contains industrial movements and of the measures adopted by it in aid thereof, contains abundant proof of the necessity of Government co-operation for the success of the efforts made by the people themselves, the willingness of Government to render us some help, and the futility of our hoping to do absolutely without Government support. But, more remarkable than what has been done by Government, as the Report says, is the activity of the people themselves.

"Not so very long ago the reproach was freely levelled against educated Indians, even by persons whose genuineness of whose friendship for India as a people was not questioned, that they bestowed comparatively little attention on so important a sphere of national activity as the development of the industrial life of the country. Whatever ground for such criticism there might have been, it must be admitted that there is a real awakening to the claims of the industrial problem on the thought and activity of educated India. The erection of mills and factories, the formation of Joint Stock Companies, the establishment of banks, the spread of technical education, have all had considerable impetus given to them during the year. While Industrial and Agricultural Exhibitions seem to have become quite the order of the day. The most potent factor in bringing about the remarkable increase in industrial activity which has during the last twelve months and more manifested itself in the different parts of the country is undoubtedly the stimulation of demand for country-made articles in preference to foreign goods and a large number of 'Swadeshi' industries on the co-operative basis has been opened to meet the great and growing demand for them. To this has been added the born enthusiasm for the "Swadeshi movement" which owe among other things the revival of the handicraft industry, the manufacture in the country of the many small articles of daily use for which the people were till lately dependent entirely on foreign things, and added prosperity to the Indian cotton mills."

The Calcutta Congress Exhibition has been a great success. "These annual exhibitions fulfil a double purpose. First, they inspire manufacturers with healthy emulation and enable them to make the products of the different provinces known to all India; and

and prize the valuable articles of daily use to obtain information, and collect articles from all India for the use of purchasers in the province of India." They have been a failure; but they have shown our backwardness in utilizing the resources at hand. The mineral and vegetable resources of India are vast. Her sons are patient and intelligent toilers. They have inventive brains, too, to a great extent. But they are wanting in enterprise, in the knowledge of machinery, in technically trained hands and brains, and lastly, in organised capital and labour. Unless we rouse ourselves betimes to the opportunities and the perils of the situation, the more enterprising capitalists and captains of industry of the West are sure to exploit all our resources, intelligence and cheap labour, leaving us in a worse condition of serfdom to western industrialism than we are in at present. In that case it would be better for us not to hold any exhibitions at all.

His Majesty the Amir of Afghanistan seems to be imbued with a true progressive spirit. He is intelligent and energetic and in expressing himself against the sacrifice of cows by Mussalmans amidst the Hindu population of India, has shown a statesmanlike breadth of view, tolerance and magnanimity. His attitude in this respect as also his declaration that he has stopped the public slaughter of cows at Kabul, has shown what was known from past history that oriental monarchs can and do act on the principle of religious toleration; thus putting to shame those Anglo-Indian officials who take delight in fanning the flames of religious bigotry, with what degree of secrecy, we need not say. It also shows that the presence of the westerner in India is not absolutely necessary, as has been sometimes claimed on his behalf, to put a stop to religious feuds, which he has sometimes fomented for his own purposes. But the greatest lesson of the Amir's visit is perhaps that of the

professing any other faith would have asked all his co-religionists to renounce and to adore God with him?—Herein lies the strength of the Pan-Islamic movement. The Muhammadan subjects of King Edward VII feel that they are bound by holy ties to the Amir, as they do to the Sultan of Turkey. If His Catholic Majesty the King of Spain were to visit India, would Indian Roman Catholics feel bound to him by any ties at all? In so far perhaps as the Mussalman feels the spirit of Pan-Islamism, even though unconsciously, he becomes the less a patriot; but, if we may be permitted to say so, he becomes in the eyes of the ruling power a more important political factor to be reckoned with than the Hindu. The Mussalman, in addition to whatever internal strength he may possess, has this extraneous source of strength. The Hindu must depend upon his internal strength alone. This may be an advantage or a disadvantage. But the fact is there, and should not be forgotten.

It is good that the Amir should be in favour of Western learning. But we hope he understands that, if culture refines and ennobles, it may enervate also, unless proper safeguards are provided. Railways, the telegraph, steam-propelled machinery, the electric light, the motor-car and other mechanical inventions must have impressed him duly, and he must feel inclined to introduce these into his territories. But the experience of India shows, that unless the Afghans themselves can take independent charge of all these adjuncts of material civilization at no distant date, they had better not be introduced at all for the present. Their premature introduction can only spell the industrial ruin and serfdom of Afghanistan, and possibly her political extinction, too. The first duty of the Afghan people and their king is to master the Western weapons of industrial, commercial and military

O fathers all, bending your knees and sitting on the right side, accept this sacrifice—whatever offence we have given you on account of our human weakness, do not punish us for it—6.

Ye fathers, seated near the flame of Agni, bestow wealth on the mortal offerer of libation; on his son and on the men present here—7.

The Soma-loving Vasisthas—our fathers of old who had themselves offered Soma drink; Yama who desires them, being delighted with them who desire him, eats our offerings at his pleasure—8.

Those thirsting fathers who have attained divinity, who knew how to invoke gods and who carved out hymns with riks—with them the sages, the truthful, the poets who used to sit near the gharma vessel (for boiling milk for the gods), come to us, O Agni—9.

Those truthful *havi*-eating and *havi*-drinking fathers who drive in the same chariot with Indra and other gods—come, O Agni, with those thousand fathers who adored the gods, with those who died recently and with those who died long ago and who sat near the gharma vessel—10.

Come ye fathers tasted by Agni; ye good leaders, sit ye each in your proper place; eat the pure oblations laid on the sacred grass and give us wealth consisting of heroes—11.

Being adored by us, O all-knowing Agni, make the oblations savoury and carry and give them to the fathers. They eat uttering the cry of *Svadhā*. You too partake of the pure offerings—12.

Those fathers who are here and those who are not here; those whom we know and those whom we do not know well, you know them all, O all-knower. Accept this sacrifice which has been well performed with *Svadhā*—13.

Those fathers who have been burned by Agni and those who have not been so burned and who in heaven enjoy the offerings—with them, O self-shining one, transform this body—the holder of spirit in any way you please—14.

N. B. 3(1) विष्णोः नशतं च विक्रमण च—why the Pitris have been called descendants of Vishnu and why in this connection the stepping of Vishnu has been mentioned at all, will be explained while dealing with the *trivikramanam* of Vishnu.

(e.) *Powers of the Pitris over cosmic phenomena*:—When the Pitris were more or less deified, they were believed to have taken part in the creation of the world and to have controlling powers over cosmical phenomena like gods.

अभिश्वावं न कुशनेभिरश्वं नक्षत्रेभिः पितरो
द्यामपिंशन् ।

रात्र्यां तमो अदधुर्ज्योतिरहन् । १० । ६८ । ११

The fathers adorned the sky with stars as a black horse is adorned with golden ornaments.—X. 68. 11.

आविरभून्महि माघोनमेषां विश्वं जीवं तमसो
निरमोचि ।

महिय्योतिः पितृभिर्दत्तमागात् १० । १०७ । १

The great gift of these (fathers) has appeared—all creatures have come out of darkness. The great light (= sun)—the gift of the Pitris, has come. X. 107. 1.

Remarks: The Rishi is going to eulogise the gifts of his *Yajamāns*. He begins by referring to the great gift of the Pitris—महि ज्योतिः the great light of heaven.

त इद्देवानां सधमाद आनन्नुतावानः कवयः
पूर्वसिः ।

पूड्हं ज्योतिः पितरो अन्वविन्दन्त् सत्यमंत्रा
अजनयन्नुषासम् ॥ ७ । ७६ । ४

They were indeed the companions of the gods in enjoying the Soma juice—the righteous singers of old.

The fathers found the hidden light and with true hymns they generated the Ushas.—VII. 76. 4.

सहस्रणीथाः कवयो ये गोपायन्ति सूर्यम् । १० ।
१५४ । ५

[Translation given above.]

त्वं सोमपितृभिः संविदानोऽनु द्यावापृथिवी
आतंथ । ८ । ४८ । १३

United with the Pitris, O Soma, you have spread forth heaven and earth.—VIII. 48. 12.

A. C. SEN.

(To be concluded.)

MRS. ANNIE BESANT'S POLITICAL DICTA.

To an interviewer of the *Madras Mail* Mrs. Besant is reported, among other things, to have said: "English democracy cannot be planted in India. India is not fitted for it." This famous pronouncement chiefly shows that foreigners do not usually take the trouble to grasp the Indian national point of view. Just as the Japanese did not plant the "English" or any other exactly Western type of democracy in Japan, but a national democracy of their own with such personal loyalty to the sovereign as certainly does not exist in England at any rate; so we are trying to have our own national *Swaraj*. *Swaraj* does not mean an attempt to plant 'English democracy' in India, it means the human right of Indian democracy to find self-expression in its own country and amongst its own people in its own way. Speaking of democracy, however, English people may be startled to hear that in the Indian opinion India has been from ancient times immensely more skilled in the mode and habit of democratic self-government than England has ever cared to know or believe. Were not our wonderful self-contained village-communities, which British rule has destroyed, democratic? Are not our caste *panchayets* and *biradaris*, which still maintain a vigorous existence in most provinces, run on democratic lines? Is not each caste in its internal economy a democracy, in which the richest, most powerful and most learned member is but equal in social position and rights to the humblest? Is not the undivided Indian family a democracy? In a joint family when a point of family conduct or policy is to be settled, it is not unoften seen that all the sons are gathered and the matter in question decided after due consid-

eration of the opinions of all. It is because democracy existed and exists in our villages, castes, and families, that it is easy to explain at once why the Congress and Western political methods generally have been such a success in India. In one sense, the causes of dissension and the difficulty of preserving unity are greater in the home than in the city, greater in the city than in the nation; for with enlarging area, impersonal considerations become increasingly determinative. To a people, therefore, who are accustomed to this democratic self-government in the most difficult of all spheres, *viz.*, the home or the family, the work of running the country, as our friends the Americans would put it, would not be a very difficult affair. The only difficulty in India has been that the people have not realised the all-of-the-country, so to speak, as the proper function of the all-of-the-people. Consequently they have not yet gained experience as to the things that are the function of Home or Family, or social class on the one hand, and of village, city, province, and nation on the other. But the people are now in increasing measure and rapidly grasping the idea that all the affairs of their country are the concern of all of them,—and the gaining of experience is only a question of time. It is because India has been so profoundly democratic in her *separate* or individual social units, that she has in the past manifested so little power of resistance and so little political acumen. This is a fault which at present, however, bids fair to be corrected, and once really corrected, under such conditions, will remain so for all time.

But it may be argued that granting that socially India has been used to the democratic

mode and habit, where is the proof that politically she has been so accustomed, or is likely to appreciate and effectively use democratic methods? We shall now give such a proof. Ancient India has no history in the usually accepted sense of the word; but she has a history clearly legible in her ancient literature. In her epics and dramas we find abundant proofs of the fact that her rulers respected and acted according to the opinions of the people and the people in their turn freely expressed their opinion and demanded its recognition;—which we may say is the essence of democracy, the monarchical or republican forms of government being mere separable accidents. In the Ramayana it is related in the *Uttarakanda* (Chap. XLXIII), that on his return to Ayodhya from Lanka after rescuing Sita, Rama asked the spy Bhadra as to what people said of him, of Sita, Bharata, Lakshmana, Kaikeyi, &c. He ordered Bhadra to communicate to him both good and evil reports; “hearing [which] I shall do what is good and eschew what is evil.” Here is a distinct promise made by Rama to respect public opinion, and he kept his promise, too. For when he heard that his subjects entertained suspicions regarding the character of Sita, who had dwelt so long in Ravana’s capital separated from her husband, he exiled her, though his heart almost broke in doing so.

In the Mahabharata it is related that when Sakuntala, whom Dushyanta had married according to the *Gandharva* or mutual-choice form, went to his capital with her son, that King at first would not recognise or accept her, being evidently afraid of the opinion of his subjects. But when a celestial voice declared her in the hearing of all his court to be his lawfully wedded wife and the son to be his, he agreed to accept both mother and son.*

* “114. Having heard these words of the dwellers of heaven, the king of the Puru race was much pleased, and addressing his priests and ministers, he said:—115. Hear all of you the words of the messenger of heaven. I myself know that this boy is my son. 116.

King Yayati nominated his fifth and youngest son as his heir, passing over the claims of the first four. When this became known to his subjects, they remonstrated with him. He had to satisfy them as to the righteousness of the step that he had taken.†

We wish next to recall the sayings of the people when Yudhishtira was installed as Yuva-raja or heir-apparent. With evident consciousness of the possession of political power, they said, “We shall, therefore, * * * install the eldest Pandava * * *”.‡

If I had accepted him as my son at Sakuntala’s words, my people would have been suspicious, and my son also would not have been considered to be pure (of pure birth.)” Sambhava Parva. Ch. 74.

† “19. Yayati became desirous of installing his youngest son, Puru, on the throne. But the four orders of his subjects with Brahmanas at their head thus addressed him: 20. “O Lord, how can you install Puru on the throne, passing over your eldest son Yadu, born of Devayani and grandson of Sukra. 21. Yadu is your eldest son, after him was born Turvasu. Then Sarmishtha’s son, Drahyu, Anu, and last Puru. 22. How would it be proper to pass over all the elders and install the youngest? We represent this to you, *act according to the precepts of religion*.” Yayati said:—23. “Hear all of you of the four orders of the castes with Brahmanas at their head, why my kingdom should not be given to my eldest son. 23. “Puru is a great friend of mine and he did what was agreeable to me. And the son of Kavi, Usanas, Sukra himself, granted me this boon. 29. The son who would obey me would become the king and the lord of the earth. Therefore I *entreat* you, let Puru be installed on the throne.” The people said:—30. “O king, it is true that the son who is accomplished and who seeks the good of his parents, deserves all prosperity, though he is the youngest. 31. Therefore, Puru, who has done good to you, deserves to have the kingdom. As Sukra has granted this boon, we have no power to say anything.” *Vaishampayana* said:—32. Having been thus addressed by the contented people, the son of Nahusha (Yayati) installed his son Puru on the throne.” Sambhava Parva, Ch. 85.

‡ “23. O descendant of Bharata, seeing the sons of Pandu, endued with all accomplishments, the citizens began to speak of their accomplishments in every place of resort. 24. Assembling in court-yards, and in other places of meeting, they talked of the eldest son of Pandu as the person fit for governing the kingdom. 25. (They said), the king Dhritrashtra, though possessed of the eye of knowledge, did not obtain the kingdom, because he was blind. How can he be king (now)? 26. And the son of Santanu, Bhishma, is of rigid vows and devoted to truth; having relinquished the kingdom before, he will never accept it now. 27. We shall, therefore, with all proper ceremonies, install the eldest Pandava (Yudhishtira) endued with youth, accomplished in battle, versed in the Vedas, and truthful and kind.” Jatugriha Parva, Ch. 143.

When again the sons of Pandu, Yudhishtira and his four brothers, went to Varanavata as the result of the machinations of the wicked Kauravas, the people gave vent to their almost rebellious feelings in an unmistakable manner, and they did so with impunity. * This could never have been possible if the absolute autocracy of tyrants had been the rule in India.

If democracy of a certain kind was possible then, it is also possible now, even after the lapse of ages. It is being slowly introduced in Baroda and Mysore. It will not be pretended that the Indian statesmen who rule these States know the people and their past less than foreigners.

We have shown that India is not unacquainted with the *spirit* of democracy. But even the *form* of democracy was not entirely absent from India. Dr. Hoernle in the address on Jainism that he delivered in 1898, as President of the Asiatic Society of Bengal, stated that Mahavira, the founder of Jainism, was born in a State which was an oligarchic republic, which is a half-way house between monarchy and a pure democracy. Said he:—

* "6. Seeing the sons of Pandu afflicted with sorrow and in grief, some of the men of the city spoke thus:—7. The king (Dhritarashtra) sees not things with an equal eye. He is always wicked-minded: The Kuru Dhritarashtra does not cast his eye on virtue. 8. The Pandava (Yudhishtira), the best of all strong men, Bhima, or Dhananjaya (Arjuna) will never commit the sin of rebellion. 9. What these illustrious (princes) would do, the two sons of Madri will also do. They have inherited the kingdom from their father but Dhritarashtra cannot bear them. 10. How could Bhishma sanction such an act of great sin? How could he sanction their exile to that wretched city? 11. The son of Santanu, Vichitravirya and the descendant of Kuru, the royal sage Pandu, were to us like our fathers. 12. Now that the best of men (Pandus) having gone to heaven, Dhritarashtra cannot bear these princes, his sons; 13. We cannot sanction this. Therefore, leaving this excellent city and our houses, we shall go to the place where Yudhishtira is going. 14. The King of Virtue, Yudhishtira, reflected for sometime, and then addressed in sorrow the citizens who were talking thus in grief. * * * 16. "You are our friends, walking round us and making us happy with your blessings, return to your homes. 17. When the time comes for anything to be done for us by you, then accomplish all that is agreeable and beneficial to us." 18. Having been thus addressed, the citizens walked round the Pandavas and offered them their blessings. They then returned to the city."

"Vaisali is the modern Besárh, about 27 miles north of Patna. Anciently it consisted of three distinct portions, called Vaisali, Kundagāma and Vānigāma, and forming, in the main, the quarters inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Bania cast respectively. * * * While it existed, it had curious political constitution; it was an oligarchic republic; its government was vested in a Senate composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clan and presided over by an officer who had the title King and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-Chief."—Proceedings of the Asiatic Society Bengal, No. II, February, 1898, page 40.

True, this is a solitary instance; but in ancient times in no continent did republics flourish for anything but a small minority. That is the case even now, and further research may bring to light more instances of non-monarchic Government in ancient India.

On abstract grounds also we take exception to the statement that India, or for that matter any country, is not fit for any popular system of Government. No doubt everywhere it has been and is a question of training. And the training can be given to any nation. Were there countries where democracy now prevails fitted for democracy from the beginning of time? Did not the divine right of Kings,—even to misgovern,—claim a large number, if not the majority, of Englishmen as its followers, in England itself? Was Japan considered by foreigners fit for democracy half a century ago? Was Persia considered fit a year ago? Is China now considered fit? Though it must be so considered, by the logic of facts, as soon as it gets a constitution.

After all human nature is everywhere more similar than dissimilar and it is a superficial philosophy that says that a certain country or nation is immutably unfit for or incapable of a certain thing. Emerson made a profoundly true observation when in his essay on history he said that "There is one mind common to all individual men. Every man is an inlet to the same and to all of the same. * * * What Plato has thought he may think; what

a saint has felt he may feel; what at any time has befallen any man, he can understand. Who hath access to this universal mind is a party to all that is or can be done, for this is the only and sovereign agent."

"The Congress is trying to introduce a foreign system, and it won't work." But the fact is that it is already at work and working successfully; and we have shown above that democracy is not a foreign thing in India. Can our critics not see that if what they say had really been the case, the Congress would not have succeeded as it has? Our National Parliament-without-a-Permit is thoroughly an expression of the Indian genius. It is in the political field, what we have been long accustomed to in the religious *mela* or conference and fair combined, in the caste *panchayat* and in the family conference. It is because we are so thoroughly saturated with the idea and habit of free discussion and democratic decorum and agreement that no schism has yet broken its integrity, no difference of opinion has ever brought about disunion.

We sincerely agree that national education is necessary; but we do not feel honoured by being prescribed the attitude of trying by our good behaviour to bring strong arguments to bear on "the hard-headed Englishman." Although we are quite willing to settle matters amicably with the Englishman, if the latter has that good sense, we do not admit that any usurper has the right to demand that the injured nation must prove its "capacity" for "political freedom" before it gets it;—as if such proof were ever possible to give, to the complete satisfaction of the usurper. Political freedom is the birthright of every nation; and even a bad and inefficient *swadesi* government is much better than the (self-characterised) most angelic government by absentee rulers and their irresponsible servants. Does it show great capacity to grasp the drift of the national movement in India to represent "the

hard-headed Englishman" as the master of the situation and the arbiter of her destiny? Circumstances are as much beyond his control as they are of ours.

"The Viceroy of India should be a Prince of the Royal House, * * . India should have her loyalty stirred by one who comes of the Emperor's stock." First as to loyalty. Speaking in the abstract, a nation owes loyalty never to a dynasty, not to dynasties, but to its own soil and to its own past, to all that in India we know as *dharma*, national righteousness. To this sovereigns themselves must be loyal. And it is only when they have been so, that Indians have been loyal to them; as even the few extracts given in the foot-notes above, must have made clear. Indian sovereigns were always bound to follow the *dharma-shastras*, they were never believed to have the divine right to misgovern or neglect their duties. If India's present rulers be ever willing and able to follow righteousness, her loyalty will be "stirred", but by no other means whatsoever. Many of India's best rulers, Asoka and Akbar for example, either did not belong to the royal caste, or did not belong to a dynasty royal or Indian in its origin. But India was loyal to them, because they were loyal to their best selves and to *dharma* or righteousness.

We cannot swallow the nostrum of a royal Viceroy, because it is calculated to tickle only the fancy of children. Either our trouble, educational, social, economic, political and moral,—is deep-seated, a national cancer in fact, or it is non-existent. In the first case, will a jewel in the turban cure the disease? In the second case—a nation fretting "like an idle girl" and crying for the gaudy bauble of a royal viceroy,—why not administer a sound whipping and have done with it?

The real fact of the matter is, India's trouble is an absentee sovereign or sovereigns who can not care for her welfare. Let our ruler or rulers be here with us, settled in India for good,

caring solely for our welfare and responsible to us alone, and we shall not mind to what race or rank he or they may belong. Even if India had a royal viceroy, even for the period of 30 years, as the Aga Khan proposes, he would still be "a head clerk," receiving mandates from England. It is impossible for foreigners in the nature of things to govern a country well. Let India have a royal dynasty settled here, if she must have one, and it won't matter much if, like Norway, she has to graft a foreign branch to her stock. But at present she is required to do homage and pay pecuniary tribute to every Britisher and colonist who sets foot on Indian soil. She cannot long meet this demand on her loyalty and her purse. By the bye, we do not understand, why

foreigners honour us with suggestions of new fangled means for stirring our loyalty, in the presence of such good old-fashioned loyalty stimulants, as the provision for sparing us the labour and burden of carrying arms so mercifully made in the Arms Act, the protection of Indians from the risk involved in commanding even small bodies of soldiers by keeping them at arm's length from the commissioned rank of the Indian army, the relieving of Indians of the burden of administration in the higher ranks, the making it easy for them to take the high life of *Sannyasins* by rendering it almost natural for them to take and keep the vow of poverty, as so little of filthy lucre is allowed to remain in India.

NOTES

India has adored renunciation and devotion in all ages. It is significant that in this age these crowning flowers of spirituality should blossom in the political field, too, and receive their wonted homage and adoration. Herein lies the secret of the more than royal ovation which Mr. G. K. Gokhale has been receiving everywhere in his tour through the United Provinces and the Panjab. His reception shows, too, that the sentiment of nationality is growing in volume and intensity everywhere in India. Our only anxiety is that this sentiment should not exhaust itself in mere demonstrations, but should strengthen itself by sustained and organised action. Political life of the western type is new to our people. We need not be offended, therefore, if we are reminded without excessive ceremony that in all spheres of life spasmodic action indicates a low stage of development and sustained effort a higher one.

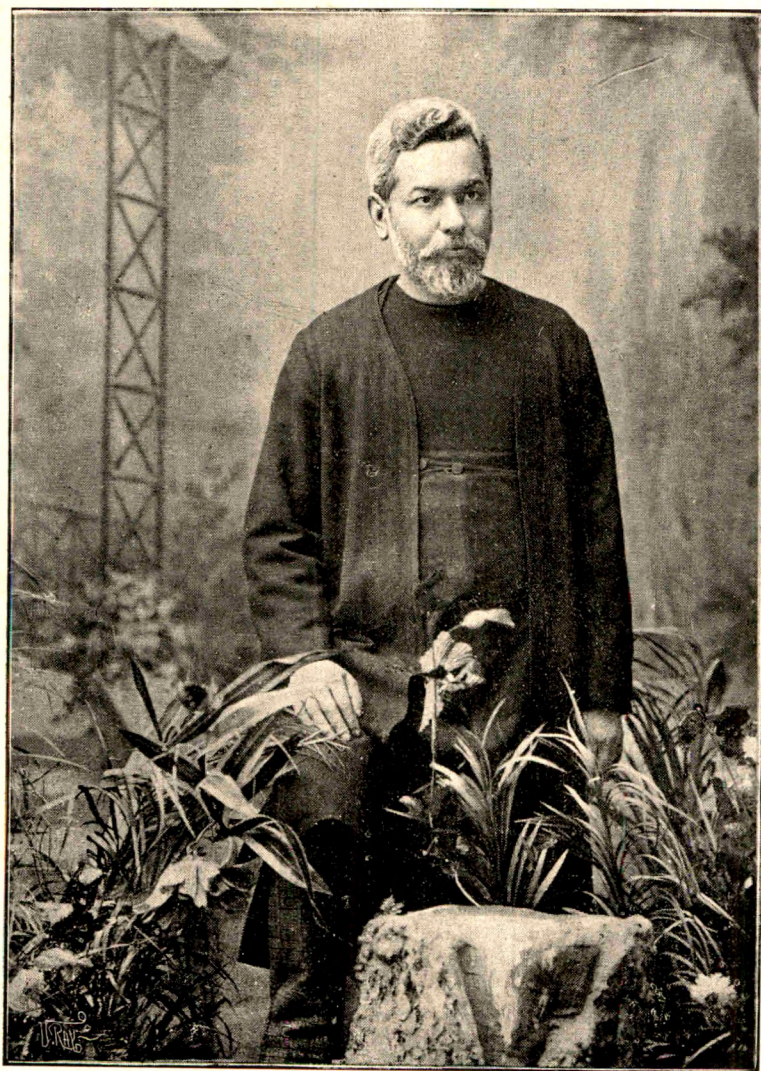
We are standing almost on the threshold of revolution, and, if we can read the signs aright it promises to be a bloodless one. But blood or bloodless, all revolutions demand a sacrifice; the conditions of success are equally exacting, the work equally strenuous, in either case. The death of the martyred patriot because, perhaps, of its being more dramatic and the undoubted proof it affords of his earnestness, rouses our enthusiasm more than his life of renunciation and devotion. But we should not forget that it is his life that leads to his death, it is the former that makes the latter possible, that after all, the death may be a mere accident in the case and that without the death, the life would be valuable and adorable all the same. Bankimchandra in the introductory chapter of his *Ananda Math* now known to non-Bengalis also on account of the *Bande Mataram* song, makes a Voice ask the hero, "What are you prepared to risk



DUKE OF CONNAUGHT.



DUCHESS OF CONNAUGHT.



KALICHARAN BANURJI.

to sacrifice?" The answer is, "My life and all." To which the voice says, "Life is a trifle; any one can give up life." On this the hero asks, "What else have I? What can I give?" Then comes the response, "BHAKTI."

English to us is a foreign tongue, and so we have to speak with great diffidence. But, though the great Dr. Grierson is trying to prove that the Hindus borrowed the *bhakti* movement from the Christians, we are bound to say that in our humble opinion there is no exact English equivalent for the word *bhakti*. We may translate it as loving reverence and devotion, or reverential and devoted love.

This *bhakti* it is for the mother-land that Mr. Gokhale is trying to preach by precept and example. No wonder, therefore, that his appearance amongst us has evoked so much enthusiasm.

Mr. Gokhale's political aspirations are not lower than those of any other Indian patriot, he wants his people to be in India what any other people are in theirs, he has declared that everything that is being done at present in the way of political activity in India is constitutional, that it is legitimate for us to have recourse even to passive resistance by non-payment of taxes. Passive resistance marks the extreme point of constitutional political pressure; and it is known to Mr. Gokhale's friends that his opinion as to its legitimacy in India and advisability, too, when the occasion demands it, is not of recent growth, but originated long before there was any talk of a new party. And he is an exponent of the "moderate" party. Let friend and foe, therefore, judge whether there are really two distinct parties in India among Indians, with a clear line of cleavage between them. We for our part do not see the need or feel the wisdom of being in a hurry to create or recognise a split in our camp. We prefer to stick to the rule: "In essentials unity, in non-essentials liberty, in all things charity."

"The Royal visit", as the visit of T. R. H. the Duke and Duchess of Connaught is being styled, will, we hope, cost us nothing. We bear no ill will to them or to any body. But we cannot really afford to meet the charges of hospitality, as we get nothing in return, except expressions of sympathy,—whose sincerity we do not question, but which are none the less infructuous,—and certificates of loyalty which deceive neither the givers nor the receivers.

Reading the history of various countries, England being one of them, we find that some of the world's public men led notoriously bad lives. But public opinion is insisting more and more, and rightly, too, upon public men leading clean lives. National greatness is built upon the firm basis of individual character, and, therefore, we have every right to demand that our public men should be pure in their private characters. As to the method to be followed in practically enforcing the demand, we have no desire to lay down the law but we may be permitted to offer a suggestion. When the bad character of a public man lawfully becomes public property, every political or other association should certainly have as little to do with him as possible, until he has given practical proofs of sincere repentance and established his claim to public confidence again. In the case of a public man who may be widely known in private circles to be impure in his life but of the impurity of whose character no public proof is forthcoming, we in our individual capacities may justly shun him as much as possible, in his unrepentant moods at any rate, and do nothing that would give him prominence in public life. On these principles, we think the late Mr. Kalicharan Banurji and Miss Muller were entirely justified in what they did to prevent a well-known Congressman from being permitted to address the Congress at its second session in Madras in 1894. We recall the incident now, as, unfortunately, the state of public opinion in our country is still such that

it requires some courage to act in the way that Mr. Banurji and his supporters did.

In very recent times in India the life of none of her departed great men brought back to our minds more vividly Emerson's celebrated phrase "Man the Reformer" than that of Ananda Mohan Bose. When the spirit really breathes its native air of freedom, a man sets himself seriously to *re-form* private and public life, to rebuild life and society on their eternal foundations;—and this, not in any one sphere, but in all. For, that the work of the reformer is eminently conservative and constructive, must have been apparent to all who knew anything of Mr. Bose's inner life.

To a great extent Mr. Kalicharan Banurji's many-sided life and activities, too, remind us of Emerson's phrase. And this in spite of the fact that to non-Christians his baptism must appear to be the one great mistake of his life; for it must be remembered that he was not a "rice-Christian,"—we use the expression with reluctance,—but a convert from conviction. Leaving aside the disputed ground of religious doctrines, we find that he had the meekness, the absence of pushfulness, the piety and deep spirituality of his race, and that he took a deep, active and abiding interest in the political, social, educational and industrial questions of his age. Even in religion he could not by mere baptism denationalise himself and thereby pass beyond the sphere of influence of the national movement. For not only was he Indian in dress and manners and in the innate piety of his race, but even in matters of church government and constitution, he sought to conserve "orientalism" and "Indianism," if we may use these words, by forming a *Bangiya Khrishtiya Samaj*, a Bengal Christian Society. He must have felt the injustice of race even in religion. But we think, he was led to form a distinct society not simply from racial motives, or because he wanted to create an externally separate body. We presume he felt that,

Christ was an oriental, and there are distinct elements of spirituality in the oriental consciousness that should be conserved.

To the most superficial observer his career is valuable at least in this respect that it shows that no religion can stand in the way of a man's being a genuine patriot.

Ravi Varma's oil-painting of Rama's breaking Siva's bow, which we have reproduced in the present number, tells a well-known story. We are told in the Ramayana that king Janaka had resolved that he would give away his daughter in marriage only to him who would be able to string Siva's bow, which was a precious family possession. Many princes had made an attempt to fulfil this condition, but without success. At length came Rama with his brother Lakshmana under the guidance of the sage Visvamitra. When the bow, decorated with garlands,—for it was worshipped as something holy,—was brought to Rama, he lifted it with ease, bent it and slipped the bowstring into the notches without any difficulty. And when he pulled the string with might, the bow broke in two. Thus was Sita won. This is not the only instance in ancient Indian literature of a bride being won by valour and strength of arm. In those days the parents of the bride did not enquire how many examinations a bridegroom had passed, which is the same thing in many cases as asking how far gone he was in dyspepsia; they required a practical proof of the would-be husband's power of self-defence and defence of his wife. People evidently believed in those days that "Resistance to aggression is not simply justifiable but imperative. Non-resistance hurts both altruism and egoism."

Mr. Rama Varma, the second son of the late Raja Ravi Varma, whose painting, "After Bath," we reproduce in this number, was born in the year 1880 in September in Mavelikaray, a small town in Travancore. He is closely related to the Royal House of Travancore, being the maternal uncle of the young Ranees

of Travancore. From his childhood he began to show a strong liking for the fine arts and seeing this his father used to give him simple lessons in drawing. At the age of 8 he was placed in the special school at Mavelikaraya for education in English. As soon as Mr. Ravi Varma found that the young boy had got a fairly good education in English, he sent him to Bombay to give him a scientific training in drawing, perspective, anatomy, &c. He joined Sir J. J. School of Arts, Bombay, where he studied for one year and a half. As the course of studies was changed in that school, he was obliged to go to Madras, where he finished the study of the above-mentioned subjects and passed all the Higher examinations there. Then he returned to his father to complete his lessons in painting and mixing of colours. His father noticing his rapid progress in the art of painting, allowed him to work at the same pictures that he himself was doing. After the death of Mr. C. Raja Raja Varma, the brother and co-worker of Mr. Ravi Varma, Mr. Rama Varma took his uncle's place and helped his father in all his works. Mr. Rama Varma when at school exhibited a picture in the Madras Fine

Arts Exhibition of 1904 and got a "Highly Commended" certificate. In reviewing that work the *Madras Mail* of the 22nd February, 1904, said—"Mr. Rama Varma receives honorable recognition for his 'study from life' which is broadly and effectively treated. The figure is admirably posed and the flesh tones are well depicted. There is evidently a good deal of undeveloped power in this artist." His Excellency Lord Amthill, the then Governor of Madras, after seeing the young artist's pictures in the exhibition, spoke very highly of them and urged Mr. Ravi Varma to send him to England. Mr. Rama Varma was recently invited to Baroda by H. H. the Gaikwad to copy some of Mr. Ravi Varma's pictures, which had somehow got spoiled. The first work (Draupadi's Vastraharan) he has done, we hear, has been a great success, and His Highness has liked it very much. Considering her vast population and area, India possesses so few artists that whoever shows promise in the pursuit of the fine arts deserves encouragement, and those who understand art should offer constructive criticism by way of guidance to all promising artists.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Selections from the Cartoons in the Hindi Punch for 1906.

A hearty good laugh is said to be a cure not only for melancholy but for many a disease that human flesh is heir to. We, therefore, hope that the proprietors of the *Hindi Punch*, will take steps to advertise these selections as a patent medicine for these maladies. They are a rich store-house of wit, and wisdom, also. And we are glad and thankful that our

Mr. Punch or *Punchoba*, as he likes to style himself, is a thorough-going and sturdy patriot.

Notes on the Arts and Industries in Kashmir. By A. Mitra, Chief Medical Officer, Kashmir, and Honorary Curator, Sri Pratap Singh Museum, Srinagar. These notes are very valuable. They contain much useful historical and other information on the following arts and industries: shawls, embroidery, woollen and cotton textile fabrics, carpets, papier-maché, wood-work, metal-work, stone work, and sericulture,

We hope Dr. Mitra's suggestions regarding the preservation and resuscitation of Kashmir arts and industries will receive at the proper quarters the earnest attention that they deserve. He has mentioned 19 branches of industry that can be profitably started in Kashmir. We invite the attention of enterprising Indians to the list.

Indian Thought : a Quarterly devoted to Sanskrit Literature. Edited by G. Thibaut and Ganganatha Jha. The object of the editors is, "in co-operation with several other scholars," "to bring out a periodical publication devoted in part to the translation into English of important Sanskrit works, and in part to original papers dealing with Indian Literature in its various branches." For the present its main feature will be the translation of important philosophical works. The present number contains the first instalments of two such translations, a historical survey of Indian astronomy, and a review of Hillebrandt's Vedic Mythology, Volume III. Though the publication will appeal for the most part to scholars, we hope Indian princes and noblemen will also lend it their hearty support.

We have received a neat reprint of the addresses delivered at the last Calcutta Congress by Dr. Rash Behary Ghose, and Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, together with the resolutions adopted at the Congress. As this is the authoritative official edition of these important addresses and resolutions there ought to be a demand for them. To be had at 62, Bowbazar Street, Calcutta.

URDU.

It is after a long time, a very long time indeed, that we have read an Urdu novel so powerful and so well-written as *Khwab-i-Hasti*, "The Dream of Life", by Mirza Mohammad Said, Assistant Professor of English Literature, M. A. O. College, Aligarh. In the reading of it we were again and again reminded of that famous novel of Charles Reade's, *The Cloister and the Hearth*. The hero of Mirza Mohammad Said is Usman, an educated young Mohammadan, whose religious principles have been shaken by Western education, and who has not yet realised that the truth of the eternal moral verities can and does exist without any external aid of religion. He finds a void in his heart which a being of the other sex only can supply and yet the customs of his society prevent him

from giving legitimate vent to it. He feels that he must love and yet he hesitates and struggles. It is in this struggle that the interest of the story centres. The temptation is too great and Usman falls. But he rises again, a sadder, a wiser, and a better man. It is a novel with a purpose and in it the author has tried to present to his readers one of the most interesting and difficult problems of modern Indian society. He does not pretend to solve it, but the problem is fairly presented and the working of the hero's mind—and we have to remember that he represents a type—laid bare. The style is on the whole clear and nervous with a distinct literary flavour, barring a few passages here and there which are somewhat artificial and cumbrous. The book can be had at the *Makhzan Press of Lahore for Re. 1-4-0.*

HINDI.

Tod's Rajasthan in Hindi.

Two Hindi editions of this work are in progress at present. One is being issued by the Bharat Jivan Press of Benares and the other by the Kharag Vilas Press of Bankipur. The former edition has been translated by Babu Gangaprasad Gupta and the latter by Pandit Ramgarib Chowbe. The Bankipur edition is being issued under the able editorship of Pandit Gaurishankar Harichand Ojha of Udaipur and is decidedly superior in every respect to the Benares edition. Besides being a literal translation of Tod's work, it contains many valuable and important notes by the able editor. This no doubt enhances the value of the edition and is an attempt to furnish all possible safeguards against the errors which have crept into Tod's original work. Pandit Gaurishankar Harichand Ojha is an antiquarian of fame and his notes will no doubt command the consideration which the scholarship of the editor deserves. The Benares edition lacks in all these respects. It is a free translation or rather an adaptation of Tod's work. The translator has at his sweet will left out portions which appeared to him uninteresting, while he has freely expanded portions, which do not, of course, add to the historical value of the book, but only make the language more flowery. It would have been much better if Mr. Gangaprasad Gupta had the goodness not to name the book after Colonel Tod. It appears to me that the translation of the Benares edition is

based upon some Bengali version of the book, but as I have not been able to lay my hands on the Bengali edition, I am not in a position to allege anything for certain. The style and the use of certain words only confirm me in the view I have expressed above. In regard to the other points noted by me I would point out that the geographical portion has been entirely left out in the Benares edition, the genealogical tables are missing, footnotes have been freely embodied in the body of the book. Taking all these points into consideration, there is not the least doubt that the Bankipur edition is much superior to the Benares one, and, therefore, richly deserves the patronage of all lovers of Hindi historical literature.

GUJARATI

Select Stories from the History of Gujarat. Illustrated by Karmali Raluni Nanjiani, B.A., (Late) Deputy Educational Inspector, Kaira: Ahmedabad Aryodaya Press. [1901] Price 0. 7. 0.

—This is an extremely interesting little book, which reminds one of the Royal Series of English History for schools, and works of the type of Marshman's Easy Lessons in Indian History. The stories are told in a very pleasant way, and they take away much from the tedium, which at present attaches to the teaching of history, which is made to consist of a list of dates and names and battles. Its extensive use in all Gujarati schools is much to be desired. The illustrations add to the usefulness of the book.

Surendranath. By Someshwar Maganlal Pandit. Virkhetra Mudralaya Press: Baroda.. [1906.]

This is a translation into Gujarati of a well-known Bengali novel of Babu Ramesh Chandra Datta's, dealing with the invasion of Bengal by Todarmal. The language used throughout is very simple, and the work is likely to be popular. We have thought it fit to notice it here, to show how the intercommunication of the Vernaculars of our country is proceeding. A good work in Bengali is appreciated in Gujarat, and a good work in Gujarati should, therefore, find its appreciation in Bengal.

BENGALI

Behulá and Phullará. These two lovely little books have been written by that well-known Bengali author, Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen. Their get-up is as beautiful as their contents are delightful and elevating. Babu Dinesh Chandra has himself told the story of Behula in our first number. The ideal of womanhood which is embodied in Behula is not inferior to any contained in our ancient Sanskrit epics. She is a latter-day Savitri. The stern, unbending character of her father-in-law shows that a people among whom he has been popular for ages cannot have been dowered by Nature with the qualities of manhood with a niggardly hand. The author's heart was in his work, and having written with sympathy, in the literal sense of the word, and loving reverence for manhood and womanhood, he has produced a work which stands in a class of its own in Bengali literature. We cannot presume to pit our authority against his in the field of Bengali literature, but it seems to us that the indirect interpretation of of the cult of Siva-worship and allied topics offered through the lips of Chand, is somewhat modern, and in the interests of historical verisimilitude and artistic appropriateness, might have been eschewed.

The story of Phullará is taken from the old *Chandi Kavya* of the poet Mukundaram. It is realistic and and pathetic, and Babu Dinesh Chandra has told it with his usual wealth of expression. It could not have been as moving as that of Behula, and for inferiority to Behula in this respect, he is not responsible. The story has lost none of its power in the re-telling; except, perhaps a little of the realism of the original. And this, too, we say with some diffidence. But we are sure Dinesh Babu could and ought to have denied himself the luxury of the fling at those who are puritanical in their taste as regards feminine costume. We do not at all raise the question of the justness of the fling. The thing is absolutely out of place in a work of art, meant, too, to restore and revivify the past.

Bangiya Sáhitya Sebak—or a biographical dictionary, containing sketches of the old Bengali writers—compiled by Babu Sib Ratan Mitra.

We have received only four parts of the above work. The research in the field of old Bengali Literature may be yet said to be in its initial stage; as every

year, a host of unknown works is saved from oblivion and we know of many really valuable works lying in the shape of old Mss., of which no notice has yet appeared in print. The task which the compiler of this biographical dictionary has undertaken involves great difficulties and if instead of doing his self-imposed duty without expert knowledge, he realises the responsibilities of his task full well, the work is bound to be one of abiding interest and usefulness. We are, however, sorry to see that he has as yet mainly depended upon a work entitled *Banga-Bhāshā-o-Sahitya* and notices of catalogues of old Mss. published in the *Sāhitya Parishat Patrikā* and in other magazines, for the materials of the biographical sketches of early authors and has not shewn any eagerness to ascertain the correctness or otherwise of the conclusions recorded in those publications, by independent research. Many of the theories and statements contained in "*Banga-Bhasha-O-Sahitya*" have been already exploded and the author of the work, we know, is rewriting it in many important places for a future edition. To accept that book and the catalogue by Moonshi Abdul Karim as the fountain-heads of information, does not speak to the credit of the compiler of this Biographical Dictionary; especially as the work under review is issued from Birbhum, which we know to be one of the central places in Bengal where hundreds of old Bengali Mss. are lying within a sort of wooden coffin, having had no dusting or airing for two or three centuries and awaiting the reviving touch of scholars to bring them to life and light. It would be well for the compiler of this dictionary to arm himself for a fresh campaign in the field of research and take us by surprise by important discoveries for which ample materials, we assure him, do exist in his district and in neighbouring places. His efforts are sure to be crowned with success if he cares to do a little work of independent research instead of helplessly depending on printed matter. We are at the same time bound to acknowledge that the work is useful at least to this extent that it makes easily available much biographical material scattered in many places. We shall here refer to some of his obvious errors which could have been corrected if he had taken a little pains. In page 2, he gives a short notice of Ananta—the translator of the Ramayana. He does not know, as further facts lately brought to light have proved, that Ananta is an Assamese and

not a Bengali poet. In page 54, he speaks of Sankar and Kabichandra as friends. He does not know that Sankar is the name, and Kabichandra, the title of the poet; and that the word "Meghra" to which he has appended notes, is a misprint and should read "Légo." In page 147 again, he speaks of Krishna Ram as the earliest writer of *Vidyā Sundar*; he evidently commits the same mistake as Prana Ram the poet did about 2 centuries ago. Several hitherto unknown poems of *Vidyā Sundar* have lately been discovered, of whom at least two are earlier than Krishna Ram's. In almost every page of the work inaccuracies and scantiness of information would strike a scholar who has up-to-date information regarding old Bengali Literature. But the saddest thing of all is that nearly all the merits and defects of the present publication belong essentially to earlier writers and though the compiler of the dictionary had the advantage of coming last, he has himself advanced but little for our comment.

The work has not yet considerably progressed and the defects mentioned here may be removed, if the writer would accept our suggestion of undertaking a first-hand research for Mss.

With regard to the sketches of comparatively modern authors given in these parts, we need not say much, as the task is not one of any very great difficulty. As a gentle hint to indicate the line of work for the compiler of the Biographical Dictionary, we take the liberty to point out that nearly 50 writers of prose works, some of which possess great literary excellence and all of which were written earlier than the time of Raja Ram Mohan Roy, have been lately recovered from Birbhum and the neighbouring districts. The literature of *Sitalā Mangal* and *Dharma Mangal* cults are now believed to be very extensive, only a small portion of which has been yet brought to light. They have important bearings on the Buddhistic period and it would be well if Sib Ratan Babu would stop the publication of the ensuing parts of his work till abundant materials, as indicated above, had been secured. He would in that case do an important service to the cause of Bengali Literature. By way of just appreciation we must say here that the short sketch given of Krishnadās Kabiraj and his works in Part IV p. 128, has been very well written and we wish that accounts of all other writers would display the same amount of industry and mastery of facts.

Srimat Das Goswami.—By Rasik Mohan Chakrabarti. Published by Tarit Kanti Biswas from the Patrika Press, Bagbazar, Calcutta.

Raghunath Das, popularly known as Das Goswami amongst the Vaishnabs, belongs to the noble line of princely Indian ascetics of whom the Great Buddha is the first and, though humbler in rank, Lala Babu of Bengal is the last.

Raghunath Das was the only son of Gobardhan Das of Satgaon and was born towards the end of the fifteenth century. His father's income from landed property amounted to 29 lakhs of Rupees a year, out of which he had to pay 12 lakhs as revenue to the Mohammedan Government. The heir-apparent to a property yielding 8 lakhs of rupees a year in those days was no ordinary being and Raghunath was naturally brought up in the midst of pomp and luxury and in a style befitting his high rank. While Raghunath was yet a boy, Haridas, the veteran Vaishnab devotee and a follower of Chaitanya, paid a visit to Satgaon and as young Raghunath saw the great saint, the vision of a higher life passed before him. The impression made on his mind was so great that he conceived an abhorrence for wealth and earthly glory even at that early age. While in this state of mind a further change came over his spirit on meeting Chaitanya at Santipur—his eyes overflowing with tears of joy and a divine ecstasy moving his beautiful frame as he spoke of love to God before thousands of men and women assembled there to hear him. Raghunath felt as if the portals of Heaven had been flung open to him and it was then that the world absolutely lost all its charms for him. His parents were alarmed to find in the boy a growing tendency to turn a Sannyasi, and secured a remarkably handsome bride for him. They, besides, imposed great restrictions on his habits and movements, but nothing availed. Raghunath's mind was fixed on the feet of Chaitanya, and night and day he thought how best he could break the fetters that bound him to the world and join the great master. He studied religious books with great devotion and spent five years in a sort of spiritual agony which made him pale and emaciated,—it was the struggle of the bird in the cage that pants for the free air. By this time Chaitanya had again come to Santipur. People flocked from all quarters of Bengal to have a sight of the great devotee who was already

recognised in many circles as an incarnation of Vishnu. Raghunath in deep distress threw himself at the feet of his parents and besought them with tearful eyes to grant him leave to see the god-like man. He said that he would die of grief if permission were withheld. They could not resist his pathetic appeal and with a strong party of escorts sent him to Santipur. There the boy lay at the feet of Chaitanya unable to utter a word and he sighed and sobbed like a maiden in love. Chaitanya's attitude towards him was austere even to rudeness. He admonished the young man for his resolution to renounce the world prematurely. "Go back home," he said; "for you have duties to do where the Lord has placed you, and it would be a sin to avoid them; be not too much attached to the worldly life, but consider yourself as serving the will of the Lord, and if in course of time there comes to you a fitness to renounce the world by His grace, there will be no tension or strain in your efforts to attain that end. It will be a perfectly natural and easy matter, as when the fruit is ripe, it falls to the ground of itself."

Raghunath obeyed the great master and came back to his father's palace. For a few years he lived like an ordinary man doing the duties of domestic life—pursuing his studies with zeal, apparently contented in spirit. But it was to him a course of preparation for final renunciation—for joining the great family of saintly men who leaving the narrow environments of domestic life had elected the good of the world to be their principal aim in life. When barely twenty, his mind was finally fixed and he began to show a restlessness for leaving home which again caused great anxieties in the minds of his parents. Raghunath at this stage of life slept in the outer courtyard and could by no means be persuaded to visit the inner apartments. Nityananda, the most revered of the Vaishnab devotees next to Chaitanya, at this time paid a visit to Panibati and thither Raghunath went to see him. From after this meeting his restlessness and yearnings increased tenfold.

His mother proposed to his despairing father to secure him by binding hand and foot with a rope so that he might not move from the palace. Gobardhan Das replied—"Great riches, a peerless young wife and all earthly glories could not bind him and do you think a rope will do it?—it is foolish." Yet the

guards and sentinels kept watch over him. It is the story of the great Buddha over again. He made his escape one night and walked all the distance to Puri to meet Chaitanya. It took him 12 days to reach the place. The hardships of the journey were great, as he went barefooted living on fruits and the scanty food that chance brought him and resigning himself to the will of the Lord absolutely. Chaitanya saw in the face of the young Sannyasi that his renunciation was complete and embraced him in an ecstasy of joy.

The hardships undergone by Raghunath while practising life-long asceticism have scarcely a parallel in history. He used to sleep 4 *dandas* (or a little more than an hour and a half) by day and night, —took a handful of refuse rice—the *mahaprasad* that used to be thrown away in the compound—only once a day and lived upon it. He wore rags and slept under the sky. His father occasionally sent large sums of money to his friends at Puri for ministering to his comforts but he did not allow a single cowri to be spent on that account. This ascetic, whose whole life was one of austerities and holy contemplation, was cheerful and gay in spirit and his piety was so great that though a Kayastha by birth he was reckoned as one of the six Goswamis whose words carry authority and precedence in the Vaishnab code compiled for the regulation of that community. The other five Goswamis were of course Brahmins. He wrote 29 works in Sanskrit and composed many ballads besides—the theme of which was either Gauranga Dev or love of Krishna to Radha.

This is briefly the substance of the biography related by Rasik Babu. It is a big volume in which along with the story of Das Goswami's life ample quotations have been made from his Sanskrit and

Bengali writings and the learning brought to bear upon the subject by way of incidental references. Vaishnab literature bears testimony to the author's erudition and industrious patience in writing the book. The introductory chapters, we are afraid, would interest only the orthodox section of the Vaishnab community but when our author commences to tell the life-story, the whole thing assumes the form of a romance, for in this materialistic age, the story of the great sacrifices of the subject of the present memoir seems too emotional and divine to be classed with the biographies of the matter-of-fact worldly-wise modern worthies. The spiritual hero is superior to the political hero. The empire of a Bonaparte is a house of cards compared to the empires of a Buddha or of Christ and the glory of Indian civilisation rests essentially in bearing this message to the rest of the world by supplying great religious teachers from age to age. The line is not yet broken in India and there is no reason why we should despair. Even in this materialistic age India sent abroad men like Raja Ram Mohun Roy and Swami Vivekananda with a distinct spiritual message which the civilised world had to listen to with respect. Swami Bhaskarananda of Benares and Paramhansa Ramkrishna of Dakshin shwar lived the high life which Raghunath did 400 years ago. These lives are all pure gold and there is no mixture of alloy in them.

We congratulate Babu Rasik Mohan Chakrabarti upon his selecting such a noble subject for writing his memoir. The book has been written in that lucid and feeling style which at once appeals to the heart and fills it with noble sentiments. It ought to be translated into Hindi, Marathi, Gujarati and other Indian Vernaculars.

Supplement to "The Modern Review,"



H. H. THE MAHARANI GAIKWAD OF BARODA.

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INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

APRIL, 1907

No. 4

GLIMPSES OF FAMINE AND FLOOD IN EAST BENGAL IN 1906

IV

MATIBHANGA

Our hosts in Barisal, however, could not be contented, unless we had a chance of seeing one of the worst neighbourhoods in all the green territory of the one-time "granary of Bengal", and this, they declared, might be found at Matibhanga, a village which we had already passed, on our way down the river, in the Khulna steamer. "There," they said, "are people clothed in banana-leaves and living on weeds."

As a matter of fact, of course, the people were clothed in nothing of the sort, for the first care of the relief-workers had been to put an end to such a state of things, by giving them fabrics, which though scanty, were nevertheless decent. Yet I met some at Matibhanga who had known this extreme of suffering, and I myself talked with one woman who was covered with a piece of old mosquito netting for sole garment.

The whole place was under flood, and the crowd who stood to receive us,—as we stepped from the comfortable river-steamer into the precarious-looking boats that were waiting—were waist-deep in water. Each one looked thinner and wanner than the last, and cries of

"Mother! Mother! Give! Give!" were heard on all hands. It was when we saw their homes, however, that the real misery of their condition dawned on us. Most of them lived in a village that was separated from the main river by a dangerous backwater, and here we found ruined houses with thatches floating about amongst the eddies, and others that could last only a day or two longer, being inevitably doomed to give way then. Seven miles off, in the interior, said the relief-workers, we could see even greater need. But our time was short, and for myself I had seen enough. I cannot pretend to have any fine taste in the shades of human misery. The prospect of death by drowning or exposure or inanition, or the fact that a mother is watching a child die, who might have been saved, if she had had proper food and medicine to give it, any one of these things is quite sufficient to convince me that the sufferer requires all that can be given. I make no distinction between bad, worse, and worst in such cases.

It was here in Matibhanga that I saw people living in haylofts—but haylofts open on three sides, and to English ideas, be it remembered, inconceivably small,—like birds in open nests. One of our boats floated through the cow house underneath one of these, and remained there

for shelter from the rain, so deep was the water that was surely and steadily sapping the foundations of the tiny tenement.

One of the quaintest and most pathetic sights about these flooded river-side villages, was to see the little bazaars, on market-days, laid out in open boats, since the shop-floors were now unfitted for this purpose. One can hardly describe the pitiful smallness of the stock-in-trade displayed in these boats, consisting as this would do, on such occasions, of a few cucumbers, or bananas or chilis, from distant cottage gardens not yet wholly under water. In Matibhanga, there was no market-day. But in the early morning, as we went our rounds, we saw a tiny shop following us in the distance, on a boat. We rowed up to it, determined to purchase whatever we could. But the wares, alas, were almost non-existent! A few dozens of dusty glass bracelets, fit for children of nine or ten, were the chief commodity, and even the bangles that seemed to be of white shell, were only a variety of the glass imitation. Then a few spices, a few ink wells, half a dozen wooden combs, the whole little stock was worth perhaps an English shilling. With difficulty, we collected a handful of trifles and fixing our own prices, succeeded in handing over to the bewildered boatman the startling sum of eight annas. Then we caught sight of something else and automatically questioned him, 'What price?' 'Don't say too little!' said one of the boys behind me, encouragingly, and thus adjured, he declared the value to be one pice each. We made it two and took a couple. But at this, the shop-keeper rebelled. Our subterfuge had been too transparent; and I do not know how his scruples were finally overcome.

How it may be in other countries, I cannot tell, but here in India the man who would go out on such an errand as mine, with any hope of success, must surround himself with persons known to the villagers. Nothing can be done with secrecy. And nothing effective

can be done without respect and confidence for the existing leaders of society and opinion. By the time my stay at Matibhanga therefore, was over, I was surrounded by assistants. No less than four of the officers of the relief-associations had arrived, to give me the advantage of their knowledge. And a couple of monastic novices of my own party, one of them summoned from more easterly districts still, to make his report, and a young Brahmini girl-charge, accompanied me besides. Each one of all these was a sort of scout, helping in the gathering of facts, and the forming of impressions, and I had to my unexpected good fortune, moreover, to select amongst them the very man, a young doctor who had been the first to discover the great need of Matibhanga in the month of July. To him, therefore, I turned, when my own visits were ended, and from him I requested an account of what he had found on his first arrival, and how he had come to hear of the place. He answered me eagerly, as one who at last finds an audience for the unburdening of the heart. He had arrived, he said, about the 20th of July. The floods had not begun till the middle of August; hence the house at the time of his first visit, still stood on dry ground. Only the rains had been excessive and the canals and water-lanes were full, so that long distances could be covered in the small boats of the country in a comparative short time.

He had come, said the young doctor of himself, in company with a friend, commissioned by the people of a place called Pirozepore who had been told that the neighbouring village of Nazirpore was in great need. At Nazirpore they had heard of Matibhanga, left otherwise without a voice, and the two young men had come on at once. They reached the place at noon, and immediately took one of the small boats and began their inspection. Fascinated with horror, they went on from point to point and visited twelve villages in twelve hours.

Not till midnight that night did they return to the shed which acted as their head-quarters, and even then, in the middle of the night, it was only to send to the distant bazaar, and begin forthwith their first distribution of rice. They had brought only a small sum of money, but they stayed in the village a week, and went into debt personally for the relief they gave. Rice was not yet so dear at that time as it had since become.

"I had never thought", said the young doctor, "to see such scenes. So many people were unconscious. Children were lying on the earth, unable to move. Mothers were crying. The people were in rags. There were no lights after dark. At eight or nine in the evening, we entered a house in which the children lay unconscious in the yard, and the mother with a baby in her arms, across the threshold. It was dark and I stepped on her. Then I struck a match and saw. Some of the women in the neighbouring villages were quite naked, and had to shrink back in the shadows that I might not see them. Three or four women with children had been deserted by their husbands. One of these had heard of Government loans to agriculturalists and had gone out to apply for one. He was refused at Nazirpore by the Deputy Magistrate, and refused at Pirozepore by a higher official. So he brought no rice. But he was absent from the village for three whole days, and in his absence there had been no food at home. He returned and found the whole family unconscious. It was at the time of my own first visit. I was called, and it took at least an hour to revive them.

"One morning at this time I came to a village situated on a swamp and found a number of women standing up to their throats in water, gathering unripe grain stalk by stalk. I offered them help and my boat. But they could not accept, saying 'We are naked'."

He had known personally of some thirteen deaths from starvation and one family in

which the father, and another in which the mother had gone mad from anxiety. Finally, said the workers, they thought that since relief was organised, it could not be said that people had actually died of hunger in this neighbourhood, but there were at least 5000 persons, who received sufficient only for one full meal in the course of three or four days.

As we had gone through these villages, I had noticed the impression of dismay deepening, on the face of the young monk who had been called to my aid, from the famine-relief centre at Noakhali. With his trained sense of poverty, he had realised after a couple of visits, the extent of the desolation in which we were now finding ourselves, and when I asked him how his own district compared with this, he answered that he did not think that there the destitution of the lower classes was so terrible as here, but the suffering of the middle classes was even greater, and was perhaps harder to bear, because of the secrecy that it involved. That this last was a feature of the distress, I had known, indeed, from the beginning. For I had been told at Barisal of a case in which relief had to be taken to a house at two o'clock in the night, by the workers.

Such then is the condition to which, in some greater or less degree, the larger part of the fair province of Bengal has been reduced to-day. For it is not to be supposed that the Delta alone is suffering from this need. Excessive rains have worked their own damage in the north and west also, and the scarcity of rice in what ought to be the grain-filled land has driven prices up everywhere, and brought us all within the range of want. Nay, it is even feared that in distant Rangoon, where people have been parting too rapidly with their own rice to fill our bazaars, the pinch of famine may be felt within a month or two. Prices in Calcutta itself are rising rapidly, being already at double their normal height, and everywhere we are met by the question of the future. 'Watchman, what of the night?'

is the one thought of the relief-workers. For the hungry cannot spare rice for seed. The water-ruined grain cannot grow to a full harvest. Is the gathering of the next year to be even as the gathering of last? If so, then, indeed, we may pray "God save the people!" For help there will assuredly be none within the power of man.

V

THE COMMONWEALTH BASED ON
RICE

Famine is social paralysis. A civilisation that has taken thousands of years to build up, may be shattered by a single season of it. For complete destitution of all classes together, in a given area, is apt to knock out the links and rivets of the social system. At the present moment, for instance, the farmers have neither money nor food, to give in exchange for labour. And without labour, the rice of next year cannot be saved, even to the extent that might still have been possible. Under such circumstances, it is clear that food given to the farmer and his peasants is not the same thing as food given to the farmer for his peasants. For in the latter case, the food not only nourishes: it also leads to the putting in of labour, necessary to the next harvest. In the East there may be a greater readiness to return to the condition of equilibrium when the shock is over, than in younger lands better known to ourselves. There may be. I do not know that there is, for I have not yet had the chance of seeing. But the difference can only at best be one of degree. Famine involves social disorganisation as one of its secondary, but most far-reaching effects.

For famine is many things besides hunger. True, it is hunger so keen that one man whom I know, spending some days in a district as yet unrelieved, could not sleep at night, for the wail of the famine-stricken in his ears. Hunger so keen, ah God! so keen! But it

is more than this, as we have already seen. It is the extreme of poverty, bringing, among other things, nakedness, darkness at night, fall, ignorance, and unrepair in its train. It is poverty breeding poverty. Under its pressure the milk-cows are sold to the butcher, sometimes for eight annas or a shilling, because their owners can no longer maintain them and by the new master are killed immediately for their hides, at the value of which they bought them. When it comes, the seed of the next year is eaten as food, the savings of lifetimes are scattered to the winds. Economic relationships that seemed inherent in the social organism are broken to pieces.

But over and above even these things famine is more. It is the very sickle of death selecting its victims according to a certain invisible but predetermined order, and whatever that order is, it may be worth our while to enquire.

A few years ago there was a picture exhibition in London, called, if I am not mistaken, "The Stairway of Life." At the top of wide-spreading steps, stood youth and maiden hand and hand, and then, diverging with each step downwards, towards the river of death at the bottom, one saw the same pair, over and over again, at the different stages of life. This picture has been constantly in my mind, as I have gone about the famine villages. Only, the river of death that I see with the mind's eye, is flood, and at each step of the stairway stand the different grades of health and society, ranked according to the likelihood of their being swept off by the rising water.

On the lowest, stand the beggars. For every Indian community has its quota of these. There is here no poor rate, and the hopelessly indigent and helplessly feeble must needs be supported by the informal charity of the village. Lonely old women they are for the most part, sunned and wrinkled under all weathers, and they stand at the steamers

ghats, or in the bazaars, staff and begging-bowl in hand, not the least picturesque of all the picturesque elements that go to make up the Indian crowd.

Naturally, these are the first inhabitants of the villages to feel the sharp pinch of adversity, the first to throw themselves upon a wider reaching charity. Indeed the Bengali word for Famine, *durbbhikkha*, the 'hard begging,' gives us a wonderful picture of the disaster from their point of view. It paints the beggars going forth in all directions, and wandering far ere they find scant food. Economic pauperism is a condition that only under very exceptional circumstances tends to bring out the highest and finest elements in human character, and these Indian beggars of the villages are neither better nor worse than their kind in other countries. Pithy and smart of repartee they sometimes are, and one cannot but be entertained when the grave assurance is given that the speaker dined yesterday on 'horse's eggs' (a Bengali colloquialism for no food), in the very face of the person, it may be, who provided her with rice. It is undoubtedly true also, that the beggar is spiritually twin-brother to the millionaire. For the minds of both these are concentrated upon the acquisition of wealth, in a degree impossible to any intermediate rank.

But the one lesson of my pilgrimage amidst the starving has been the immensity of the gulf that divides the humblest of citizens from these civic paupers. It takes a long series of scanty harvests to turn the poorest Indian householder into a beggar. Unless this is understood, we fail of the whole moral.

The next class to be reached by the rising waters consists of the single women, respectable widows, and girls of their blood as yet unmarried, who have no one to work for them, and must make their own living by husking the rice of the farmers, and preparing it for the city-markets. These are the gleaners of Asiatic village-life. For they follow after the

reapers at time of harvest, and by gathering the grain that falls in their wake, provide themselves with food for some one or two months out of every twelve. There is thus the unbought store. Indeed, it is difficult to see how money ever passes through their hands, for the labour they give at rich farm-houses is paid in kind rather than in coin, and probably a piece of cloth from the farmer's wife on the great festivals meets their need of clothing for the year.

One of the saddest notes in all the sorrowful cry of Matibhanga was the story of a little home in which an old woman and her young grand-daughter,—both of this class of the gleaners,—were found together. The girl had fainted for want of food, and the grandmother was too weak to stir to her aid. But fortunately in this condition they were found by the relief-workers. Thus the flood rises step by step.

On the next level that it reaches, are the homes of the peasants, the farm-labourers. And last of the village-group, but central, and first probably to have seen afar off the rising of the waters, are the larger farmers and small squires or zemindars.

Besides these, however, who depend directly for the year's food, upon the year's harvest, each in his degree, there are whole classes of others, who are indirectly but vitally affected. In the villages themselves there are the fishermen and boatmen. Although actively engaged in the supply of another kind of food, these are as much concerned as their neighbours in the question of the sufficiency of the year's crop of rice. Indeed in many cases they themselves rent and farm a patch of land.

Scattered up and down the districts, again, and in the small market-towns of the countryside, there is the sprinkling of intellectuals. There are the Brahmins, or village priests; the school masters; the people who have been employed on railway-staffs, small station-masters and others; clerks in village-firms and

shops; letter-writers; doctors; and the like. To these people the directly agricultural classes are as the very steps on which they stand, and their support being withdrawn, the flood of hunger must needs swallow them all up; the more hopelessly and inevitably, since there are for them no intermediate phases of social degradation to be passed through. The peasant may perhaps, by a slow refinement of suffering, be transformed, first into a landless labourer. Then, on his death or desertion, his women-folk may become gleaners, instead of proud mistresses of the farmstead. And finally one or all of the little household may conceivably be brutalised into begging. But, for a gentleman—and the village school-master or doctor or small squire, is perhaps *more* conscious of his pride of gentleness than any proud belted earl in all the west!—for a gentleman, when starvation comes, there is nothing for it but to hide his head and die. Thus, over the wide stretches of green country, the river of death has risen to the height of its flood-tide, and all the prosperity and joy of the little commonwealth are gone. The hive is robbed of its honey, those spoils of hope and cheer that were gathered in the sunshine and prosperity of the good years. And how shall the spiritless bees set to work again to replace them?

Still more secondarily and indirectly, but none the less really for that, all classes everywhere are affected by a famine. Here in the distant city of Calcutta, at the present moment, the rice that the poor eat has more than doubled in price. From three florins a *maund*, it has risen to six florins odd. This means that in many and many a household, the ladies are living on one meal a day, in order to give to children and bread-winners what is essential.

To a people always on the verge of destitution, the slightest rise in the price of food-stuffs means indescribable keenness of suffering. Other foods can of course to a certain

extent be substituted, but it is not easy for a people accustomed to rice, all at once to adapt themselves to wheat. The very idea that the change was made under compulsion acts as an obstacle. And even if it were otherwise, wheat itself, under the increased demand, is rising in value, almost equally with rice.

In Calcutta, then, food to-day costs twice as much as usual. But in Dacca and Maimensingh, the principal food-grain has gone up something like four times. The same weight of rice which in ordinary years cost four florins, is now being sold, in those markets, I am informed, at fifteen, that is to say, in exact figures, food has gone up from five shillings, to eighteen shillings and eight pence for a given weight! Can anyone imagine what is the human meaning of this appalling fact?

How are day-labourers and workmen, builders, and weavers, and craftsmen, cowherds and fisher-folk, or even small tradespeople and merchants to buy food at all, at such a price?

Now, how are those, higher in the social scale, who have to call into being the labours of these, how are they to divert money from the buying of food in order to pay the hire of the workman? If we turn only to the class of pensioners, we may see at once, that the pension remains at the old figure financially, while its buying power becomes from a half to a sixth of what it was.

But to go back to that peasant world which is alike the home and source of the wealth and the poverty of the land. How voiceless it is! How inarticulate! We have seen in the case of Matibhanga, that it was only by what seemed the accident of an accident, that our friend the doctor arrived there at all, on the 20th of July, in order to report to a distant city the condition of the peasantry. And what a degree of suffering had at that date been arrived at, we have heard in his own words.

And yet, even at such a crisis of starvation there was none who could speak, and make his voice heard, in the cause of his brethren ! One man, it will be remembered, had heard of Government loans to needy agriculturalists, and had gone out of the village to try to obtain one. But he was refused at Nazirpore and refused at Pirozepore, and turned to make his way home again, having spent three days, and bought no rice.

After seeing the famine villages, the fact is impressed upon one that there are in India two nations, one the illiterate rustics who pay to the centre, and the other, educated and literate and city-bred, who are paid, in one way and another, directly or indirectly, from the centre. And between the two there is a great gap. There seems to be no vital connection between the peasants and boatmen of Matibhanga and the lawyers and doctors of Barisal and Calcutta.

It is as if the circulation of blood through the system were represented by the agricultural classes, and the circulation of blood through the lungs by the town-dwelling and town-educated, and as if between these, instead of the heart of the organism, energised by and responsive to the body as a whole, and vitally affected for good or ill by each influence that falls on any part of it, there were a mass of some intruded substance, ignorant of the needs, unfeeling of the vicissitudes of the body politic, and only vaguely simulating the functions of cardiac tissue. Is this what it means to have a foreign Government ? Is such a state of things inseparable from the fact of an alien officialdom ?

Have we here but an added proof of the eternal verity of the words, "He that is an hireling, whose own the sheep are not, seeth the wolf coming, and leaveth the sheep and fleeth. The hireling fleeth, *because he is an hireling, and careth not for the sheep ?*"

VI

THE PROGRESS OF POVERTY

How futile, when one has seen a famine, sound all discussions as to whether or not India in the past has known as great catastrophes ! A fair mansion, standing on the side of a great river, suddenly falls in a year of flood, and what remains of it henceforth is only a ruin. The house fell the moment the waters reached a certain level. Yes. But it would not have fallen at such a touch, only that during long years before, the underpinnings and foundations had been steadily sapped and undermined. The final calamity was only the last scene in a drama of disaster long proceeding in silence. And the house itself could never have been built under such conditions. That is the whole argument. The common-wealth was never built up under such conditions.

Everything that one sees in East Bengal to-day is so much saved from happier times. Is it the pride and independence of fisher-folk and farmers ? Is it the delicate hospitality of starving villagers ? Both alike, if the present strain continue long enough, must assuredly give way to a sordid pauperism. They could never, under such disadvantages, have sprung into being.

No, the ruin wrought by fire, or earthquake, or tidal wave, may happen in an hour. But famine, on the scale on which we have seen it here, implies a long train of preparatory circumstances, with which a bad season or a series of bad seasons, suddenly coincides, to work visible devastation. That a certain combination of bad seasons must necessarily recur, in every century or half century, will, I presume, appear a truism, to the mathematician versed in the doctrine of chances. And that an agricultural civilisation of three thousand years' standing should be familiar with, and make provision for the fact of such a recurrence, will appear equally a truism to the student of sociology.

It is in accordance with this fact that the people of East Bengal have been in the habit of keeping always stored in their houses, some two or three years' provision of rice at a time. All over India, the family that is rich enough buys its rice for the month or the year, by the *maund*, even as in London, we buy coal by the ton.* But the farmer was supposed never to encroach, for the purposes of the market, upon the store of grain that was to secure food to his household and dependents, not only during the current year but also during two scanty harvests ahead, should the country be so unfortunate as to experience these. Now those who have followed the story which I am telling, will at once perceive the necessity of this. The convention was etiquette. It was more, it was morality, *Dharma*, the national righteousness. But it was more even than these. It was plain common-sense. For we have seen that the farmer who cannot pay for labour even under the agricultural mischance of a bad harvest, (strictly parallel to a season of commercial or manufacturing debits instead of credits), must necessarily fall from the position of an employer of labour, into that of the employé or day-labourer himself. Instead of a farmer, he is now a *Chasha* or ploughman, merely. Food may return into the district, through relief associations or along the railways, but this is not the same thing as its returning into his hands. He has lost his social status, and it will be long before he can possibly regain it. The security of the farmer as a capitalist, depends, then upon this one thing, and upon it alone, that he keep in possession a three-years' supply of rice. In the district of Mogra Hat, in the close neighbourhood of Calcutta, where the houses of the peasants are built of more permanent materials than further east, I know of nothing more pathetic to see than the

* A *maund*, is about 80 lbs, *i.e.* more than half a cwt. It represents, as food, about one hundred and sixty days for one person.

long array of village-granaries—many of them structures of an exquisite beauty—empty! And there, as I have been able to ascertain, not one has held even a month's supply of rice, for three long years!

The rise in the money value of food is sufficient to explain to us the impossibility for the East Bengal farmers, during recent years, of abiding by the injunction of the forefathers that they should keep rice in their granaries. They have lived in a world which regards it as more essential that they should keep money in their purse. And thus. It is known to every one that the standard silver coin in India is called a rupee, and may be taken, for purposes of internal trade, as theoretically equal to an English florin. Now a couple of hundred years ago or so, in the days of the Mohammedan rulers of Bengal, there reigned one *Shaishta Khan* in Dacca, and this Nawab must have been good and great. Like Asaf-ud-Dowlah of Lucknow, his memory lives to this day on the grateful lips of all, Hindus and Mohammedans alike, who would once have been counted amongst his subjects. For he understood the true glory of the king of a nation of peasants, and he built a great gate in Dacca and closed it, and upon it,—it being a sort of agricultural *Arc de Triomphe*—he caused an inscription to be made, saying that the portals were never to be opened again till there should arise a ruler in Dacca who should do more for the people than he had done, inasmuch as he had made rice to be sold in the bazaar at eight maunds to the rupee, that is to say, at six English hundredweights for a florin!

But some one will say, if rice was plentiful, money was scarce, in those days. This is true. Still, the story gives us a starting point. For the gates were never opened after. None was able to outdo *Shaishta Khan* of Dacca on his chosen field of victory.

Twenty-five years ago, however, money was as accessible in East Bengal as it is to-day. There was no great difference in this respect



THE SAVARI OFFERING PLUMS TO SITA AND RAMA.

Drawn for THE MODERN REVIEW by M. V. Dhurandhar.

INDIAN PRESS, ALMORA, ALMORA.

between then and now. And in Barisal, twenty-five years ago, rice was bought at a florin and a quarter per *maund*. This is of course a great deterioration from the days of Shaishta Khan, but how does it compare with to-day's price, from six and a half to seven and a half florins for the same commodity, and the value steadily rising? Even ten or eleven years ago, rice was sold in Barisal for two florins a *maund*!

On some of the islands, again, in the district of Noakhali—slightly east from this of Backergunge with its capital of Barisal,—on some of these islands, only six years ago, there was such fertility, cultivation was so easy, and export, be it added, was so difficult and dangerous, that rice was sold at less than a florin a *maund*! It will be understood that under these circumstances money changed hands but little, while most of the trade and most of the labour was paid in kind, a fact which, in a peasant-world, is a sure sign of prosperity. It is not many years, indeed, since a man from one of these islands picked up on a roadside a roll of Indian bank-notes, worth altogether some three thousand two hundred florins. Neither he nor his neighbours had ever seen such curious pictures, but they considered them to be not without a certain beauty. So they were distributed amongst the villagers and pasted on the walls for decoration. Then the police came to hear of it, and the serpent entered this Eden. For the notes were traced to their actual owner, and a heavy reward taught the innocent islanders the value of money!

But what have been the causes at work to transfer the peasant's ambition from rice to silver, from a well-filled granary to a well-filled till? For unless the ambition had been so transferred, it is clear that the money value of grain could not have risen so rapidly. Six and a half to fourteen florins is a merchant's, not a farmer's price. That is to say, only when a province has been denuded, and all its food

has to be imported, could the crop of the country reach such a value.

With regard to this question, it is perhaps sufficient to say that all over India a process is going on, in consequence of which the peasant has come to look upon money as wealth. And this process may be briefly indicated by the statement that rent and taxes have to be paid in coin. The foreign tax-gatherer, the foreign minister of the exchequer, know nothing of rice as the ultimate standard of value. To them, the precious metals occupy this place. And this is a fact which would tend of itself to impoverish the peasant, relatively to the other classes of the community, even if all the wealth of India remained within her own borders. The fact that it does not do so is too well-known to need repetition at this point. My present object is merely to examine whether there be any local or little-known circumstances which may recently have contributed in some special measure to undermine the prosperity of East Bengal, and so have prepared the way for the existing calamity. It is undoubted that the burden of taxation is too heavy. It will be objected that Bengal enjoys what is known as the Permanent Settlement, and that the amount of her taxation is consequently fixed. The answer can hardly be regarded as ingenuous. The Permanent Settlement has long been tampered with in the shape of cesses. There is the Roads Cess, and there is the District Cess, and of late years it would appear that the latter has been doubled. The District Board, moreover, are given to spending these revenues on the foreign ideal instead of on those works which would be appropriate to the needs and civilisation of the district. The latter requires, above all things, the maintenance and development of the water-ways. Now the Board does not consist of English members preponderantly, perhaps, but it is undoubtedly composed to a great extent of those who are nominees of

the English, and known to be dominated by the English conception of things, which is, the opening up of the country by means of long roads and light iron bridges, all of which, practically, go to feed the foreign engineer and none of them to restore the native fisheries. Over and above these impositions, again, the people feel, as being a real grievance, the fact that what they call 'Settlement Operations' have been fastened upon them during the last three years. That is to say, the Government has undertaken to examine into all outstanding disputes and grievances about landed interests, and to settle them once for all. Formerly, there were a couple of officers kept for this purpose, and it was possible for any landowner who desired an examination of claims that concerned him, to obtain the services of this small staff, for a definite fee. A few years ago, however, some one who to the people appears less wise than meddling, moved Government to undertake the settlement of all claims, whether the claimants

desired an official verdict or not. The result was of course the fastening of a large body of settlement officers upon the country, and the occasioning of a vast crop of lawsuits, while to the humbler classes of those called witnesses, the matter appeared simply as an added opportunity for the exactions of servant and petty retainers, in the form of tips, and for loss of time unspeakably precious to the agricultural labourer, in hanging about courts waiting politely on the law's delay. Many undesirable forms of expenditure have thus undoubtedly contributed to bleed the fair territory of the granary of Bengal, till trembling already on the verge of exhaustion she was little fit to bear the shock of succession of bad harvests. Yet even so, it was not these which did the bulk of the mischief. A still graver economic evil than any of them has been at work for some years past, and of this I propose to give some description in my next article.

Sept., 26, 1906.

THE LAW AS A PROFESSION*

THIS is a large subject and to one fond of rhetoric it affords ample scope. I propose to confine myself, however, to some practical observations with special reference to the conditions of things which obtain in these provinces.

The first question which presents itself to a young man in India is that of the choice of a profession. At one time it used to be the ambition of everybody to enter Government service. Even men belonging to wealthy or aristocratic families, who stood in no want, thought it respectable to accept employment under Government. But things have changed

since. The available posts are after a limited, and every door is thronged with suitors. Besides service as a means of earning one's livelihood has lost its attraction. Even men who have passed their whole lives in service do not always wish their sons to follow on their footsteps. They would prefer their sons to adopt some independent profession. Now among learned professions, so far as I can see, there are only two of any practical importance in India, viz., Medicine and Law. But the profession of medicine requires a more lengthened course of preparation. You have to go through a five years' course

* An address delivered at the Princeton Hall, Christian College, Allahabad.

qualify yourself for it, and the course of study is difficult, expensive and long. The law course, on the other hand, is a two year's course, you may complete your general education, obtain your M. A. or D. Sc. degree, and then take it up, and yet enter life as a lawyer about the same time as a College-fellow of yours who passed only the Intermediate examination in arts and then joined a Medical College. The choice, therefore, of the profession of law in the case of many of our young men is no other than Hobson's choice.

The next question is how to prepare oneself for this profession. The University requires a law student to pass a stiff examination, if not two, and ordinarily it is only a graduate in arts or science who can sit for this examination. The standard of admission is a high one and the reason is plain. As an American Judge has put it,

"Since the spark of all sciences in the world are taken up in the ashes of the law, there is no knowledge upon any subject which may not be useful at some time or other to a lawyer, and for that reason, the more liberal the education of the applicant, the better. It is impossible for the lawyer to thoroughly know too much." *

It is essential for a lawyer to be liberally educated and the more liberal his education the better fitted he will be for the profession. No advocate can afford to be wise on one subject alone, to have his intellect cultivated in part. To quote an able writer,

"his information must be universal as the range of human inquiry; his intelligence must have no limits but those of the human mind." †

Now here I desire to observe that neither the courses prescribed, nor the examinations held, by the University of Allahabad are calculated to broaden the basis of education in these provinces. Experts and pseudo-experts rule the Senate, with the result that we begin specialisation too early, before, in fact, our

boys have matriculated. The intellectual vision consequently of even our best B. A.'s and M. A.'s and B. Sc.'s and D. Sc.'s becomes narrowed and contracted, and it is only a very very limited field of knowledge that comes within their ken. I have great respect for the specialist and the expert. But few specialists are experts and a body of specialists can seldom do much practical good in the ordinary affairs of daily life. It has been well said that in our age we have, in instruction, too much specialization, because it is easy, but the imperative demand of society is for generalization. * One great practical difficulty that arises in view of the courses prescribed by the University is that before the parent or guardian of a boy has been able to make up his mind as to what he is going to do with the boy, or before the boy is in a position to be able to judge for himself about the career in life which will suit him best, the subjects which the boy has to offer for examination must be finally decided. The reason of this is that the courses are uneven and the object of all *alumni* of the University is naturally to pass its examinations. My meaning will become clearer by considering a concrete instance. The University regulations, as they now stand, offer an option to an intending matriculant. He may either study Natural Science and Classics or one of the foregoing, and either some other classical subject or an Indian Vernacular or a Modern European language or Drawing or Agriculture with Surveying. But while there will apparently be only one paper set at the examination in Physics and Chemistry, there will be three in Sanskrit, and out of the three it will be necessary to pass separately in the translation or unseen paper. Now, is that an equal course? I am an A course man myself, but if I had to begin afresh, I would without hesitation offer Physics and Chemistry and Drawing for my Matriculation examination,

* Hon. A. W. Hutton, "The Duty of the Bench, to the Bar," 40 American Law Review, p. 858.

† E. W. Cox, *The Advocate*, vol. I, p. 6.

* Prof. Brooks Adams, *Centralisation and the Law*, p. 41.

and not bother myself with any classical language with three papers on Text, Grammar and Unseens to be separately passed in. What then is the result of a course like this? It is Hobson's choice again, and the boy is booked for the B course before he can realise the distinction between the A course and the B course, and before he can determine in which direction his natural aptitudes lie. This boy may, after he has taken his degree, take to the study of law, but he will come to the study without any knowledge worth the name of, say, history, political economy, logic or philosophy. I do not mean to imply that a graduate in mathematics and natural science is not likely to be a good lawyer. But under the peculiar circumstances I have referred to, the study not being one of real choice, the knowledge cannot be well assimilated, and as law is not wholly an abstract science, such knowledge as he has of physical sciences will seldom prove an asset of any value.

And this leads me to the next question—How should law be studied? In India we generally study Acts and Codes. In England text-books are more read, and in America cases. Our system I consider worst, because it is the essence of a code to be brief, and a student who is told to get up a code for an examination will often be able to commit it to memory, but will seldom be able to understand and digest it. This is not the place to discuss the advantages of codification; it is very convenient for many purposes to have authoritative summaries which crystallise and formulate the rules of law in an easily available form. But none but an advocate of cramming will recommend the study of codes to young students who have not previously received a legal training. Text-books, on the other hand, if written in a scientific spirit, are read both with pleasure and profit. They enable a student to grasp the principles which underlie the complex systems of law that Courts have to administer, and thus furnish

him with a clue to the labyrinth of cases and opinions in which he otherwise might have lost himself. But there is one drawback even here: a good text-book places so much ready-made material in your hands and does for you the thinking which you should have done. It is essential for all lawyers to cultivate the power of close reasoning from premise to conclusion, and all study that is likely to enfeeble this power can lead but to knowledge at once superficial and inaccurate. A student of law, like every other true student, must investigate for himself, must think for himself and must draw his own conclusions, so far as practicable.

"The art of *reading law*," according to Cox, "is an aptitude for sucking the marrow of a case,—for discerning the point really decided by it, with little reliance upon the author's citation, and less upon the reporter's marginal note."*

Later teachers consequently have gone back to the fountain-head and attempted to take their students through a selected body of actual decisions, upon which, after all, both our statutes and our text-books are founded. This 'historical method,' as it has been called, was inaugurated in the United States by the late Professor Langdell, and has some manifest advantages. In studying a case the student is enabled to see law in its actual application, he comes to understand how particular principles may be invoked by the different parties to a litigation, and how rules may be modified with reference to varying states of facts, he learns to appreciate the effect of decisions which, though the decisions are made in special cases, is often far-reaching and but seldom simple. Here again, however, there is a drawback. The *corpus juris* is so vast that a study even of select cases must tend to an unscientific specialization, if not to metaphysical abstractions.

"I fear that nothing can be more misleading," says Professor Adams, "than to read an historical series of decisions relating to corporations or contracts, for

* *The Advocate*, Vol. I, p. 88.

example, without a commentary on the social changes which have caused and are causing old legal notions to vary fundamentally from modern."* "You should not, like Lord Coke, look upon the law as a confused dust heap. The law is not a series of arbitrary distinctions to be retained by memorizing. The law, if we view it right, presents a series of phenomena, evolved by the conflict of social forces; and if we would understand those phenomena, we must begin by understanding the society which caused them. To do otherwise would be to resemble a botanist who should study plants without regarding soil or climate, or a zoologist who omitted natural selection."†

"In this view of the matter," says Dean Bigelow, "the past does not govern the present; the books do not contain, either in development or in germ, all the law. To understand the law, past or present, the decisions of the courts and the acts of the legislature must be read in the light of accompanying social history."‡

This has been called a 'scientific school of legal thought,' and lectures are now being delivered in the University Law School at Boston upon these lines. The University of Allahabad still sticks to Acts and text-books; the University of Calcutta requires further the study of select decisions; but we are yet far off from the goal. Let us see if the proposed Law College in Allahabad will carry us any nearer.

To the law student then my advice is to train himself in such a manner that he can understand the relations and the different parts of the law to each other and to society. He should avoid over-burdening his memory, with "single instances," he should try more and more to think out and get at the root principles, wherever these exist, and he should specialise only after he has made the foundations broad and firm.

"Surely five leading cases, recollected with accuracy," says Mr. Warren, "are worth five hundred imperfectly understood. Attentive reading, frequent reflection upon whatever is read, and application of it to business are the only guarantees of distinctness

* *Centralisation and the Law*, p. 42.

† *Ibid*, p. 45.

‡ 23 *Law Quarterly Review*, p. 2; 41 *American Law Review*, p. 28.

of thought and recollection." Lord Coke insists that since "reason is the soul of the law, it can not be said that we know the law until we apprehend the reason of the law."

A practising lawyer will find that it is not possible to know all the law, but it is necessary to know where to find the law. "By libraries," it has been well said, "we have infinite memories, if we can use them."*

But intellectual culture alone is not sufficient to make a good lawyer. Character is here as much the one thing needful as in other walks of life. It is an honourable profession and calls for honourable men. There is an idea abroad that lawyers may be dishonest and yet prosper. Some will probably go further and say—lawyers should be dishonest if they want to prosper. This proposition, however, I totally and emphatically deny. There are dishonest men everywhere in the world and it is a pity that in this life, at any rate, they do not always get their deserts. It is also true that many dishonest men have taken to the profession of law and by preying upon confiding humanity have sometimes attempted to bring disgrace upon that profession. But I do not believe that dishonesty and shady practices have ever led to permanent and enduring success. Our scriptures tell us that Truth conquers everything. So Honour and Truth should be our watchwords. Whether at the bar or on the bench the function of a lawyer is to minister at the temple of justice, and no uncleanness should trespass within those sacred precincts.

Last, but not least, is physical capacity. I would not advise anybody with a weak physique to try to qualify for the bar. Law is a jealous mistress, and the life of a successful lawyer is a hard one. His slumbers may not be disturbed by dreams of official superiors and task-masters, but if he wants to do his work well—and whatever is worth doing at all is worth doing well—he must work hard. very

* *Centralisation and the Law*, p. 43.

hard indeed. The confinement of the study, the excitement of practice, the crowded court by day, and the vigil of thought by night, all tell upon one's health.* It is in a world of keen competition that the lawyer has to live and his responsibilities are heavy. Whether you have to prepare a brief or to argue a case or adjudicate upon a quarrel, you have to labour and toil, to take infinite pains. No wonder a brilliant scholar after he has achieved success in his profession degenerates into a mere lawyer, and one who was not brilliant otherwise never rises to anything else. A lawyer with a weak constitution starts sadly handicapped in the race, and Mr. Cox thinks that a young man wanting a frame generally healthy and lungs which are sound should, without hesitation, abandon the profession.

The next point is, after having taken your degree and got enrolled as a pleader or advocate, how to get on. There is no royal road to success. Many deserving men do not get on, many comparatively undeserving men, on the other hand, achieve a fair amount of success. I have, therefore, heard the profession of law sometimes compared to a lottery where the prizes are few and the blanks many. I do not consider the comparison quite apt, but before I observe upon the general aspects of this question, I desire to invite your attention to two or three special matters which it behoves everybody intending to practise in these provinces to reflect upon. The first difficulty which the young practitioner will probably feel oppressed with is the congested state of the bar in most of the districts. Everybody will tell you that the bar is over-crowded. So it is probably all the world over. But if that is so, that is no reason why you should lose heart. My good friends, there is always room at the top, and it is there that you should fix your gaze. Of course no heights can be gained by simply gazing at them, it is only by earnest and laborious effort that you can scale

them. But if you are not prepared to make this effort, you had better keep away and not think of the profession of law at all. I believe with a recent writer on the subject, that the law offers as good opportunities as any other line for making a living and for winning success.

"Every line of work and every profession is over-crowded until you prove that you are worth a place above the crowd. The crowd is pretty largely composed of incompetents, and in every town men are constantly taking up the practice and passing in the race men who had sought to discourage them by pointing out their own lack of success."*

But you will find that not only is the bar overstocked, but in many districts its morale is low, it is infested by men who for the purposes of gain are prepared to sacrifice their conscience. This to my mind is the real difficulty in District Court practice. Dishonest men will backbite you, malign you, and underbid you. The remedy no doubt lies largely in the hands of the leaders of the bar. If the bar association of a particular station make up their minds to put down dishonourable practices, they can do much. But our leaders do not always feel interested in the struggling juniors, and those who have made their mark in the profession can be but seldom injured by the low practices of the pettifoggers at the lowest rung of the ladder. What we want, it seems to me, is more fellow-feeling and less selfish ideals. The growth of healthy *esprit de corps* might go a long way to remove the evil. A central association in Allahabad acting in concert with local associations at different stations ought to be able to improve matters.

I have no other remedy to suggest for this third difficulty, too, in the way of a successful legal practice in these provinces. This arises from the constant friction between the bench and the bar. The bench unhappily in India is but seldom recruited from the bar, the lower

* Cox *The Advocate*, Vol. I, p. 11.

* *Law Students' Helper*, quoted in 17 *Madras Law Journal*, pp. 1 et. seq.

appellate judiciary is often lacking in training, and the magistracy, though invested with very responsible judicial powers, is purely executive in training and tendency. Under the circumstances some friction between the bench and the bar is inevitable, but this friction attains an acute form in our criminal courts. Where the same officer is practically the policeman, the prosecutor and the judge, it is easy to see that he will not take kindly to an honest and independent advocate, who appears to defend the accused and exerts himself to prevent a conviction. We find, therefore, that the pleader is not a *persona grata* with our magistrates, who generally delight to snub him as an obstructionist and a nuisance. And I may here remark that the pleaders as a body are in bad odour with the imperialistic Anglo-Indian. But for this the Indian lawyers are not to blame. A man who is educated and independent and has learnt to think for himself and to speak out his thoughts need not distress himself on account of a critic who fancies his interests to be different and does not choose to see eye to eye with him. But the grievances of the District Court practitioner against the district officers are perfectly legitimate. They were forcibly explained in the columns of the *Indian People* sometime ago. But I do not know that any bar association in the province has taken any action in the matter. No practitioner would be justified in picking up a quarrel with a magistrate, or in playing the role of an obstructionist in a court of justice, but he must do his duty by his client without fear, and, if the magistrate is no better than he sometimes is, all self-respecting lawyers ought to boycott his court. Desperate diseases require desperate remedies.

And here it is pertinent to remark that if the bar owes some duties to the bench, so does the bench to the bar. No ignorant man can be a good judge and no coward dare be one. A judge should be honest and impartial and

ought to guard against precipitancy and procrastination. He should realise that of one organism the bench and the bar are two constituents and that the bar stands second in importance only to the judge in every fully appointed and equipped court of justice. The judge, therefore,

"should recognise the fact that every worthy member of the bar is entitled to respect, and should be courteous to all, and by his conduct, as well as by the rules of practice, in so far as he may without violating the statute, lend the aid of the bench in the establishment of the profession upon a high plane of morals."*

"Criticism is a tonic", says Lord Justice Vaughan Williams, "that is absolutely necessary to the well-being of everybody who has to administer justice", and no judge should be impatient of criticism.

Having disposed of these special matters, I will now proceed to enquire how success may be attained in the profession. I do not believe in any tricks. You have heard, no doubt, of Chaucer's sergeant-at-law who ever seemed busier than he was. You have probably heard of the advice of the American lawyer who said, "If your clients do not believe in you, double your fees." But that is not how you can win the confidence of your clients, and until you can win this confidence you will never get on. It may in the first instance be difficult to get a client. Unless you have some interest and some influence, you may have to wait a long time for one. But when you do get a client, you have to win his confidence. And this you will be able to do only if you are a genuine man, genuine in all things, in manner, in speech, in thought, in deed.† You must make the most of your period of waiting, of your years of probation and preparation, so that when the hour of trial comes, you may be found worthy and fit. A young lawyer cannot afford to make many mistakes at the beginning of

* "The Duty of the Bench to the Bar," 40 *American Law Review*, pp. 855, et seq.

† Cox, *The Advocate*, Vol. I, p. 62.

his career.* He must, therefore, be prepared for his opportunities, and when they come he must make the most of them. The years when he has no work must be the years of hardest work for him. Lord Eldon said that if a man wanted to become a great lawyer he had to live like a hermit and work like a horse. He should cultivate assiduously the habits of reading, thinking and observing. He should take "Never despair" as his motto, and a brave and pure spirit will win for him half the battle. The motive for work may be manifold, a man may be in want, he may be in love, he may be ambitious, but work, if hard, solid and honest, must pay in the end. The young student in India as a rule lies under a dreadful incubus of poverty, and, as the poet has it, "slow rises worth by poverty depressed." But I believe that if you make yourself worthy of the hire, the hire will come. Profound knowledge is not enough, nor will sound morals always insure success. "Manners makyth man," and in court, in his office, in society, at home, let no lawyer forget that he is a gentleman, and that he belongs to a highly honourable profession, the dignity of which he must sustain.† Recently in the *Grand Magazine* there was an interesting article on "Success in the law." There the opinion of Lord Russell of Killowen is cited, as also that of Lord Lindley. The former authority specifies the qualifications as four, *viz.*, love of the profession for its own sake, physical health to endure its trial, clear-headed commonsense, and ability to wait, and, though perhaps the most eloquent advocate of his age, he attaches but little value to eloquence,—deeming clear, terse, pointed and practical speech to be all that is needed. The latter authority requires—

"Good health ; power of sleep and not thinking over work done : close attention to everything taken in hand ; method ; real perseverance ; not shirking but

facing difficulties ; devotion to truth and justice and to law as a science, regardless of fees."

You must put your heart to the work, make a pleasure of your business, and advance with conviction and confidence. There must be both self-reliance and self-control. In India you are seldom called upon to address a jury the judge generally decides both questions of law and of fact. You need not, therefore cultivate the art of oratory. Discriminate select, and confine your attention to the relevant facts, and place them in as lucid and graphic a way as you can before the judge. Be brief and to the point, and do not confuse either him or yourself with a long catalogue of precedents. Much the larger majority of cases raise only issues of fact, and if an question of law arises it is generally one which is clear beyond dispute. It is only in a very small proportion of cases that points of law which are either unsettled or difficult, have to be discussed, and these can be settled, as we have seen, only when the reason of the law is apprehended.

"The minds and hearts of those we address are apt to be closed," says Mr. Hoffman, "when the lungs are appealed to instead of logic ; when assertion is relied on more than proof ; and when sarcasm and invective supply the place of deliberate reasoning." *

The most desirable attainment of a lawyer according to David Paul Brown, is composure. He should be respectful to the court, but not show it overweening deference. I am not to-day discoursing on the art of winning cases, and I am quite prepared to admit that the mental, moral and physical qualities which by experience are found to secure success in the profession admit of innumerable permutations. But I believe that true worth and honest endeavour cannot fail in the long run to bring success.

You will now probably want to know what the prospects of a lawyer in India are. On this thing is certain, a great deal of abuse at the hands of men who do not like or affect not to

* Hardwicke, *Art of Winning Cases*, p. 460.

† Hardwicke, *Art of Winning Cases*, p. 459.

* Quoted in Hardwicke, *Art of Winning Cases*, p. 481.

like their honest and independent ways. But this does not hurt. As a matter of fact among the educated men it is only the lawyers and the doctors who are in a position to devote themselves effectively to their country's cause, and upon this fact both the lawyers and the doctors are entitled to congratulate themselves. Next, if you succeed as a lawyer, you may be able to secure an easy competence, if not affluence, at the bar. If you do not care to be an advocate, you may become a judge. In either capacity you will be serving your country and discharging a very lofty function indeed. For your vocation will be to help in the administration of even-handed justice between man and man, and to assist in the elucidation of truth. Close not your eye or heart because a particular suitor's means are low, sacrifice not your convictions to interest or prejudice. Do not judge where you are not appointed to judge, but do not knowingly forward a cause which is unjust and wrong. Do not lose heart because you make mistakes or because your judges make mistakes. The ultimate result of litigation is not always according to its merits as disclosed by the record, but according to the deserts of the parties as known to a higher

tribunal than any on the earth. With our limited vision we do not, we can not see, we fail, we fail, we are disappointed at every step. But again I would say, do not lose heart. It is God's work and man's which you are doing, and no good work well done is ever thrown away. Every lawyer owes a debt to his profession. Not failure, but low aim, is crime and every lawyer, however humble, may make one contribution to his profession. He may so practise it as to elevate its standard of morals and increase the respect and confidence of the community in its fidelity to the trust reposed in it. The lawyer is by profession the patron of innocency, the upholder of right, the scourge of oppression and the terror of deceit.* He should be the healer of wounds and the bringer of peace. It is our duty and our privilege to maintain order and to suppress wrong in all its protean shapes. It is for us to see that we leave our country happier and more prosperous than we found it, so that our sincere practice, in Ben Jonson's words, may breed not us a fame alone, but all our rank a reverend name.

SATISH C. BANERJI.

* Hardwicke, *op cit*, p. 457.

NADIR SHAH AT DELHI

THE historical literature of this country, as hitherto published, rests, in not a few cases, on very slender materials. The vast records, which, it is reasonable to suppose from the fragments thereof being now and then brought to light, must have at one time existed, having perished in the revolutionary changes that followed in close succession, while such of the records as escaped the

fate of the larger portion, being in the possession of those who could not appreciate the value of their documentary possessions, those who had to compile any history of any period of the country, have very often to base their task on scanty and not very reliable sources. The contact with the now highly advanced West has, however, taught us the value of what were at one time considered

mere scraps of paper, and many families now understand the utility of the old papers in their possession in furnishing materials for history, and if rightly approached, lay them at the disposal of the inquiring student. In these changed circumstances, it becomes desirable to perpetuate the testimony that may thus be found for historical information by publishing the same. The translation given below of the letters forming part of the correspondence which passed between the Mahratta envoys at Delhi and the Peshwa's court at Poona about the time of the invasion of Nadir Shah, is an attempt in that direction, and it is to be hoped it will prove interesting to those engaged in a study of the history of this country.

The letters of which the following are translations relate to those stirring times when the invasion of Nadir Shah was shaking the throne of Delhi and threatening the complete overthrow of the great Moghul Empire. The memorable events to which reference is made therein took place, it will be remembered, in A. D. 1739, when Muhammad Shah was the Emperor at Delhi, and Baji Rao Ballal, one of the ablest Peshwas, was at the helm of affairs in the Deccan. The Mahratta Envoys to the Court of Delhi, and to other Rajput Princes, were, Venkaji Ram, Vishwas Rao Dadaji, Govind Narayen, Sadas Shiv Ballal and a few others, and the following letters form a part, as already stated, of the correspondence between these Envoys and their royal master, the famous Baji Rao. The reports received from time to time from these representatives of the Mahratta Power are, it will be seen from the letters, frequently of a contradictory nature, but though sometimes conflicting, these despatches are useful in revealing the relative positions of the armies of Delhi and of Persia, the respective parts taken by the principal officers at this critical time, and the attitude of Savai Jay Singh and Baji Rao towards the Delhi Court. Jay Singh's hostile feelings towards the Mo-

ghul Court may be judged by the disappointment to which he is reported to have given expression in two of the letters when he heard of the Moghul success, and by his exclamations of joy when he heard of Nadir Shah's victory. It appears from the letter of Venkaji Ram that at one time an idea was entertained by some, that Baji Rao and Jay Singh could not for their own purposes take advantage of the disorder and anarchy prevailing at Delhi. Subsequent history, however, tells us as we can also gather from this fragmentary correspondence, that the idea, if it had been ever entertained, was ultimately abandoned.

It is interesting to note that there is no reference whatsoever in these letters to the accusation once current against the Nizam-ul-Mulk of having invited Nadir Shah to India out of revenge for having been likened to a monkey by the Emperor Muhammad Shah, and the absence of such reference may be taken to show that the story of the Nizam-ul-Mulk having invited Nadir Shah may not be correct. It is no doubt true that these letters do not form the whole correspondence which must have passed at the time, and the above suggestion as to the probable incorrectness of the story is based only on what could be inferred from such letters as are published below. The conduct of the Nizam-ul-Mulk as described in these despatches appears to be innocent of the blame of having himself sought the destruction of his country attached by tradition to him; for had any such thing existed there might have been at least some reference to it in these letters, fragmentary though they are. Mr. Irvine, who also, in his paper on "Nadir Shah and Muhammad Shah," printed at page 24 in the Royal Asiatic Society's Journal, Vol. LXVI, part I, refers to this story, does not himself regard it as historically true.

Sir John Malcolm in his work on Persia has reproduced in English the letter from Nadir Shah which he wrote to his son from India.

and which contains a very graphic account of the march and successes of Nadir Shah, while in Delhi. The reader will on a reference to that letter find that the account given in the letters published below agrees in the main with that given by Nadir Shah in his memorable letter.

These letters form but a very small portion of the whole correspondence which it appears must have passed between Venkaji Ram and others, and Baji Rao Pant Pradhan; but,



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fragments as they are, they derive special interest from the fact that they were written by persons who lived in those very times, and who represented a powerful nation, interested in the momentous issues of the invasion. The responsibility of those who wrote them in keeping their Royal Master properly informed was as great as the events themselves were important, and it may be expected that these letters are a faithful record of the various

reports which were current at Delhi and elsewhere in those days.

It must be mentioned that the spellings of proper names and other vernacular words are not in exact accordance with the spellings of such names and words as pronounced in the Persian language. The spellings given below of such names and words are in accordance with the words as they are written in the letters themselves. English dates corresponding to the Indian ones occurring in the letters are given in the foot-notes.

The photograph of Nadir Shah reproduced here has been taken from his portrait in Malcolm's work on Persia.

Letter No. 1.

Shri (Prosperity).

The following is the purport of the letter addressed by Kashiram from Delhi to Muhammad Shufi. Reports from the battles of the 15th* and 16th† Jilkad were received at Delhi on the 17th‡ idem, stating that Sadat Khan visited the Emperor at Karnal Camp, during which visit news arrived that Nadir Shah's men plundered from behind the treasures and camping baggage and killed the Bakshee (an officer whose duty it is to make disbursements to the army) of Sadat Khan. Sadat Khan on hearing of it, went to punish those men with the permission of the Emperor. At the time Asafjahan advised that that time was not proper for fighting. Sadat Khan in spite of this advice went to fight with the enemies. The Emperor sent other officers to his aid. A fierce fight took place between Kajalbash on the one hand and Sadat Khan on the other. Kajalbash having divided his army into three parts routed the forces of Sadat Khan. About seven to eight thousand men fell in the battle on both sides. Sadat Khan was wounded and captured with his elephant. Hassan Khan Koka, Mir Suddy,

* 14th February, A. D. 1739.

† 15th February, A. D. 1739.

‡ 16th February, A. D. 1739.

Ali Bamit Khan Koka, Rao Kirparam Vakil of Savai Jay Singh, Khan Jamakhan, Nisar Mahomed Khan, nephew of Sadat Khan, Mir Lalu, son of Mir Mushrifa, Muzafar Khan, brother of Khan Daura, Balkrishna Ahir Rewadikar, Aksal Alikha, Sahadad Khan Khesaji, Akilbeg Kamalposh, Yadgarkhan, Ratanrai son of Khushalchand, Sitabrai son of Durgadas, Prince Jagatsing, Khan Daura himself with his two sons, Ali Asakarkhan Koka,—all fell in the battle.

Other reports were also received on the 18th* Jilkad at Delhi. In a letter despatched by Kamaruddin Khan with a Sandani Sawar (a camel messenger) and addressed to Dewan Mujlis Rai, it has been stated that Khan Daura, Hassan Khan Koka and Ali Asakarkhan Koka arrived at the Emperor's camp early in the night in a wounded condition. This is what the Sowcars write. Rao Kirparam, Savai's (Jaysing) Vakil, escaped to Jaynagar with twenty-seven horsemen. We have learnt from Muhamus that Radha Krishna, Vakil of Rana (of Udeypur) and Babu Rao Mulhar are in the camp of Nizam-ul-Mulk. When Sadat Khan and Khan Daura started for the battle, the Emperor was going to mount his horse and ride with them, but Nizam-ul-Mulk intervened, suggesting that the haste of those two would not prove favourable to war and that the occasion was not such as to require the presence of the Emperor on the battle-field. He added, "God willing, we shall march to battle on Monday, 29th † Jilkad and win victory. Till then Your Imperial Majesty should postpone going."

Kajalbash only fought, but after the armies of both Sadat Khan and Khan Daura were scattered, did not sieze horses and other property.

A note of Kamruddin Khan addressed to his wife was received on the night of the 28th‡ Jilkad and in that note Kamruddin Khan

writes thus,—“The Emperor has lost everything; nothing remains, God only knows what will happen hereafter!” Such is the new of that letter.

Corn is not to be had even for a rupee per seer, provisions have been stopped, messengers are not allowed to go out of the camp; water is also very scarce. About twenty thousand men, including old and young, from the army of Sadat Khan and other Amirs have run back to Delhi.

Other accounts received at Delhi from the wounded Sadat Khan state that he has been captured with his elephant. He has received only two wounds, and remedies are being applied to those wounds. Ten to fifteen other sirdars who were also captured along with Sadat Khan were released on their telling the captors that they were Sadat Khan's messengers. They were given an escort and sent away, but were warned not to go back to the Emperor's camp or to Delhi. Khan Jamat Khan states that they have fled to the Syeds at Saharanpur. Syed Hussan Saif Khan, brother-in-law of the Emperor Ferokshere, was also slain in the battle.

Letter No. 2.

Received 12th* of Jilhej.

May there be (prosperity).

In the services of the prosperous, ever renowned, pious Lord Pant Pradhan.

The humble salutations of (your Honour's servant Venkaji Ram. To wit:—Upto the 7th day of Magh Vad all is well here. Further Rupram, clerk of Bhikaridas Nakhani, has written from Delhi during the early part of the day that a Jat Sawar who had fled back (to Delhi) gives the following information. That while it was the early part of the night the army of Tohamast Kooli Khan made an attack and passing across the guard-post under Khan Daura advanced on the main army (of the Emperor). The news is that

* 17th February, A. D. 1739. † 28th February, A. D. 1739.

‡ 27th February, A. D. 1739.

* 12th March, A. D. 1739.

† 19th February, A. D. 1739.

Khan Daura and Sadat Khan have been killed. It is not known with certainty whether the Emperor has been killed or has escaped. The reports from the Sowcars (merchant shroffs) state that Tohamast Kooli is victorious. There is no authentic news received yet. The previous reports were that Tohamast Koolie Khan had been captured with seven soldiers. The reports have proved incorrect. I shall write to you whatever authentic news will be received. At present the bare news given above has been sent to you under orders from Rajendra. Anand Rao Sumant and Shaikh Mahomed Shuffi came here on the 13th* day of Magh Vad. Rajendra received them with due honour. Head ornaments, five articles of dress, jewels, money, robe, dresses to their two sons, to their wives, and to Sumant two wristlets and rupees five hundred in cash were the presents made (by Rajendra). Rajendra got up to receive. At the end of the meeting, however, Jay Sing was disappointed in his expectations, and he (Sumant) was sent away to Udeypur with an escort of twenty-five Sowars and fifty soldiers armed with guns. Sheikhjee is here. Dhondoo Pant came to Rajendra's camp early on the night of the 4th of Magh Vad. He paid a visit to Rajendra early on the night of the 5th idem. I have informed your Honour as directed. Dhondoo Pant visits Jay Sing, but as news has been received that Sobharam, Vakil of the Rana of Udeypur was going from Delhi, and while only at a distance of six *koss* (twelve miles) from the Emperor's camp, was killed by Tohamast Kooli's men. The zamindars of Kurukshetra plundered his baggage. Elephants and horses were taken. Many were killed and there was great confusion and consternation, so that Rajendra said he should not give permission to go till a proper time. Then Dhondoo Pant will seize a fortunate opportunity for going. A letter of Kirparam was received on the 7th† of Magh Vad to the

effect that Sadat Khan came to the camp on the 1st* of Magh Vad. The Emperor had commanded Khan Daura to go and fetch him. In obedience to this command, Khan Daura brought him, and an interview with the Emperor then took place. While they two were alone, the army of Tohamast Kooli Khan plundered the baggage of Sadat Khan. When the report of this plunder was received at the camp, Sadat Khan obtained permission from the Emperor and mounting his horse proceeded towards the army. A severe fighting took place. Sadat Khan's army consisted of twenty thousand men in all, but the whole of this army was not available. The portion of his army which had accompanied him to the camp was with him in the battle-field. Heavy fighting took place. Khan Daura sent Kirparam with 5,000 men to assist Sadat Khan. The fight was carried on by each one assisting the other, but of a sudden Sadat Khan's elephant turned and a bullet wounded him so that he died. At the same time Mujafar Khan and others were killed with bullets. While this was the state of affairs, Khan Daura reached the battle field. The fighting with him was also severe. He with his two sons was killed. The army began to retreat and reached the Emperor's camp. No one withstood the enemy and gave battle. All fled. Muhammad Shah was caught or ever killed; but this is not yet authenticated. Kirparam came from the battle-field to the Emperor's camp and while plunder was going on taking forty Sowars (mounted soldiers) started to run away. Fatteram and Kirparam, the two brothers, fled 35 *koss* and reached Bavan Gaon on this side of Kurukshetra. A fighting took place seven *koss* off Kurukshetra. Kirparam has written this and has also written that he will write to us news about the Emperor, and Nizam Kamruddin Khan, all other detailed particulars as soon as he receives the same. The story about Muham-

* 25th February, A. D. 1739. † 19th February, A. D. 1739.

° 12th February, A. D. 1739.

mad Shah having been captured is not correct. I shall write after receiving news. Raja-dhiraj has married the sister of Raja Gopal Singh of Karoli. The marriage took place on the 7th of Magh Vad. For the marriage Savai Jay Singh accompanied by an army came to Raj Thana, a place of four days' journey from Jeypore. The news of the marriage was received in the despatch of the 7th* of Magh Vad. Kirparam who had been to the battlefield fled. Babu Rao has sent no news yet. I shall write whatever news I receive. When the Emperor and Khan Daura invited Rajendra Jay Sing, he did not go. He was feeling dejected at the thought that the Emperor might be victorious. God fulfilled his wishes, for the army of the Emperor was defeated. Now he is delighted that he will join and make an alliance with Tohamast Kooli. Sheikh Muhammad Shuffi was here on the occasion and Dhondoo Pant being also present, they together saw Rajendra. This is what has happened. Under these circumstances your Honour will consider the matter and instruct them, and they will act as they will think proper.

What more could be written? May your favour be always continued. This is the request.

Letter No. 3.

Received 12th Jilhej.†

To the illustrious, ever renowned Lord Pant Pradhan: profound salutations from his humble servant, Venkaji Ram. May it be known that all is well here till this, the 12th day of Magh Vad.‡

Furthermore the story about Tohamast Kooli Khan having been captured with seven followers has turned out false.

By the orders of Rajendra (Sawai Jai Sing) I have communicated the reports subsequently received to the effect that Lahore has been taken and Jikriahkhan made prisoner. Two

* 19th February, A. D. 1739.

† 12th March, A. D. 1739.

‡ 23rd February, A. D. 1739.

other reports have arrived. Kirparam has escaped and returned. He writes that all is over. Of this also I have informed as per orders of Sawai Jay Sing. Further, letters written by several persons from Delhi were received on the 9th* of Magh Vad. Thereupon Rajendra sent for Sheikh Mahomed Shuffi, Dhondoojee Pant and ourselves, and told us that for the present the Emperor Mahomed Shah had been victorious, and that he has returned to his camp proclaiming the victory with great pomp. Sadat Khan came on the 1st day† of Magh Vad, 14th Jilkad. The Emperor sent for Nawab Khan Daura, and had an interview with him. While the Emperor being greatly pleased, was talking in gracious mood, news arrived that the baggage of the army of Sadat Khan was plundered by the people of Tohamast Kooli Khan. Upon this Sadat Khan with permission from the Emperor went against Tohamast Kooli Khan's army, taking with him what army was near at hand. A battle ensued. Nawab Khan Daura, when he came to know of this occurrence, sent Mujaffar Khan Bhau, Ali Mahomed Khan, Ajim Khan, Mir Kavdy and others to assist Sadat Khan, and also an army under Kirparam. This army arrived on the scene of battle while Sadat Khan's army was being attacked, and the battle continued with great force. In the meanwhile Nawab Khan Daura himself came up. Before this the army was reduced to great straits, but on account of his (Nawab Khan Daura's) arrival, the fight was vigorously continued and many were killed. Khan Daura displayed excellent generalship. The Moghuls on the side of Kooli Khan sustained a disgraceful defeat in that battle.

The army of Tohamast Kooli Khan was beaten back; seven Kajalbash were captured alive and the army of Tohamast was routed. The Emperor himself made preparation, mounted his horse and rode to the scene of battle, assisted Khan Daura and Sadat Khan

* 21st February, A. D. 1739.

† 13th February, A. D. 1739.

and sent a shower of bullets and arrows into the enemy's army; the army of Tohamast Kooli fled. The Emperor proclaimed his victory with great pomp. Though Sadat Khan was victorious, his camp with its baggage was plundered. Several persons, including Ali Mahomed Khan Koka, Ajim Khan, Mir Kabdi and others were killed. This is the account of Mujafar Khan and Khan Daura's people. As to Sadat Khan, he received a bullet in his side, but as it did not penetrate the abdomen, his life was saved. Khan Daura received a bullet in one of his legs, but his life also was saved. Thus there has been an occasion of joy. The Emperor made arrangements for Sadat Khan in his own tent, got his wounds dressed and made him presents of tents and other valuables. The evil was for the moment averted. Nadir Shah is wounded with a bullet. His son has been killed. This report about the greater portion of Nadir Shah's army having been killed has been sent to Rajendra, and is also given in the letters received by Sowcars in various places, and this is written to your Honour upon the report and by order of Rajendra. If this victory had not resulted and if Nadir Shah had won in the battle, he would at once have marched to Delhi. The distance was only forty or fifty koss (eighty to one hundred miles). That contingency has been averted. This report receives additional credence from the fact that there is no stir among the people of Delhi and the news has been sent from respectable people there, and this state of affairs evidences the Emperor's victory. Tohamast Kooli Khan has been thrown back defeated. For the present he has gone. The news to be received hereafter will, of course, be authentic and credible, and I shall write it to your Honour as I receive it. Rajendra united himself in marriage with a Princess of the family of Gopal Singh of Karoli, and the marriage was celebrated at Raj Thana on the 7th.* He has encamped at

Khandargarh and will proceed to Jaipur by way of Utgadh. Prince Rajendra feels ashamed that he did not go to help the Emperor. He was pleased when he heard of the victory of Tohamast Kooli. But since he has heard that Muhammad Shah was victorious, he feels dejected. It is yet to be seen whom God will favour with honour. Probably Muhammad Shah will be victorious. This is written by order. I shall send news as soon as I receive it. What more could be written? May your favour be ever continued towards us. When this pair of messengers will have arrived in your Honour's presence, your Honour will give orders. Such is my request.

Letter No. 4.

19th Jilhej*

To The Worshipful Shrimant Rajashri Pant Pradhan,

To wit:—All is well here upto this, the 29th† Jilkad, written from the Emperor's camp at Karnal. By the favour of you, our Lord, all continues well. After Tohamast Kooli's arrival with his army and a battle having taken place, a pair of messengers was despatched. Subsequently another letter was attempted to be sent on 18th‡ Jilkad, but the messengers had to return, because the roads were closed to communication. On the morning of the 20th§ Jilkad I sent other messengers, but they also had to return. The letters given to the two sets of messengers contain all information. Further, on 20th Jilkad, the Emperor having assembled his army, kept it all in readiness near his camp. He sent Asaf-jahan and Yatmant Daulah with the army, and immediately sent in a letter to the camp of Tohamast accompanied by Nawab Gazdhi Khan, Asmulla Khan and five to seven other great nobles with three hundred Savars.

The Wazir of Tohamast came out to a distance of a koss and a half from Tohamast's

* 26th March, A. D. 1739.

† 28th February, ... D. 1739.

‡ 17th February, A. D. 1739.

§ 19th February, ... D. 1739.

© 19th February, A. D. 1739.

camp to meet him and presented him with respectful salutations a copy of the Koran. When the Emperor arrived near the camp, the son of Tohamast came out to receive him and led him to his father's tent. There they both met and conversation followed. The Emperor was received and entertained with much respect. After being entertained, he returned to his camp, where he arrived in the evening. Yatmut Khan Daula and Asafjahan went out to receive the Emperor who entered his tent after accepting a Nazar from them. To-day (the 21st* Jilkad), Tohamast Kooli will visit the Emperor in his tent. Whatever will take place hereafter, I will report to your Honour. At present the disputes have been settled. As the Nawab Asafjahan is the prime authority here, your Honour will be pleased to send letters of recommendation concerning us to Asafjahan and Yatmaat Daula as also to Gazdhi Khan. In letters to Asafjahan Your Honour will be pleased to adopt the same course as adopted in letters to Amir-ul-Umrao. There is no one in power except him. To Asafjahan, therefore, your Honour will be pleased to write letters, and in such letters good and complimentary language should be used to the following effect:—

“Under ordinary circumstances the Empire would have been at an end. It is the good luck of the Emperor that you (Nawab Asafjahan) were there to save the situation. You have saved the Empire and brought about friendship,” and such like expressions so that the Nawab will feel gratified. May this be known to your Honour. After this it is not advisable that your Honour should come here. Your Honour will please remain in Malwa. May this be known to your Honor. This is the request.

Letter No. 5.

In the service of Shrimant Rajamanya (respected) Pant Pradhan : the profound pros-

* 20th February, A. D. 1739.

trations of the obedient servants Vishwas Ra Dadaji and Govind Narayen. This is our request. By the grace of you, our lord, all is well with us, your servants, till to-day, the 9th *Jilhej. The Sowcars received on the 2nd† day of Magh Vad, *chithis* (note) to the effect that while the Emperor of Delhi and Kooli Khan (Nadir Shah) had encamped at Karnal, Nadirkhan Kooli carried away the baggage of the camp of Sadat Khan. Nawab Sadat Khan and Khan Daura then went and fought alone with the troops. The Emperor and Nawab Nizam-ul-Mulk Alimardhi Khan were standing by and looking on. The battle was fierce. From noon to night the battle went on. At last Sadat Khan was captured while Khan Daura returned to the camp wounded. Five thousand men were killed. One of the sons of Khan Daura was killed in the battle, another son was made prisoner while his (Khan Daura's) brother also met with death on the battle-field. Such was the ruin which befell Khan Daura. Afterwards Nizam-ul-Mulk made peace. Another *chithi* (note) was received from Morarjee Pande.

The day on which Kamar-ud-din Khan was taken prisoner, was the 13th‡ of Magh Vad. Sadat Khan was captured. He was appointed to the Office of a Mir Bukshee (pay-master of forces). He came with twenty-five thousand Sowars to Delhi and Nadir Khan has put up at Salemarbagh (garden) here. On the third he entered Delhi. Proclamations in the name of Nadir Shah have been issued at Delhi, and his coins also have been struck. Khan Daura poisoned himself. Nadir Shah presented Shirpav (dress of honour) to Khan Daura's son. Rajadhiraj (Sawai Jay Singh) is expecting your Honor. We are watching to see what may happen. People's ideas may undergo changes. We shall send letters containing reports to be received hereafter. Ma

* 9th March, A. D. 1739.

† 14th February, A. D. 1739.

‡ 25th February, A. D. 1739.

this be known to your Honor. This is the request.

Letter No. 6.

19th Jilhej.* (Supplement).

To—Shrimat Rajshri Pant Pradhan.

This is the request. Tohamast is making people play like a juggler. The Emperor is at his wit's end. It seems there is going to be a revolution. It is difficult to divine the wish of God. Your Honour should not, under such circumstances, think of coming here. Notwithstanding everything, continue to remain at Malwa, and that also with a well-equipped army and well-guarded. The times here are strange. I shall advise your Honour of what will come to my knowledge. I repeat that under no circumstances is it advisable for you to come here. Amir-ul-umra is at present lying wounded and has not sufficient strength even to speak. His influence is on the wane. We are protecting our lives and maintaining our reputation with great difficulty. It is not advisable to open any negotiations about business. We are waiting to see whether Amir-ul-umrao survives. It will soon be seen how matters progress with the different parties, and our line of action will be arranged accordingly. We have advised Dhondoo Pant by letter that he should remain for some time at Jeypur till peace prevails. Your honour should not, for any reason whatsoever, think of coming here. Your honour should keep properly on the alert. The present revolution is likely to cause great upheavals. May this be known to Your Honour. When peace prevails, I shall send for Dhondoo Pant, and act as occasion will require.

Letter No. 7.

Received, 12th Safar.†

Prosperity.

In the service of the prosperous Lord Pant Pradhan.

The request of Your Honour's obedient servant, Sadashiv Ballal, offers profound salutations. All well here at Udeypur up to this the 4th day of Vaishakh Sudh* by Your Honour's favour. Further, in addition to news posted yesterday, which was Sunday, a letter was received from Delhi from the Vakil of the Rana of Udeypur. The letter is dated 8th Chaitra Vad, Friday†. It contains the following news:—Some portion of the treasures has been already despatched and the followers of the army have been sent therewith. The people of Nadirshah, who had taken up abode in the fortress of Delhi, changed their place of residence and went to reside in Sadat Khan's mansion. At Salemgarh, treasures had been buried since very ancient times. Gold, gold mohurs and gold images (idols) in immense quantities and heaps have been found, and these he made into large plates and sent them away on mules: each mule carrying two of such plates, one on each side. Two or three buildings were dug in Urodoo Bazaar and in one of these gold mohurs having been found, the whole building is being brought down. Nizam Kamaruddin Khan has become unstable. Ajim-Ula-Khan and Sar Bhuland Khan are the real workers. Ajim-Ula-Khan is collecting Revenue in districts outside the fort, such as Pahad Ganj and the like, while Sar Buland Khan has been collecting revenue at old Delhi. Twenty-five *crores* were levied on the people residing along the banks of the Jumna. Many have died and are dying but no more treasure could be collected and the march of Nadir Shah has been fixed for 27th Mohurru‡. He told Muhammad Shah to continue the rule. Muhammad Shah replied that if Nizam Kamaruddin Khan would continue here, he would not be able to rule. Nadir Shah, thereupon, resolved to take him with him. Some documents of Mullikchand, Vakil of Rajadhiraj Jay Singh having been

* 30th April, A. D. 1739.

† 20th April, A. D. 1739.

‡ 25th April, A. D. 1739.

* 19th March, A. D. 1739.

† 10th May, A. D. 1739.

found, men were sent to Jaysingh-pura to arrest him, but he escaped. Four horses with their full equipments were taken away. Vakils of Dattia, Odase, (Orchha), etc., etc., are in prison. On the 4th* of Chaitra Vad, the post of Nadir Shah on the bank of Jumna has been removed and Nadir Shah is in a great hurry to go. During the month Safar and during the 12 or 13 days of Rabilavel there is no auspicious moment for starting. The 27th has, therefore, been fixed for starting. In order that the events for the past ten days reported above may be known to you, a pair of messengers has been despatched. May that be known. This is the request.

Letter No. 8.

I begin with the name of God who is gracious and merciful.

I begin with the name of God—A precious stone of two religions has gone. By help of God he made himself known by the name of Nadir, Iran.

Baji Rao possessing a charming face and being a man of good luck, a devotee towards the Moslem faith, being a candidate for the royal favour, is informed that this time with the help of the Almighty, Delhi is the capital and military place, and is the rising star of the great kingdom: as the great Nawab is of the Turks. To Emperor Muhammad Shah whose greatness is like that of the heavens, who is the fulfiller of all hopes, who is highly respected and noble, whose noble birth is from a Turkish mother, and whose forefathers were of Gurjanis tribe, the Kingdom and Crown of India is entrusted, treating him as a brother of the same religious profession and as a son; and as you having a sweet face, and being a leader of the brave tribe, who maintains himself, always by the wealth of the state.

* 1st April, A. D. 1739.

It is necessary for you to serve the Emperor honestly and well, keeping in mind his right. But up to now it is not reported, that you are serving just as it ought to be, but what done is done. As at the present juncture on account of the affection, and perfect noble and hearty friendship between our States having taken place, we understand as if Muhammad Shah's State given God is connected with ours for putting down the rebels and the Invaders of the state of the Gurganis, a brave and courageous person is necessary to be appointed. Wherefore, you will be informed of the contents of our noble command, Raja Shah of great nobility, of good visage, well-experienced and obedient to the Mahommed religion, has been appointed to that post; and this you would send news of your good health and safety remembering always that you are to be obedient to the royal order which order should be received by Shah and the performance of the services, heartily and without neglect and fail. He (Shahu) should try his best and act accordingly.

By the help of God, every one far or near he be obedient to the State would be regarded as worthy of service and deserving of rewards and gifts, but whoever should try to rebel against the State, a victorious friend of religion is ready for war to defeat such an enemy and to suppress him; and such a large army will be sent, that by going to the boundaries of the place of rebellion, necessary punishment will be inflicted upon them (rebels). In these matters you must be aware of good warning and act according to your position.

Dated 27th* month of Mohurram 1152.

PURSHOTAM VISHRAM MAWJ.

* 25th April, A. D. 1739.

THE ANDAMANESE

THE Andamanese are gradually decreasing in number; and it is apprehended that they may become extinct at no distant date. It is necessary, therefore, in the interests of anthropology to know and record whatever can be learnt regarding this savage race.

The Andaman archipelago consists of 200 islands of various sizes, large and small. Of these several are uninhabited. Geologists are of opinion that this group of islands was formerly connected with the mainland of Asia. The connecting neck of land having subsided, the remainder became a group of islands. There are proofs to show that they are still gradually subsiding. There is a tradition, too, among the Andamanese that once upon a time during a cataclysm a great part of their land was submerged in the ocean.

The Andamans possess a temperate climate. The average rain-fall during the year is above 60 inches. Nearly half the days in the year are rainy. On account of these climatic conditions, nervous depression, diarrhoea, malarious fever and coughs are fearfully prevalent in these islands. They are covered by dense jungle down to the very edge of the ocean. It places the jungle of cane and other shrubs so thick that even the forest-dwelling Andamanese cannot pass through it. The natural scenery of the islands is in many places very beautiful. But the Andamanese are quite incapable of appreciating and enjoying this beauty. No large wild animals are met with in these islands. The aborigines live on roots and fruits, fish, shrimps, honey and insects.

The Andamanese belong to the Negrito race. European scientists are of opinion that there

is some admixture of Negrito blood in the Santals, Kols and other primitive races in India. When in 1858 the British Government took possession of the Andamans, the Great Andaman island contained 6,000 and the Little Andaman 2,000 inhabitants in round numbers. According to the census of 1901, the total number of Andamanese was 1,882, of whom 1,036 were males and 846 females.

Regarding the origin of the name "Andaman", Mr. M. V. Portman, M. A. I., author of "A History of our Relations with the Andamanese", and officer in charge of the Andamanese, says that from days long gone by, the Malays used to sail to these islands, and, capturing the inhabitants, sell them as slaves. They thought the Andamanese were the Hanumans or monkeys described in the Ramayana, and pronounced the word 'Hanuman' as "Handuman." "Andaman" is derived from "Handuman."

The Andamanese are divided into 12 tribes and 3 classes. Each tribe again has many small sub-divisions. The members of each tribe use bows and arrows of the same kind, wear ornaments and tattoo marks of the same description, and speak almost the same dialect. There is another kind of classification of the Andamanese irrespective of tribes. They are either Ar-Yauto or coast-dwellers, or Eremtaga or forest-dwellers. The difference between the coast-dwellers and forest-dwellers is easily described. The coast-dwellers inhabit chiefly the sea-coast and obtain their food from the ocean. For this reason they are more expert in swimming and diving and shooting fish than the forest-dwellers. They are braver and harder than the Eremtaga and know more about fishes and other marine

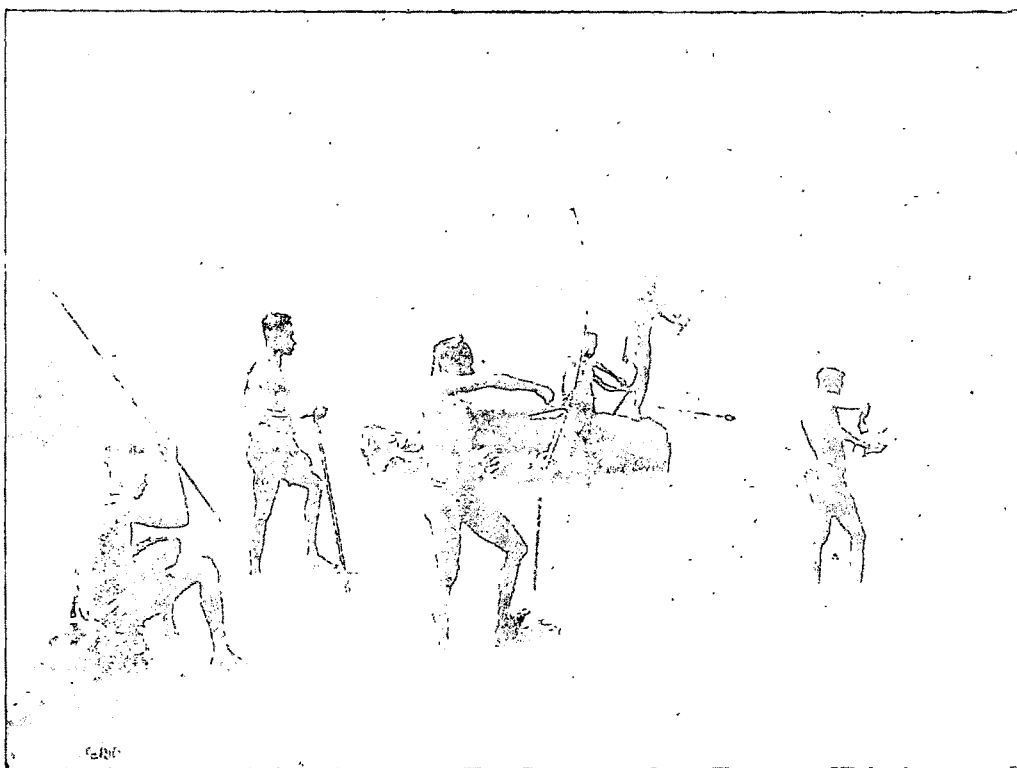
animals. The Eremtaga or forest-dwellers are more expert in finding their way through the jungle and hunting pigs. They know more of the fauna and flora of the Andamans, but are more timid and cunning than the Ar-Yauto. The forest-dwellers cannot shoot turtle, &c. There is intermarriage between these two divisions. Not unoften fighting goes on between the two divisions of the same tribe. The Andamanese are friendly towards others in the following order:—They are very loving towards members of their family. There is good feeling among members of the same clan. There is some friendly feeling among members of the same tribe. Among acquaintances belonging to tribes other than their own but to their own division (of coast-dwellers or forest-dwellers) they observe the rules of civility. But members of their own division not belonging to one's own tribe with whom one is not acquainted, all other Andamanese, and all foreigners—are all looked upon as enemies by the Andamanese. A man's tribe is determined by his parentage. The name forest-dweller or coast-dweller is also determined by the same circumstance. Sometimes a forest-dweller may become a coast-dweller by adoption; but a coast-dweller can never become a forest-dweller. For the coast-dwellers look down upon the forest-dwellers.

The average stature of the males is 4 feet 10½ inches and that of the females 4 feet and 6 inches. The average normal temperature of the bodies of the males is 99° F., and that of the females, 99°·5 F. The pulse of the males beats on the average 82 times per minute, that of the females 93. The males on an average breathe 19 times per minute, the females 16 times. The average weight of the men is 96 lbs. 10 ozs., and that of the women 87 lbs. From this it appears that their average normal temperature is somewhat higher than that of the Aryans. The exact cause of this difference has not been ascertained. Perhaps it is due

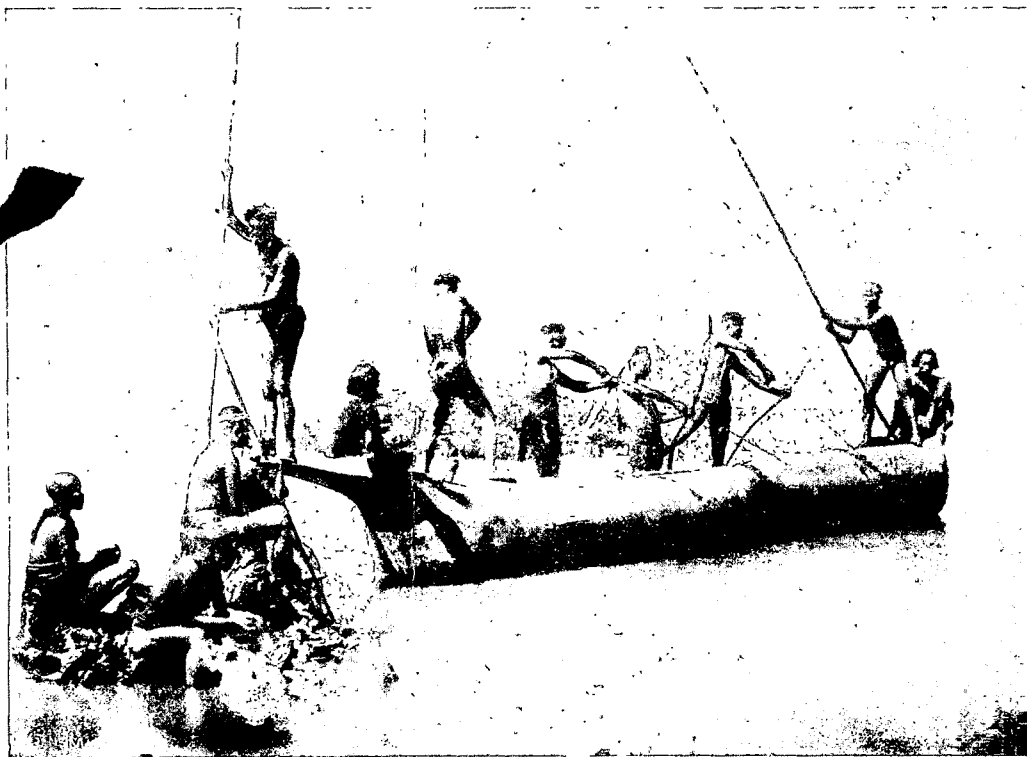
to their food being chiefly carbonaceous; probably because they live in a malarious gion, they very often have low fever of which they themselves are unconscious.

They dislike and dread cold very much. If they are taken from their homes to a cold place in India, they do not suffer in any way; on the contrary their health improves. They can bear exposure to the sun very well, but sometimes they have very bad headaches and suffer from fever brought on by such exposure. In the height of summer at noon they move about freely on land and water quite naked and with bare heads. When they ply their canoes at midday they sometimes use umbrellas made of leaves. They cannot bear hunger or thirst at all. They appease hunger and quench their thirst as soon as they feel hungry and thirsty, if there be any means of doing so. They cannot generally remain awake for more than twenty-four hours. I have sometimes during some big dance they have been observed to go without sleep for five days and nights. But after this they become greatly depressed.

Though the voice of some is grave and rough the voice of the majority is low and sweet. They are naturally "far-sighted." They dye their bodies red and white. This makes them hideous. Otherwise the men and young women are not ugly. Their noses are well-formed, lips thin, mouth small, teeth white and of equal height, eyes bright, bodies symmetrical. The old men and women are sometimes very ugly. The Andamanese have a coal-black complexion. Of some the neck and cheek-bones are sometimes found to be reddish brown. They sometimes have dappled on account of the natural black pigment vanishing from their lips and fingers. Their hair is black as soot, deep brown, golden, or red, &c. Different tribes have different fashions of doing up their hair. Some shave the head; some wear long matted hair; some keep a bunch of hair on the crown, so



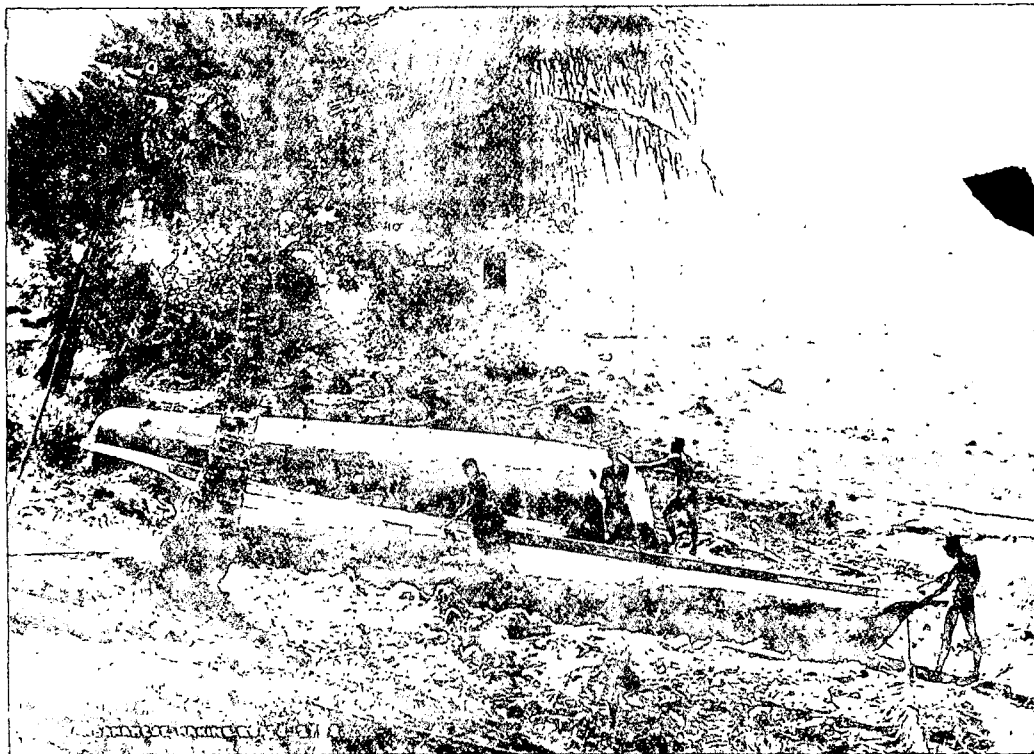
ANDAMANESE SHOOTING FISH.



ANDAMANESE SHOOTING TURTLES.



AN ANDAMANESE DANCE.



ANDAMANESE MAKING CANOES.



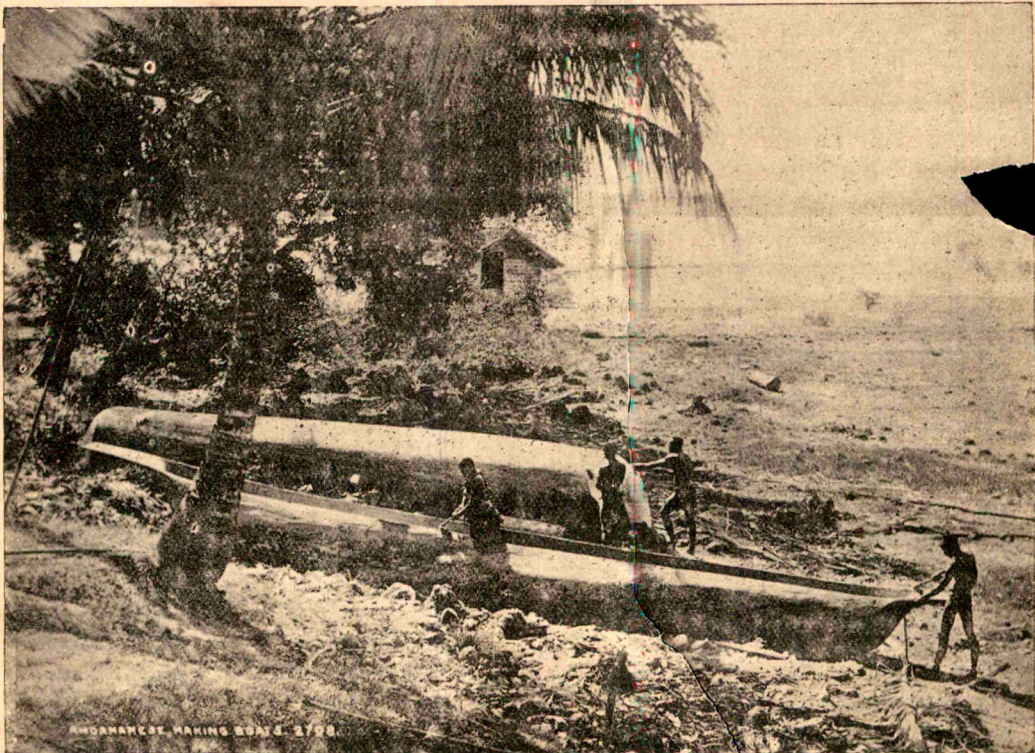
ANDAMANESE SHOOTING FISH.



ANDAMANESE SHOOTING TURTLES.



AN ANDAMANESE DANCE.



ANDAMANESE MAKING CANOES.

crop the hair very short. Their bodies are seldom very hairy; but hairless bodies are equally seldom met with. They shave their eye-brows. Some have a scanty beard and moustache. Those who have these natural appendages are very vain of them.

Natural deformities are very seldom met with among them. For carrying burdens they pass a strap or band over their heads. For this reason there is a mark in the middle of the head. This mark is more often seen in women than in men as the former have to carry the heavy loads of fuel, &c. As they have to carry loads from their sixth year upwards, the skull also becomes depressed along the mark of the strap. The Andamanese live up to 60 or 65 years of age.

Congenital insanity is not generally found among them. Homicidal frenzy is sometimes found. Those who have this sort of madness begin to eat raw flesh, earth, &c., and when they kill any man they drink his blood and consume his fat. These madmen with cannibal tendencies, cause great panic for a while. But generally some one or other kills them to avenge the slaughter of some near relative.

Andamanese children and youth of both sexes possess much intelligence and the power to understand things unconnected with their natural environments. Mr. Portman says that those who are intelligent look comparatively more refined, and are more irritable. After forty, the Andamanese generally grow duller in intellect. They then grow gradually more savage and quarrelsome.

The Andamanese in their dealings with one another are gentle and mild and fond of children; but are irascible, and apt to commit murder whenever excited. They are cruel, jealous, treacherous and revengeful. They cannot long remember any good or injury done them. They do not know what gratitude is; at least that is what travellers say. They love their wives dearly; and reserve all their bad qualities for strangers. They are

jovial, fond of hunting and freedom-loving. They do not like to persevere in any occupation for a long time. The women, though not as intelligent as the men, are not dull. Old women are respected. They are longer lived than men and do not become irascible or quarrelsome in old age. The Andamanese consider women inferior to men. The wives are practically the slaves of their husbands, and do all that is necessary for the existence or comfort of the latter.

The Andamanese are not naturally keener sighted than Europeans; they sometimes become so by practice and on account of the exigencies of eking out a livelihood. They do not show any fondness for the perfumes or the fragrance of flowers so dear to civilised man; nor do they adorn their bodies with flowers. They cannot recognise anybody in the dark by the mere power of smell. In the opinion of Mr. Portman not one of their senses is *naturally* stronger than that of civilised races; practice, necessity and training produce all the difference. Except the tribes belonging to the Onge class, all other Andamanese decorate their bodies by tattooing.

They have three kinds of names: (1) The name given to a child when it is in its mother's womb, is used all life long. In each tribe there are on an average twenty such names. When a woman conceives, she gives the unborn child this name. If twins are born, they are named after birth. If the first-born of any one dies, then the second child receives the name of the first-born, and the suffix "eel," or "born twice," or "born again," is added to it. For the Andamanese believe that it is the dead child that is born again. In our country, too, there is a similar belief. For this reason, if a mother loses her children repeatedly, the ear of the dead child is clipped, cut or pierced; the object being to prevent the coming again of the same child, or, if it does come, to recognise it by the mark made in the ear. (2) Nicknames. If there be any peculiarity in the

limbs or bodies, or deportment of the children or their parents, then such names are given. Such names may be sarcastic, honorific, or indicative of bodily deformity. (3) Flower-name. This name is given only to women. When a girl arrives at the age of puberty, then this name is given to her according to the name of the particular flower then in bloom. A vague consciousness of the similarity between a certain condition of women and the blossoming of flowers exists in our country, too. The Andamanese use some honorific names also. Elderly men are respectfully addressed as "maeea" and "mam," and married women as "chan." Children do not call their parents by name. Young men and women when conversing with older persons do not use their nick-names and sometimes even their proper names.

The Andamanese are monogamous. Though their sexual morals are loose before marriage, yet after marriage, the pair remain attached to each other.

When ill the Andamanese take and externally apply red ochre. When they get fever or headache they resort to bleeding from the forehead, and when they get boils, they have recourse to the same process from the spot where there is a boil. If they feel pain on any part of the body they wear there a garland of human bones. They are not absolutely devoid of a knowledge of diet.

They are expert climbers and can run and walk fast. Ar-Yautos are expert swimmers; and are quite at home in the water like aquatic animals. They kill fish in the foaming surge with their bows and arrows with extraordinary skill.

They have implicit faith in dreams and the divinations of their Wise Men. They cannot count accurately more than two, and can do so without difficulty up to five.

They lead a wandering life and are very dirty. Except in the Little Andaman island, they nowhere build permanent huts. There

are in each village generally 14 huts. These are arranged in the shape of an oval. The doors always open on the inner circumference of the oval. In villages there is an open plot of land for dancing. The huts are $4\frac{1}{2}$ feet high in front and only 8 inches behind. They are thatched with leaves, grass, &c., with no surrounding wall. They are 4 feet long and 3 feet broad. This is quite sufficient for a single family. At one terminus of the village there is a comparatively large hut for the bachelors, and there is a similar hut for the maidens at the other end.

The Andamanese are individualistic and are quite independent of one another. But the elders of each tribe have some power. A chief or patriarch is selected for each tribe according to temper, valour in war and the chase and intelligence. He gradually comes to occupy this dignified position;—there is no formal election. Age is honoured among these savages. If anybody injures another in any way, the injured party takes the law into his own hands and punishes the wrongdoer by destroying his property, or wounding or killing him. The Andamanese are not cannibals as a rule.

They have no written language. They do not use any signs or symbols for interchange of thoughts and feelings among themselves. Every tribe has a separate dialect. A tribe cannot generally understand the dialect of a different tribe.

They have a sort of initiation ceremony, which is generally performed between the ages of 12 and 16. From the age of initiation the initiated give up the use of certain articles of food. Some years afterwards, after the performance of certain rites and a dance, they again begin to take these things. The marriage ceremony of the Andamanese is very simple. When the elders of a village come to know that a young man wishes to marry a certain young woman, they cause the young woman to sit in a newly built hut.

The bridegroom runs away into the jungle. But after a feigned struggle and show of reluctance he is captured and brought back by force and made to sit on the lap of the bride. This is marriage as understood by the Andamanese. After marriage, the newly married couple do not speak much to each other and behave with great shyness toward each other. Then they keep house together.

After death children are buried in the floors of their parents' huts. Adults are buried in shallow graves, or, if great respect is intended to be shown them, the dead body is covered and packed in the shape of a bundle and placed on a platform on the branches of a tree. After this, near this tree or grove, a bunch of cane-leaves is tied in such a manner as to be easily visible from a distance. For three months nobody goes that way. The relatives of the deceased observe mourning for these three months by smearing gray earth on their bodies and refraining from dancing. When the period of mourning is over, they dig up or take down from the tree the bones of the deceased, and after washing them and breaking them into small pieces, wear them as ornaments, in the medicinal virtues of which they are firm believers. The smearing of the gray earth from their bodies once completes the process of mourning, and the termination of the period of mourning.

On the Great Andaman island when they meet one another they engage in a wailing or lamentation. This wailing sometimes continues for several hours. The members of the tribe when they meet after separation embrace each other's laps, caress each other, and shed tears in silence. When bidding each other the Andamanese press their mouth on each other's hands.

At such a time it is not good manners to give way to one's feelings. Their principal amusements are dancing and the music of the drum.

The Andamanese believe in an anthropomorphic god, who has likes and dislikes and passions like men, who dwells in the skies and is either directly or indirectly the creator of all. He punishes, he makes the storms blow. He cannot be propitiated by any means. The Andamanese never do anything which may anger him. They have no ideas of prayer, worship or sacrifice. They do not love this god. Besides this god, they believe in many spirits of the jungle and the ocean. These and other inferior spirits are only the authors of evil. The Andamanese believe that after death their spirits go to a place in the interior of the earth, but they have no idea of everlasting punishment or reward, or of any places like hell or heaven suited to such a purpose.

They go quite naked. Only the males wear belts and necklaces, and the women wear a few leaves or bunches of leaves suspended from a thread round their waist.

They are quite innocent of agriculture; and had no domestic animals before the advent of the English. They make canoes by hollowing out the trunks of trees with their axes. These canoes do not last long. They cook their food. They make earthen vessels for the purpose and burn them in the fire. They have become accustomed to the use of iron even since they began to get pieces of that metal from wrecked ships and boats; before this they used only shells, fishbones, &c. They can make baskets, and buckets of bamboo and wood, very well. They can also make ropes from the bark of climbing plants, and the mats called *shitalpati* in Bengal from cane.

MODERN ADVANCE IN MEDICINE

I

ASEPTIC SURGERY

SINCE Lister enunciated his theory and demonstrated the practice of antiseptic surgery that science and art entered upon a new life. In the early days of antiseptic Surgery it was thought that there was something in the air—a ferment—which getting access to the wound set up septic changes. It was found that carbolic acid destroyed this offending ferment and, therefore, a spray of carbolic acid solution was played over the field of operation, and dressings saturated with the same agent was employed for dressing. Later on it was recognized that the ferment could be introduced into the wound not by air alone but through dirty hands and instruments, and these, therefore, came to be disinfected by solutions of the same acid. Surgeons began to experience that carbolic acid was very irritating to the wound. It, therefore, was substituted by other disinfectants of less irritating nature such as perchloride of mercury. At this stage bacteriology revealed the fact that at the root of all septic processes were micro-organisms of various kinds. If these could be excluded the healing of an wound would progress without formation of pus. But the means employed to kill them were still the same—the chemical disinfectants now called germicides. The invasion of these germs take place through an wound, and their further growth is dependent upon the conditions of the soil in which they are implanted, which is chiefly the power of resistance belonging to the individual. These germs are present in all our surroundings, loving to cling to dust and dirt, and are carried about by currents of air into every nook and

corner. The idea, therefore, came to us every means to destroy or avoid these germ or bacteria. To aim at destroying or inhibiting their growth is *antisepsis*, at avoiding them is *asepsis*. The former is only a mean to attain the latter. It is believed that air, free from dust is comparatively harmless while water at ordinary temperature may harbour germs. It is the aim of the modern surgeon to make and treat wounds in such manner as to avoid the contact of these germ as much as possible. To attain this end he sterilizes everything which comes in contact with the wound. The slightest neglect or oversight vitiates the whole process.

Thus in an operation the skin at the field of operation must be sterilized, for the surface of the body is covered with germs and dust and soiled with various excretions of the body in which the germs thrive. The hand of the surgeon and the assistants are to be sterilized, for the germs cling to the skin and nails. We now realize the truth of what Susruta has said in his Treatise:

"The Surgeon and physician should have his hair and beard short and his body pure."

Next, the instruments and materials which are used during operation are to be sterilized. It may be arranged with scrupulous care, but by an accident a drop of perspiration may fall on the wound from the brow of the surgeon, or a scale or a hair from his beard may fall on the wound, and the whole work is spoilt. How to avoid this sterilization?

It is done by the following means, each according to the suitable particular purpose.

1. Heat. No agent is so effective in destroying germs as heat. No wound

ancient Hindoos considered Agni or fire as all-purifying and *Homas* were performed to purify the air in rooms and houses. By application of heat, or steam under high pressure, water, dressings, ligatures and instruments are sterilized. But obviously this agent is not applicable to the hands of the operator and the skin of the patient, for which we use the second method.

2. Mechanical washing with soap and water and subsequent immersion in a solution of chemical antiseptics, such as carbolic acid, perchloride of mercury, &c. The chemical antiseptics as stated before, are irritant to the tissues and antagonistic to the action of the protective substances in the blood which must be regarded as the prime factors in the natural process of treating. But they cannot be dispensed with in the sterilization of the hands and skin and in maintaining the continued sterilized condition of instruments after boiling.

The operation room is divested of any furniture on which dust may settle. The corners of the wall are rounded to prevent dust settling in angular spaces. The operator and his assistants are clothed in sterilized apparel. Dusty boots are laid aside. Thus in a quiet surroundings the modern surgeon, imbued with the principles of aseptic surgery, practises his art with more certainty of success than his predecessor of even 20 years ago. His knife touches vital parts which were sacred ground in pre-aseptic days. The brain and the abdominal viscera are handled with impunity, and the peritoneal covering of the abdomen, which resented the slightest interference, is now docile to his touch. Under the aseptic method the mortality after surgical operations has been reduced to a minimum. Septic diseases and blood poisoning have practically vanished. If in the practice of any modern surgeon the wounds fester or septic complications arise without any constitutional fault to account

for the same, it may be safely presumed his aseptic technique is at fault.

II

OPSONINS

Bacteriology aided by improvements in highly magnifying microscopes have within recent years revealed facts which are of the greatest service in the battle with the germs of disease. To combat these invisible foes, nature has so constituted our blood that it is not only strongly antiseptic but actually aggressively destructive to germ-life. In the blood there are blood serum and white corpuscles. In the blood serum there are chemical bodies (alexins) which are antiseptic. But the white corpuscles destroy the bacteria by actually eating them up and squeezing them to death. This is called the phagocytic action of white corpuscles and may be seen and watched under the microscope with the greatest ease. Further, in the blood there are two classes of substances which are also destructive to germs—known as *Bacteriolysins* and *Agglutins*. The former have been seen to work the death of cholera germs and the latter to aggregate and clump and paralyse the germs of enteric fever. Recently, however, another class of substances have been found in the serum of the blood called *Opsonins*, from *Opsono* I cater for, I prepare victuals for, which are chemical bodies which render the bacteria 'drugged' as it were, so as to render them an easy prey to the phagocytic action of the white corpuscles. They do not seem to wish to take upon themselves the sin of germ-slaughter, but sneakily conspire to weaken and paralyse them to help their ally the white corpuscles to complete the slaughter without much trouble. It has also been noticed that there are different kinds of opsonins for different species of disease-producing germs. By a very ingenious method the opsonins can be quantitatively estimated in a given specimen of the blood, and it can be also ascertained how they

behave with particular kinds of germs, by noticing how many of the latter are ingested by the white corpuscles in the presence of that particular opsonin. The normal quantity is taken as unit, and then the richness or otherwise of opsonins in blood is expressed as high or low in figures. An opsonic index of 5 would be a low index, and one of 2.5 a high one.

When we say that a patient has a certain opsonic index, let us say 0.5, to the tubercle bacillus, we mean that his blood serum contains but half the normal quantity of those opsonins which combat a tuberculous infection successfully. By artificial inoculation of vaccine one could raise this opsonic index.

Thus this discovery has provided a means of accurately ascertaining the appropriate dose for anti toxin or antigerm vaccines which owing to this defect either failed to produce the desired result or even caused harm by administration in unmeasured doses. It is, therefore, reasonable to hope that inoculation treatment with tuberculin, safeguarded by

careful observation of the opsonic index, will soon be recognised as a valuable treatment in consumption. At any rate, serum therapeutics will be based on a superstructure of scientific precision.

It has a further value in diagnosing diseases of bacterial origin, such as Tuberculosis, which is known as consumption. It has been proved that if the opsonic index of a patient is persistently low to the tubercle bacillus, tuberculosis may be suspected, while a persistent normal index to the tubercle bacillus would decide against phthisis.

Every practical physician knows of what great importance it is to be able to diagnose a case of early consumption before signs are definitely developed, for it is then that appropriate treatment is successful.

The modern physician is, therefore, armed with weapons of precision both for diagnostic and therapeutic purposes with the help of which he may hope to obtain greater victories in the battle with disease.

Kashmir.

A. MITRA.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

From the Persian.

§ 12.—Death of Dadaji Kond Dev.

Dadaji Kond Dev thus went on with his customary work, managing all things as [Shahji's] delegate. Day by day Shivaji grew in wisdom. Dadaji always acted with respect towards the Prince [of Bijapur] and carried on the administration of justice and settlement of the country in the best possible way. Shivaji, however, behaved in the opposite manner; collecting a body of men, he plundered the territories of others and thus accumulated wealth.

Dadaji greatly disliked this conduct; but his prohibition had no effect [on Shivaji]; frequent disputes took place between them. At last in utter disgust, Dadaji took poison.* Shivaji was then 17 years old. He was greatly grieved at the death. His father Shahji, who was then staying on at the Tanjore frontier, had written to Dadaji before this, "I shall soon reach Bijapur. Send all my treasure there."

* This statement is unsupported. Grant Duff says, "Infirm by age, worn out by disease, and now a prey to anxiety for the fate of his master's house, Dadaji did not long survive." (i. 133).

All this treasure now fell into Shivaji's hands and he kept it. Calling all his father's troops from around to his side, he kept up a force of 25,000 Mawal infantry, and made strong arrangements.

Shyamraj Nilkanth, a Brahman clerk, was appointed his *peshwa*, Raghav Ballal Atri as letter-writer, Raghunath Ballal as *chowki-navis* of the army; several other new appointments were made in all departments. Shahji, hearing of Shivaji's valour and boldness, was greatly pleased and sent him a *sanad* to administer that tract.

§ 13.—War of Mughal Succession.

The world is full of trouble and tumult. A strange thing now happened, which darkened and dazzled the heart and the eye. In other words, Prince Aurangzib did a very improper thing. He had accumulated the revenue of the Deccan for three years, without sending it to the Emperor. With this he enlisted a large army, won over many of the Imperial generals, and wrote to Shivaji thus, "As soon as you get this *parwana*, come to me. If unavoidable circumstances prevent your own coming, send here [at least] your *diwan* Shyamraj with a strong force. It would lead to your glory. When, by the grace of God, I ascend the Imperial throne, I shall give you rank and *jagir* above your deserts." Shivaji, after learning its contents, did not act accordingly, but tied it to the tail of a dog, paraded it through the city [of Puna], and expelled the Abyssian and other servants of the Prince who had brought it.

On their return they reported the matter to the Prince, who, though displeased, had, in view of his hands being full of other work, to put off the punishment of this insolence till after the conquest of Delhi.

He marched on Delhi and fought with the Emperor Shah Jahan. Uda Ram *deshmukh*, a Deccani commander, was slain in this battle. His wife, Rai Baghini [=royal tigress, virago],

by her exertions contributed to the victory. Prince Aurangzib, greatly pleased with her feats, conferred on her the *pargan* of Mithur in Berar to hold as its *deshmukh*. After the victory, he executed [his brothers] Dara Shikoh, Shah Shuja, and Murad Baksh and imprisoned and blinded his father Shah Jahan.* The prince's sister, who was the mainspring of this tumult and held the fort [of Delhi], surrendered it to him, and he ascended the throne and proclaimed [himself Emperor] throughout the city. On hearing of it Shivaji† began to overrun and plunder the country and to exact one-fourth of the revenue.

§ 14.—Shivaji conquers Purandhar, Chakan, and other forts.

Shivaji‡ wrote to Nilkanth Rao, a Nizam Shahi officer and commandant of Purandhar fort, "Dadaji Panth was like an elder and I used to respect him. You are now in his place; I look up to you in everything. If you give me place in the fort of Karmarguta, I can stay there in peace of mind." Nilkanth Rao replied, "our interests are the same. Come and live in the fort with perfect safety and authority." Shivaji with 5,000 cavalry and Mawal infantry encamped in the fort of Karmarguta. The rains passed away, the *dewali* arrived. Nilkanth Rao had two brothers, Pilaji and Sankaraji, whom he stinted in money and authority, while he himself monopolised the administration and kept the forts entirely in his own hands, giving his brothers the necessary food and clothing only. The two, despairing of any liberal treatment from their brother, secretly intrigued with Shivaji and watched for a favourable time. At last the *dewali* approached. They planned to admit Shivaji under the pretext of a hospitable invitation and carry out their aim. So, with the

* This is not historically correct. Shuja fled to Aracan and perished there. Shah Jahan was confined in Agra fort, but not blinded.

† The text is confused here, "Shivaji called Nilkanth & ... and told him to over-run &c." I have given a probable emendation above.

‡ The text has Shahji, which is evidently a slip of the pen.

consent of Nilkanth, one of the brothers went to invite Shivaji, who replied "I cannot go to the dinner alone." Then the brothers took counsel with each other and said, "This is the *dewali*. We are intimate with* Rajah Shahji and there is no difference of rank between us. If Shivaji does not come to dine with us, it would lower and degrade us in the eyes of our fellow-castemen." So, they invited to the fort both Shivaji and his comrades. For three days they feasted and presented cloth and other gifts to all, to their heart's content.

They arranged among themselves that on the 3rd day following the *dewali*, i. e., on the second lunar day [*bhratrī dwitiya*],—an auspicious day among the Hindus, when they eat food offered by their sisters,—they would receive the customary gift of the day from the mother of Shivaji. So they slept. At early dawn, the two brothers, who had been extremely ill-treated by Nilkanth Rao, rose, awakened Shivaji, informed him of their design, and went to Nilkanth's † house. They found him sleeping, tied his hands with a bridle-rope, and took him prisoner. The silver anklets of his wife were then put on his legs like fetters. When they appeared before Shivaji, he imprisoned these two brothers also, for as the proverb has it, "The yellow dog is the jackal's brother." Mawals were placed as guards over them. Nilkanth had a force of 3,000 soldiers, all faithless and disorderly men. Shivaji expelled them from the fort, seized all the money and property [in it,] and appointed on his own behalf five thousand Mawals under Baji Ghula as care-taker and Annaji Raghunath Wailikar as *chowkinavis*, of the fort. Three days afterwards, he kindly set the prisoners free and gave them the village of Jamli as *jagir* for their mainte-

* The text has "related to" which is wrong, as Nilkanth was a Brahman and Shahji a (so-called) Kshatriya.

† The text has *Pilaji Nilkanth*; but Pilaji was one of the conspirators. Nilkanth was their father's name, and therefore, according to Maratha usage, it formed the *second* part of the name of each of the brothers. I do not know the first part of the eldest brother's name.

nance. The place is still owned by their descendants.

At Supa lived [as manager] the brother of Tuka Bai, the second wife of Shahji. Shivaji went there under the pretext of a visit, imprisoned him, seized all his property in cash and kind, including 300 horses from the stable, and took possession of the estate. After a time he was released.

Taking possession of the fort of Chakan, which had been in Dadaji Panth's jurisdiction, he placed Firangji Narsal as commandant of it, and entrusted the lands around it to Kashi Atri *deshpande*, an inhabitant of Saswadgarh. Next he seized Rajgarh, Sanjivani, and Supla [? Gosala], and began to fortify them. Moro Trimal Pinglay was posted at Rajgarh. Next Saçah-garh*, a Nizamshahi fort, was captured. After conquering Torna or Prachandgarh, he ordered the Beydurs, a tribe of hillmen [to settle there?], and seized the royal treasure in the fort, out of which he took two *lacs* of *hun*.

§ 15.—Bijapur plan to entrap Shivaji.

When Shivaji appointed Shyamraj Panth as his *pešwa* or *diwan*, the king of Bijapur sent him a promise [of safe conduct]—and a *parwana* to this effect, "It is not well to capture the royal forts without my permission, to seize treasures, and to trouble the peasantry. However, what is past is past. You should now give up such practices and present yourself before me, and then you will be favoured and your wishes granted."

Shivaji on learning the message was thrown into uncertainty, and sought the advice of his wife Sahi Bai, who was very clever. She answered, "Women are foolish. Have I the wisdom to venture to advise you? It would be more politic to ask your officers and experienced servants for the solution of the difficulty. The proverb has it 'What your own mind suggests, is best.' Old men's coun-

* The reading is doubtful. Is *Lohgarh* meant?

els should be preferred to all other people's. Consulting strangers is the cause of disgrace, and consulting women is the cause of ruin. Therefore do not follow my advice. Woman's brain is lighter than everything else." Shivaji replied, "It is so indeed. But there are women and women. Faithful wives are the mainstay of homes, and hence they are competent to give advice. I have asked you as I know you to be wiser than all else. Whatever your wisdom suggests must be the essence of policy." The wife answered, "To my humble mind it appears best for you not to go to Bijapur for any reason at all, because your father is at court and you have committed irregularities. Rely on the true aid of Sri Sadashivaji; all seemingly insoluble difficulties will be removed by his special grace."

Shivaji was greatly pleased with her gentle and meek words. In that happy frame of mind, he received from Shahji a letter and presents, including a European sword worth 400 hun (Rs. 1,600), a coat of mail, and a helmet [set with] a coral. The couple regarded the arrival of the presents as a divine blessing. That woman,—wise as Aristotle,—taking up the sword presented it to Shivaji, saying, "May victory over your enemies bless you!" Shivaji after thanking Sri Sadashivaji for his mercies, girt it on his waist. Nilu Sondev* was made paymaster of Shivaji's army, and did his work admirably, roaming through the country, paying to his companions whatever money he seized, and conquering and taking possession of the forts [in the Kallian district.]

§ 16.—Shivaji conquers Kokan.

Betters now arrived from the chiefs of Sudgarh [? Pandugarh], Kundwargarh [? Kamalgarh], Zanjirigarh [? Jinjera], and Rajpur†, saying "If you come to Kokan, we shall advance and join you." Shivaji eagerly entered

* Grant Duff (i 141) calls him Abajee Sonedeo.

† Jinjera and Danda Rajpuri were under the Abyssinians. The names in the text are doubtful.

the district, as mutually agreed upon. As he crossed a ferry, all these chiefs came and waited on him. Immediately after his arrival he captured the fort of Gossala. Conciliating the peasantry, he encouraged the population and cultivation of Surgarh and Virwadi, which were desolate.* After setting up [these] strong outposts in the district, he went to Shivapur. Abaji Sonedev †, a Brahman, was glorified [with the vicereignty of the province.] Raghunath Ballal Kulli [? Kulkarni], the *chawkinavis*, was appointed to guard the Kokan forts. Niluji Panth was kept with himself and Sone Panth was made *dabir* [counsellor]. At this time 700 *bargirs* ‡ (common soldiers) came from Bijapur in search of employment. Shivaji told them that he could not afford to entertain their services. Gomaji Naik, whom he had admitted to his intimacy, said to him, "Great leaders do not give a flat refusal to candidates for service. In the case of lack of money, some [other] pretext should be stated. No work should be done without advice and plan." Shivaji approved of the speech; calling his officers he ordered all these *bargirs* to be taken into his service, and their families brought from Bijapur and settled there. Raghunath Ballal, with these *bargirs*, was placed in charge of Kokan. Nilu Sondev was appointed collector: he gave the ryots promise of security and promoted agriculture. Enlisting infantry of the Mawal, Phasalkar, Nimbalkar, Sonwalkar, Palkar, Gujar, and other castes (or tribes), he conquered the forts of Untha and Pantha. Nar-Haranand Rao was appointed as *peshwa* or *dewan*. (?) Building Raigarh and Sawid,§ he resided there.

* The text is wrong. Grant Duff says "Sivajee, to secure the hold already obtained on his Jagheer, gave orders for building two forts, Beerwaree, near Gossala, and Lingana, near Raire." (i 142.)

† The text is confused, "Aoji Somnath, a Brahman, was honoured. He entrusted the fort of Dabiri to Somnath Panth." I have given an emendation above.

‡ Grant Duff says they were Pathans. (i, 165.)

§ Probably a mistake for Mhorbudh, the site of Rajgarh.

§ 17.—Jaoli conquered.

Chandra Rao Moray, who lived at Jaoli near Mahawaleshwar, was a tributary of Bijapur, and had a very handsome daughter. Shivaji sent Raghunath Ballal to Chandra Rao to seek his daughter's hand, with an escort of 100 foot and 25 horse. On his arrival, Raghunath first went to the house of Chandra Rao's minister *Himmat Rao, stabbed him to death at an interview, and by a night march returned to Purandar.† Shivaji was greatly pleased at the news, gave him a robe of honour, and the next day arrived near Mahawaleshwar with 40,000 Mawals. Thence by a quick march he forded the river at Nishni Ghat and reached Jaoli. Raghunath Ballal, with a large force, crossed at Ghat Rantur and besieged Jaoli. After a contest of 6 hours, it was captured. Baji Rao and Krishna Rao, the high chiefs [sons of Chandra Rao] aged 16 and 14 years [respectively] were taken prisoner, and much booty was secured. After a long time this fort changed owners.

Marching thence he came to Pratapgarh and attended to its [increase of] cultivation. Here he built a temple and set up Sri Devi in it. Mawals were left to defend it. The captive Baji and Krishna Raos were bathed, anointed with scent, clothed in good robes, and executed at Jivangaon. Their children and families were liberated. The kingdom of Chandra Rao was taken secure possession of. Sixty thousand Mawals were treated with favour and taken into his service here. In this district he conquered the forts of Kowin [? Sewtur Khora] and Wassota. The Mawals of the place were invited, reassured, and taken into pay. Yarwadkar and Dudirkar were appointed [commandants] of these forts.

* The text has *Hanuvant Rao*, which was the name of the younger brother of Chandra Rao.

† Grant Duff says that *Shivaji* proceeded to Purandar (i. 148.) and that Chandra Rao and his brother were assassinated, while Himmat Rao fell in the subsequent attack on Jaoli.

§ 18.—Capture of other Forts.

Then, the fort of Kalian was captured, and Abaji Sonedev left to settle [the district]. Abaji had captured a handsome girl [the daughter in-law of Maulana Ahmad, the governor of Kalian,] in his raid, and presented her to Shivaji. Shivaji said, "If my mother had had your beauty, how happy would it have been! It too, should have looked handsome." He treated the girl as his own daughter, gave her clothes and other gifts, and sent her [in safety] to her home in Bijapur. Shivaji returned to Raigarh and built a fort at Dukna [? Tikona.] Abaji Panth after completing the settlement of Kalian, raided Koari.* Slaying the many Gujars who lived there, he seized much booty. After imprisoning the chieftain Kanh Rao, he pacified all the peasants with promises and agreements, caused the land to be cultivated, and himself returned to Shivaji.

Shivaji next attacked and took Pradhanagarh.† Its commandant Kesari Singh, being reduced to hard straits, himself slew his wives, and committed suicide. His mother remained hidden with his two sons within the fort. After three days' fighting the fort was secured. Shivaji was going in to visit it, when on his way the thorn of a plum-tree stuck on his *palki*. He said to himself, "I suppose this has a [mysterious] significance. The sticking of the bramble is a lucky omen caused by my guardian deity." He ordered the place to be dug and found there Akbari *mohurs*, *huns* and jewels, and 22 pitchers and 4 iron cauldrons filled with money. On entering the fort he met the mother of Kesari Singh who lay hid there. He alighted from his *palki*, laid his head at her feet, and begged her forgiveness. Placing her in the *Palki* he brought her to his house. All who were slain in the battle were cremated. After a time he ordered 60

* The text has Mawwadi.

† This seems to be a belated account of the capture of Torna, which Shivaji renamed Prachandgarh. The buried treasure was discovered at Torna. (G. Duff, i., 131.)

troopers to escort Kesari Singh's mother and orphans to their home at Devalgaon.

Kovinkar, a *sawant* [of Wari?], had a large force with which he plundered the region of Tala and Gossala. At this time Shivaji fell ill. For paying his devotions he went to every shrine sacred to Hari-Hareshwar, performed *puja* with true faith, and stayed for some time. The merit of his purity of heart brought him recovery. On his return journey, Kovinkar Sawant waited on him, begged forgiveness for his audacious acts, and presented to Shivaji a richly jewelled European sword, which was one of the wonders of the age. Shivaji took him into his pay. The Palundkars, the tribe of that region, went together to enter the royal service [of Bijapur?]. Shivaji, finding the mountain passes of their home deserted, seized all the forts there, built new and repaired old ones. Thereafter he plundered Rajapur, and occupied it. Surji Rao, zemindar of Bikapur [? Sringarpur], fled in terror and despair, and this place, too, was annexed. After scattering the Kundalkars, their country also was conquered. Surji Rao, Kundalkar, and other zemindars lived together close to the island of the Europeans. After sometime Shivaji took the strong fort of Churia by mining.

§ 19.—Mughal Version of Shivaji's Early Conquests.

[The *Alamgirnamah* (completed in 1688 A.D.) pp. 575-576, gives the earliest Muhammadan account of Shivaji's youth, in these terms:] When Muhammad Adil Khan [king of Bijapur] fell ill and his malady was prolonged, a change [for the worse] took place in the government of Bijapur. Mullah Ahmad Natia, a noble, who held Kokan in jagir, withdrew his troops from Kokan to his side at Bijapur. The country and its forts were without a force to guard and govern them. At this time Shivaji, who combined valour with cunning, seized the opportunity, raised disturbances, rebelled, and gathered to his side]

the violent men of his own tribe. First, by trickery he got possession of Chandan fort, and then attacked and mastered the other forts, which were devoid of guards, provisions, and munitions. Then Muhammad Adil Khan died, and his son, Ali Adil Khan, a boy, succeeded. As he was too young to control the administration, Bijapur affairs fell into great disorder and ruin, and he could not attend to this matter [Shivaji's rising.] So Shivaji grew stronger, got possession of all the forts of that province, and calmly collected materials for rebellion and usurpation. The hills and jungles [of the region] and the strength of his forts made him haughty and refractory; he [also] built some new forts, and became the owner of 40 forts in all which were well stored with materials of defence. Now he [openly] gave up his allegiance to Bijapur.

[The *Dilkasha*, (commenced about 1690), p. 19, says:]

Shahji's ancestor had come from Chitor to the Deccan and his pedigree stretched in 18 generations up to the Sisodia Rana, the king of Chitor. As they lived for some time at the village of Bhusa in the *pargana* of Gargam, in the district of Purainda, they got the surname of Bhusla. Shahji lived at Jaoli, and for a time served Nizam-ul-mulk [king of Ahmadnagar], and afterwards the king of Bijapur. He soon surpassed all other nobles of the place in fortune. Collecting an army of 15,000 [troopers], he conquered the kingdom of Tanjore and left his son Ankoji there. On his death his elder son, Shivaji, getting full control of the zemindari in Jaoli, rebelled against the king of Bijapur and plundered the country.*

* I next give Khafi Khan's version of the same incident. Khafi Khan wrote after 1733, and the reader will note how he coloured and magnified the simple and brief contemporary account of the *Alamgirnamah*. Indeed, Khafi Khan was an untrustworthy rhetorician, more bent on "doing the graphic" than on producing a sober record of facts.

§ 20.—**Khafi Khan's Account of the same.**

The parganahs of Puna and Supa were given by the king of Bijapur as jagir to Shahji. Shivaji managed them on behalf of his father. He became distinguished among his clan for bravery and sagacity, and seemed in deception and trickery to be the son of Satan. The country was full of hills and dense thorny jungles. He set about building houses and [stone] forts on hills and also mud-forts, which are called *gadi* by the Deccani Hindus. The long illness of Adil Shah, king of Bijapur, caused great confusion and laxity in his kingdom.

Mulla Ahmad Nawatia, a courtier of Bijapur, held Kokan in *jagir*. As he left [for Bijapur] to wait on the king, his troops were withdrawn from Kokan. Shiva finding the land denuded of its rulers, attacked the possessions of other jagirdars. He plundered and brought into his possession every village that he heard of as well-cultivated, fertile and full of rich ryots. Before the complaints of the jagirdars could reach Bijapur, he sent [to court] letters and many presents, alleging that any particular *mahal* could yield a larger revenue, that its jagirdar and his officers were guilty of such and such shortcomings, and that he [Shiva] was, therefore, chastising them, and offered to agree to a large revenue, by managing the *mahal* either as his *jagir* or as crown-land. After these letters had reached the Court, came the petitions of the jagirdars, but produced no effect; none of the officers attended to the latter.

The Deccan had never been free from tumult and mischief. Its climate seemed [now to have afflicted its rulers, peasants, and soldiers with envy, folly, and light-headedness. They laid the axe at their own feet and ruined their land and property. The greed of the officers increased during the illness of the king. Therefore, Shivaji [contrived to get royal letters-patent [authorising him] to govern the country, as he had wished. Gradually he became pre-eminent among lawless men. After collecting a large force of chosen predatory men of the Maratha race he resolved to capture the famous forts. First he took Chandan, then other forts, which lacked provisions and expert commandants. The young Sikandar Adil Shah II now became king. Aurangzib's invasion aggravated the decay of Bijapur. Day by day Shiva grew stronger, seized all the forts on that side, and amassed strength and war-materials. Emboldened by his large following and wealth and sheltered by strong hills and dense jungles, he took to plundering the country and highways far and near. Rajgarh and Chakna were made his asylums and treasuries. By getting ships together, he captured some islands [off the Malabar coast,] and built forts on them. Forty forts thus came to own his sway. In every one of them provisions and munitions of war were stored. [*Muntakhab-ul-labab*, ii. 113-116.]

(To be continued.)

JADUNATH SARKAR.

It is no man's business whether he has genius or not: work he must, whatever he is, but quietly and steadily; and the natural and unforced results of such work will always be the things that God meant him to

do, and will be his best. If he be a great man, they will be great things; if a small man, small things; but always, if thus peacefully done, good and right.

Ruskin,

THE VEDIC FATHERS

There are hundreds of Riks throughout the Rigveda shewing an intimate relation between the Pitris and light. The belief in the Pitris adorning the sky with stars, is even now annually commemorated on the *Dipavita day* by performing a *śradh* ceremony in honour of the Pitris followed by a display of lights. The deification of the Pitris and especially that of the illustrious ones among them took place by a slow process and if all its different steps be considered carefully it will cease to appear as absurd as it at first does. Of all the causes that led to it the three mentioned below are the most important.

(1). The natural tendency in man to exaggerate the greatness of their forefathers—especially that of the illustrious men among them. The worship of national heroes is a common thing even in our prosaic sceptical times.

(2). With their multiplication, the greatness of gods was more and more reduced and the difference between great men and the gods of the lowest order—the *visve devas*—gods without any specific names, was gradually done away with.

(3). The process described in (2) was very much helped by the language describing the acts done by great men being gradually altered and exaggerated by poets and rhetoricians. Of this latter step the belief that the Pitris adorned the sky with stars and generated the dawn and the sun, is an interesting example.

Strange though it may appear at first, this belief is based on two facts. H. Spencer begins his *First Principles* with these words:—

“We too often forget that not only is there ‘a soul of goodness in things evil’ but very generally also a soul of truth in things erroneous.....And thus it is with human beliefs in general. Entirely wrong as

they may appear, the implication is that they originally contained, and perhaps still contain some small amount of truth.”

The two facts on which the belief in the super-human powers of the Pitris, is based, are these. First, the Vedic Rishis performed sacrifices daily on three occasions—in the morning before the appearance of the dawn, at mid-day and in the evening before night-fall. The three sacrifices—*trisavana*, were known as *pratah*,—*madhyamndina*—and *trityaj* or *Sayam-savana*. The dawn and the sun appeared after the first sacrifice and the stars made their appearance after the third. The belief was formed that the performance of the sacrifice by the Pitris, was the cause of the natural phenomena that were seen to follow it. This belief formed a part of the form of religion to which Hegel in his “*Philosophy of Religion*” has given the name of *Magic* and to which the religion of the Rishis had at one time, nearly degenerated. Secondly, it is based on a historical fact of great importance. It is the conquest of the Panis and the winning of their cows by the Āngirases under the leadership of Brihaspati, Ayasya and Indra. The Vedic poets were never tired of alluding to this event. The riks given below will shew how this event led through successive stages to the belief of the Pitris having control over the heavenly lights, and finally, of their having created these lights. Language alone gradually changed the idea to such an extent that in course of time the word cow itself came to mean light.

अवो द्वाभ्यां पर एकया गा गुहा तिष्ठन्तुतस्य
सेतौ ।

बृहस्पतिस्तमसि ज्योतिरिच्छन्नुदुसः अकविं हि
तिस्र आवः । १० । ६७ । ४

The milch cows were confined in a dark cave with two doors below and one above. Brihaspati, to light up the place, broke open the doors and brought out the cows—X. 67. 4.

विश्वे अस्या व्युषि माहिनायाः सं यद्गोमिरं
गिरसो नबन्त । ५ । ४५ । ८

On the appearance of this adorable one (i.e. the dawn) the Angirases got back the cows—V. 45. 8.

उद्यत्सहः सहस आजनिष्ट देदिष्ट इन्द्र इन्द्रियाणि
विश्वा ।

प्राचोदयत् सुदुधा वज्रे अन्तर्वि ज्योतिषा संववृत्
त्तमोऽवः । ५ । ३१ । ३

On the rays (of the sun) making their appearance with the rays (of the dawn) Indra gave (the Angirases) all the wealth and brought out the easily milking cows confined within the mountain and by light drove away the hiding darkness—V. 31. 3.

From the above it is clear that the cows were confined in a dark cave with three doors all closed. One morning just when the sun had risen Indra and Brihaspati broke open the doors, lighted up the place by allowing the sun's rays to enter into it and brought out the cows. This fact was afterwards expressed by saying that they got the dawn, the sun and the cows together.

विभिद्या पुरं शयथेम पाचिं निह्नीणी साकमुदधे-
रुहन्त ।

बृहस्पतीरुषसं सूर्यं गामर्कं विवेद स्तनयन्निवद्यौः
॥ १० । ६७ । ५

Brihaspati cleft the west-facing castle of the sea, took rest and broke the three gates. He then simultaneously got the adorable dawn, the sun and the cows and roared like the thundering sky—X. 67. 5.

Then gradually more importance was given to this getting of the dawn and the sun.

सोषामविन्दत् सः स्वः सो अग्निं सो अर्केण
विववाध्रे तमांसि ।

बृहस्पतिर्गोवपुषो वलस्य निर्माज्जानं न पर्वणे
जमार ॥ २० । ६८ । ९

He obtained the dawn, he obtained the sun; he obtained the Agni; he drove away darkness by light. As marrow is brought out of a limb so did Brihaspati

bring out the cows from a limb of cowbodied Vala X. 68. 9.

हिमेव पर्णा मुषिता वनानि बृहस्पतिना कृपयद्वा-
लो गाः ।

अनानुकृत्यमपुनश्चकार यात् सूर्यामासा मिथ
उच्चरातः । १० । ६८ । २०

As the trees of a forest are robbed of their leaves by winter so was Vala deprived of his cows by Brihaspati. The deed done by Brihaspati is not to be imitated and not to be done again. Since then the sun and the moon make their appearance regularly one after the other. X. 68. 10.

अभिश्वावं न कुशनेभिरश्वं नक्षत्रेभिः पितरो
द्यामपिंशन् ।

रात्र्यां तमो अदधुर्ज्योतिरहनबृहस्पतिर्भिर्नद-
द्रिम् विदद्वाः । १० । ६८ । ११

The Fathers adorned the sky with stars as a black horse is adorned with golden ornaments. Brihaspati broke the mountain and obtained the cows. X. 68. 11.

In this connection we should also remember—

i. That the Pitris generated fire by friction and gathered it from lightning and the Rishis believed that fire, lightning and the sun are three different forms of the same god.

ii. After death the Pitris, according to the Rishis, united with the rays of the sun and some of the Pitris became stars.

This close relation between the Pitris and the heavenly lights is also to be found in the Avesta—the scripture of our Iranian brethren the Parsis. This has been said about the Fravashis corresponding, to a great extent, to the Pitris of the Rigveda :—

“We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who shewed their paths to the stars, the moon, the sun and the endless lights, that had stood before for a long time in the same place, without moving forwards, through the oppression of the daevas and the assaults of the daevas.”

“We worship the good, strong, beneficent Fravashis of the faithful, who watch over the stars Haptoiring (1), to the number of ninety thousand, and nine thousand and nine hundred and ninety-nine.” [Sacred Rocks of the East XXIII].

(1) = Saptarshis = Ursa Major.

11. *Devayana and Pitri-yana paths.*—On this point the later opinions as given in the Chhandyogya, Brihadaranyaka and other Upanishads are not in accordance with the views of the Vedic rishis. The Upanishads speak of two paths by which men travel after death. Those who have attained the knowledge of Brahman and die during the bright half of the moon, go by a number of stages to the world of Hiranyagarbha and then merge in Brahman. For them there is no returning to the earth. But ordinary people who die during the dark half of the moon go to the moon by stages and then returning to the earth with rain water, are born as plants, insects, beasts or as men of higher or lower caste according to the merits of the work they had done while previously on earth. This is the theory of Transmigration or the Law of Karma. We have nothing to do with it at present. What concerns us now is the fact that of the two paths mentioned above the first has been called the *Devayana* and the second the *Pitriyana*. This, I maintain, is in conflict with the views of the Vedic rishis. By *Devayana* path they understood the path leading to the gods—by which (1) Agni carried *havis* to the gods, (2) the gods came down to attend sacrifices and (3) returned to their places after the sacrifices were over. This is also evidently the path by which Agni took the dead bodies of the Pitris to the gods where their spirits had gone before. The general name of the place is *अनुनीति*—the world of spirits—where the spirits are taken (Rig. X. 12. 4). This is the path Yama has been said to have discovered. There is only one Rik in which *pitriyana* has been mentioned (Rk. X. 2. 7. See below.) The way this has been done shews that it cannot be the inferior path mentioned in the upanishads. In fact in the Rigveda the *Pitriyana* and the *Devayana* paths are the same.

विद्वाँ अग्ने वयुनानि क्षितीनां व्यनुषक् शुश्रुधो जीवसेधाः ।

अन्तर्विद्वाँ अध्वनो देवयानानतन्दो दूनेः त्रभवो हविर्वाट् । १ । ७२ । ७

You who possess all wisdom, O Agni constantly give food to creatures that they may live. You intimately know the paths to the gods and are the ever active messenger carrying libations. I. 72. 7.

अतारिस्म तमसस्पारमस्य प्रति वां त्तोमो अश्विनावधायि ।

ए ह यातं पथिभिर्देवयानैर्विद्या मेघं वृजन् जौरदानुम् । १ । १८३ । ६

We have come to the end of this darkness of night. This hymn we offer to you, O Asvins. Come here by the *Devayana* paths. May we obtain fecundity, strength and heroic sons. I. 183. 6.

उप नो वाजा अध्वरमृभुक्षा देवा यत् पथिभिर्देवयानैः । ४ । ३७ । २

O gods *Baja* and *Ribhuksha*, come to our sacrifice by the *Devayana* paths. IV. 37. 1.

आ नो महीमरमतिं सजोषा ग्रां देवं नमसा रातहव्याम् ।

मधोर्मिदाय बृहतीमृतज्ञामाग्ने वह पथिभिर्देवयानैः । ५ । ४३ । ६

Bring to us by the *Devayana* paths, O Agni, who is graciously disposed to us, the mighty *Armaniti*, the divine dame who has been offered soma-jice with salutation, to exhilarate with honey (= *Soma*). She is great and knows the sacrifice. V. 43. 6.

वाजे वाजेऽवत वाजिनो नो धनेषु विष्णु चमृता ऋतज्ञाः ।

अस्य मध्वः पिबतमादयध्वं तृप्ता यात पथिभिर्देवयानैः । ७ । ३८ । ८

O wise, immortal and truthful *Bajins* protect our wealth in every battle. Drink the honey of soma and exhilarate. Then being satisfied return to your place by the *Devayana* paths. VII. 38. 8.

ग्रमे पन्था देवयानाः अहश्चक्रमर्थन्त बहूमिरिष्कृतासः ।

अभूदुकेतुरुषसः पुरस्तात्प्रतीच्यन्तधिहर्म्येभ्यः । ७ । ७६ । २

The *Devayana* paths have been seen by me. They are harmless and purified by lights. The summer or dawn has been raised in the east—she has come over the buildings. VII. 76. 2.

एहि मनुर्देवयुर्यज्ञकामोऽरं कृत्या तमसि क्षेप्यग्ने ।
सुगान् पथः कृणुहि देवयानान्वह हव्यानि सुमन-
स्यमानः । १० । ५१ । ५

Come, O Agni. Man is desirous to adore the gods and perform sacrifices. You are living in darkness adorning it. Make the Devayana paths easy to travel. Being gracious carry *havis*. X. 51. 5.

एतान्यग्ने नवतिं सहस्रासं प्रयच्छ वृष्ण इन्द्राय
भागम् ।

विद्वान् पथ ऋतुशो देवयानानप्यौलानं दिवि
देवेषु धेहि । १० । ९८ । ११

Offer these ninety thousand cows to Indra—the Bull as his portion. You know the Devayana paths by which you travel during every sacrifice. Place in heaven in the midst of the gods, the son of Umana. X. 98. 11.

The only rik where the Pitriyana path is mentioned in the Rigveda is the following :—

यं त्वा द्यावापृथिवी यं त्वापस्तष्टा यं त्वा सुज-
निमा जजाना ।

पन्था मनु प्रविद्वान्पितृयानं द्युमदग्ने समिधानो
विभाहि ॥ १० । २ । ७

You whom heaven and earth, you whom the waters, you whom Tvasta the maker of good things, created, know well the Pitriyana path. Being enkindled shine with lights.

These riks do not show that the Pitris travelled by two paths—the Devayana and the Pitriyana. They rather shew that they travelled by the same path by which the gods travelled, both at death and afterwards. But this path has been given the name of Pitriyana path in addition to Devayana because the Pitris also travelled by it. But a difficulty has arisen in connection with the following rather ambiguous rik :—

द्वे सुती अशृण्वं पितृणामहं देवानामुत मर्त्या-
नाम् ।

ताभ्यामिदं विश्वमेजत्समेति यदन्तरा पितरं मातरं
च ॥ १० । ८८ । १५

Sayan explains the first line thus—

पितृणां च देवानां च उतापिच मर्त्यानां मनु-
ष्याणां च द्वे सुती द्वौ मार्गौ देवयानपितृयाणाख्यौ
अहमशृण्वमश्रौषम् ।

This explanation itself is ambiguous. It does not say if both the paths are for each of the three class of beings—gods, Pitris and men—or one for some and the other for others. In one case it will be unmeaning and in the other it will conflict with the view taken by the Upanishad rishis. Griffith's translation is as follows :—

"I have heard mention of two several path ways—ways of the fathers and of gods and mortals"—He adds in a footnote—"the way to the other world and the way back to the earth."

The Rik has been thus quoted and explained in the Satapatha Brahmana :—

द्वे सुती अशृण्वं पितृणाममिति द्वे वाच सुती
इत्याहुर्देवानां चैव पितृणां चेति ताभ्यामिदं विश्व-
मेजत् समेतीति ताभ्यां हीदं सर्वमेजत् समेति यद-
न्तरा पितरं मातरं चेति ॥"

Eggeling translates it thus :

'Two paths for mortals have I heard of, (that of the Fathers and that of the gods)'—'two paths indeed there are', they say, 'those of the gods and of the fathers,—thereon all that liveth here passeth' for thereon indeed everything living here passes—'what there is between the father and the mother'.

All these interpretations disregard the construction of this particular rik as well as the views to be gathered from other riks on the subject quoted above. The most natural rendering is to be found in a footnote at page 237 of Eggeling's Satapatha Brahmana and in a footnote at page 145 to Hopkin's Religions of India. Hopkin's word for word rendering is

"Two paths heard of the Fathers I, of the gods and of mortals."

But if this be the correct translation of the rik, what is the meaning of the Pitris going the way of the mortals? It would not do to say that some of them went the way of the gods and others the way of the mortals. No Vedic Rishi—especially after the Pitris have

been deified would make such a statement. This rik has always been regarded as a riddle (See Bri. Ar. Upa. VI. 2. 2 where King Pravahana attempted to explain it to that renowned priest of the Kuru Panchala, Uddalaka Aruni). What, I think, to be its true interpretation, will be given when I shall deal with Vishnu.

As regards the mythological theory of the Pitris, advanced by some western scholars, I think, I need say very little. Because the word Angiras is derived from a root meaning charcoal—ignited—sacrificial wood; because Bhrigu means bright and Vivasvan brilliant they must all, say these scholars, be luminous bodies—instances of the sun-myth—the greatest discovery ever made to explain all difficulties in connection with Oriental religions, including Buddhism (See M. E. Senarts' Buddha a Sun-god and Nolan's article to the same effect). It did not strike these scholars that one of the greatest worshippers of Agni, generated by enkindling *Sami* or Sacred wood, might very well be named Angiras; the inventor of the method of obtaining fire by moving one piece of wood against another, Bhrigu or bright; and the king whose priest gathered fire from lightning, Vivasvan or

brilliant. I also do not think there is any reason to take the Pitris for mythological beings because after their death they were more or less deified by their descendants, and some of them identified with heavenly bodies.

It now remains to say a word to prevent a misapprehension. The statement made in this article regarding the Pitris does not support the theory of H. Spencer, Grant Allen and other theorists according to whom religion originated with ancestor-worship. Vedic religion, as we find it in the Rigveda, if any thing, for ever demolishes that theory. The foundation of ancestor-worship was, no doubt, laid in the Vedic religion—mention is even made in the Rigveda of a separate *नितृयजः* (X. 16. 10) which was elaborated in the Erahmanas and the later religious treatises (See Satapatha Brahmana II. 4. 2.). But this was not the beginning of the Vedic religion. Ancestor-worship came in at a very late stage—in fact when that religion was going to have a natural death. The Vedic religion began not with ancestor-worship but with the worship of the Heaven-father,—Dyaus-pita. (See my article on Vedic Religion in the *National Magazine*.)

A. C. SEL.

MATA BHARATA

THERE was once a tall, fair woman, not indeed young—no one could have thought that—but serene to the uttermost and possessed of great patience and grace. In years past she had been famed for wisdom, and the wise men of the world had sat at her feet and carried away her teachings to the ends of the earth. But now she was older, and a little weary, and the light in her eyes served only as a star for the few who

still beheld reality behind appearance. She was, moreover, wealthy, and many had sought her hand, and of these, one whom she loved least had possessed her body for many years; and now there came another and stranger wooer with promises of freedom and peace, and protection for her children and she believed in him, and laid her hand in his.

For a time it was well, her new lord was contented with the wealth of her treasure

houses and gave her the peace of neglect. But ere long he took more interest in his cold bride and her children, and said to himself, 'this woman has strange ways unlike my own and those of my people, and her thoughts are not my thoughts; but she shall be trained and educated, that she may know what I know, and that the world may say that I have moulded her mind into the paths of progress'. For he knew not of her ancient wisdom, and she seemed to him slow of mind, and lacking in that practical ability on which he prided himself.

And while these thoughts were passing in his mind, some of her children were roused against him, by reason of his robbing them of power and interfering with the rights and laws that regulated their relations to each other; for they feared that their ancient heritage would pass away for ever. But still the mother dreamed of peace and rest and would not hear the children's cry, but helped to subdue their waywardness; and all was quiet again ere long. But the wayward children loved not their new father and could not understand their mother. And their new father turned to other ways, and sent the children to schools where they were taught his language and his thoughts, and how great *his* people were, and self-sacrificing; and from what unrest and wretchedness he had saved their mother, and with no thought of gain or profit; and they were taught, too, to forget their ancient glory and from the height of the new drawing-room finish to despise their ancient manners.

But now another thing happened; the mother bore a child to the foreign lord, and he was pleased thereat, and deemed that she (for it was a girl) should be a young woman after his own heart, even as the daughters of his own people, and she should be fair and wealthy, and a bride for a son of his people. But when this child was born, the mother was roused from her dream, and lived only for the girl, and she grew up to remind the mother of her own youth, and favoured the foreign lord

little; yet she had somewhat of his energy and turn for practical affairs. The mother talked long and deeply with her, and the foreign lord did not take it aught amiss, for he deemed that all must go even as he, such a great man would have it go. And he got teachers, and she was taught the wisdom and manners of his people. But in secret the mother taught her the ancient wisdom, and her heart was turned away from her father and his people and his teaching. And the mother was content; and now she was white-haired and weary with age, and a time came when she passed hence, for her work was done. And the foreign lord scarcely missed his bride, for the girl was strangely like her, and some instinct taught her to show little of her lack of love as yet, and she took the mother's place. So life went on for many years, until the foreign lord himself grew a little weary, for there were troubles in his own land, and some had said that he was a tyrant in a foreign land; and therefore his heart was pained, for had he not spent his life for others, and surely the labourer was worthy of his hire?

But the girl grew strong, and would brook little of her father's tyranny, and she was a mother to the children of the children who came before her, and she was called the mother by all; and perhaps she and her mother were after all the same. One day there arose murmurings amongst the children as of old, and they said that they needed no foreign lord to take their revenues and school their minds. Still they were subdued with a high hand, and some were cast in prison, or worse, for the father was a patriarch of the old type and deemed it amiss that he had not the power of life and death over all his subject people. But now they would not brook his tyranny—for he himself had taught them that the king-days were over, and made them dream of freedom though he was sorry now he had done it.

All these trials were upon him, and he grew old and weary; and the young mother (she



THE CHILD KRISHNA LIBERATES HIS PARENTS FROM PRISON.

From the original oil painting by
RAVI VARMA.

By the courtesy of M. RAO VARMA, ESQ.
Photograph by P. S. JOSHI.

would be mother of all she said, but wedded unto none) helped all the children and taught them to love and help each other and to call her mother; and she left the foreign lord and went to live in a place apart, where the children came to her for counsel. And when the foreign lord would have stopped it, she was

not there, but elsewhere; and it seemed that she was neither here, nor there, but everywhere. * * * * *

And this tale is yet unfinished; but the ending is not afar off, and may be foreseen.

ANANDA K. COOMARASWAMY.

THE DECREASE OF HINDUS.

WE find from the Census Reports that the Hindus numbered 18,86,85,913 in 1881, and 20,77,31,727 in 1891, but 20,71,47,026 in 1901. This means that during the ten years from 1891 to 1901 the Hindus have decreased by 5,84,701. The Hindus increased 10 per cent. from 1881 to 1891, but decreased '3 per cent. from 1891 to 1901. If instead of decreasing they had increased according to the rate of the previous decade, they would have numbered 22,85,04,899 in 1901. But instead of this figure we find them standing at 20,71,47,026 in 1901. So that in a sense the Hindus have decreased in ten years by 2,13,57,873. However, even if we consider the actual decrease of nearly six lakhs, it must give rise to serious thought. The causes of this decrease ought to be investigated. For, the followers of all the other religions have not decreased. Mussalman have increased by 8'9 per cent. and Christians 27'9 per cent. We shall mention the causes of this decrease as mentioned in the Census Report.

(1). Famine.

"The followers of the Prophet are more numerous by 8'9 per cent. than they were in 1891, compared with an increase of only 2'4 per cent. in the population of India at large. Their relatively more rapid growth is due to a great extent to the fact that the tracts where they are mainly found, such as North and East Bengal, the Western Punjab, Sind and the Meerut and

Rohilkhand divisions of the United Provinces, escaped the stress of famine and show for Hindus also a growth of population much above the average, while the decadent tracts in the Central Provinces Bombay (excluding Sind), Rajputana and Central India contain very few Muhammadans. This, however, is not by any means the sole explanation, and an examination of the returns for individual provinces and states shows that, except in Assam, where immigration is a disturbing factor, they have everywhere increased more rapidly than their Hindu neighbours. In Bengal, for example, their rate of increase is 7'7 per cent. against less than 4 per cent. for Hindus, and in East Bengal it is 12'3 against 6'9 per cent.; in the United Provinces it is 6 against 1, and in Madras 9'1 against 6'3 per cent. In Bengal the general result is shared by all Natural Divisions except two, where there has been extensive immigration, and in Madras, the Punjab, and the United Provinces, only one such Division in each forms an exception to the general rule. In Bombay where the Muhammadans have grown by 5 per cent., while the Hindus have decreased by 7 per cent., the result is largely due to the fact already mentioned that the former are found chiefly in Sind which escaped famine, but there, too, an examination of the variations by locality shows that even in the same area the Muhammadans are generally the more progressive of the two communities. The phenomenon is not peculiar to the present census; the same result was noticed in several provinces in 1881 and was dealt with at some length by Mr. O'Donnell in the Census Report for Bengal. The subject has been further investigated in the Bengal Report on the present census, and it is shown that it is due only to a small extent to conversions from Hinduism. Except

perhaps on the Malabar coast, where the Mapillas are active and enthusiastic propagandists, this conclusion seems to be of general application. In the United Provinces, for example, Mr. Burn says:—"The most careful enquiry has failed to discover any extensive proselytism in recent times from Hinduism to Islām, though isolated instances certainly occur both by genuine conversion and in the case of men who have lost caste." *Census of India, 1901: India, part I, p. 386.*

From the above extract it would seem clear that famine was not the only cause of the decrease. We have then to seek other causes, which, according to the Census Report, are:—

(2). The prohibition of the remarriage of widows among many Hindu castes, owing to which many women of child-bearing age remain childless;

(3). The too early marriage of boys and girls; and

(4). The conversion of many Hindus to Christianity and Muhammadanism, chiefly to the former. From 1891 to 1901 more than six lakhs of Hindus became Christians.

In seeking to find out from what caste the Christian Missionaries obtain the largest number of converts, we find that the majority of recruits belong to those castes which generally become famine-stricken, or which the Hindus despise and whose touch to them causes defilement. We shall support our statement by giving extracts from the Census Reports for some provinces. We shall begin with Bengal.

"The classes most receptive of Christianity are those who are outside the Hindu System or whom Hinduism regards as degraded, and it is for this reason that missions in the Chota Nagpur plateau have so much greater apparent success than those in the plains, while of the latter, the most flourishing are those whose work lies amongst depressed communities such as the Namasudras of Backergunge and Faridpur."

Let us then pass on to Madras.

"The foundations of missionary enterprise in this part of the Presidency were laid at the time of the famine of 1877-78 when large numbers of converts were made, especially in Kurnool, by the American

Baptists who have been working there since 1840. Mr. Francis says that the converts of Christianity 'are recruited almost entirely from the classes of Hindus which are lowest in the social scale. These people have little to lose by forsaking the creed of their forefathers. As long as they remain Hindus they are daily and hourly made to feel that they are of commoner clay than their neighbours. Any attempts which they make to educate themselves or their children are actively discouraged by the classes above them: caste restrictions prevent them from quitting the toilsome, uncertain and undignified means of subsistence to which custom has condemned them and taking to a handicraft or trade: they are snubbed and repressed on all public occasions: are refused admission even to the temples of their gods: and can hope for no more helpful partner of their joys and sorrows than the unkempt and unhandy maiden of the paracheri with her very primitive notions of comfort and cleanliness. But once a youth from among these people becomes a Christian his whole horizon changes. He is as carefully educated as if he was a Brahman, he is put in the way of learning a trade or obtaining an appointment as a clerk; he is treated with kindness and even familiarity by missionaries who belong to the ruling race; takes an equal part with his elders and betters in the services of the church; and in due time can choose from among the neat-handed girls of the Mission a wife skilled in domestic matters and even endowed with some little learning.'"

In the United Provinces the Indian Christians have increased by 200 per cent. during the decade. Mr. Burn, the Census Superintendent, says:—

"Further enquiries have been made in the other divisions noted above, which point to the same results. It is clear from these that the principal castes from which converts are made are sweepers and chamars, though a few are also obtained from higher castes."

In the Bombay Report we find that

"The greatest growth during the decade has occurred in the Kaira district which contains 25,000 Christians, compared with little more than 2,000 in 1891, and Ahmednagar, where the number has risen from 6 to 21 thousand. * * * These districts were heavily stricken in the famine of 1900, and Mr. Enthoven has shown by an examination of the age statistics that, relatively speaking, there has been a far greater increase at the ages 5 to 15 than at other periods of life. He concludes

that—'The secret of many of the conversions is to be sought more in the relations which the missionary bodies have been able to establish with the famine waifs in their orphanages than in any general movement in the adult members of non-Christian communities towards accepting the revelation of the Gospel.'

The same explanation is given by Mr. J. A. Dalal of the increase from 386 to 7,543 Christians in the Baroda State which adjoins the Kaira district and which suffered equally in the famine year.

From the Punjab Report we gather that

"More than one-fifth of the Punjab Native Christians have been returned as of Chuhra origin, but the statistics showing the former castes of converts are incomplete and the real number is much greater."

"In Rajputana and Central India, a large proportional but small numerical increase is attributed largely to conversions during the famine years."

The other provinces tell the same tale. From this state of things two legitimate conclusions can be drawn. One is that the higher Hindu castes, who are generally the most influential and well-to-do, must give the lower castes the full rights of human beings and treat them more justly and reasonably than they do at present. The second is that, though it is easy to indulge in cheap sneers against "rice-Christians," it is far better to imitate Christian missionaries in saving orphans and waifs and other famine-stricken creatures at times when food becomes scarce. One of the names very properly given by Hindus to God is "Patitapavana," the Purifier of the Fallen. Is it not to be expected that they will see what obligation the giving of this name implies? Will they not raise the fallen? It is not difficult to see the absurdity of considering a man of "low" caste untouchable so long as he remains a Hindu and shaking hands with him and offering him a chair as soon as he becomes a Christian and assuming a European name begins to wear a hat.

We shall now try to elucidate the other causes by mentioning facts and figures taken from the Census Reports. The distribution by age of the population of India shows that

of 10,000 persons of each sex in the case of the Hindus only 2,567 males and 2,632 females are under the age of 10, whereas amongst Muhammadans the corresponding numbers are 2,889 and 3,005.

"The larger number of children in the case of the latter may be due in part to greater care or less neglect, but it must be chiefly attributable to a higher birth rate. The Muhammadans again are, for the most part, of the same race as their Hindu neighbours, and the difference in their fecundity must, therefore, be due to something in their social conditions rather than to any racial peculiarity. And the main explanation seems to lie in the comparatively higher age at which Muhammadan girls are married, so that fewer females become widows while still capable of bearing children, coupled with the permission accorded to Muhammadan widows to take a second husband. In some parts a large section of the Hindu community also allows widow marriage, while in others the Muhammadans have been much affected by Hindu prejudices on the subject. It is however an undoubted fact that Muhammadan widows do remarry more freely; they most frequently become the wives of widowers or of well-to-do men who can afford to take a second wife, who, though primarily a household drudge, also often bears children to her husband. The marriage statistics show that of every 1,000 Hindu women between the ages of 15 and 40, 137 are widows compared with only 98 amongst the Muhammadans. Moreover, in the case of the intrigues in which widows so often indulge the Hindu female who thus becomes *enslaved* resorts to abortion while the Musalman welcomes the prospect of a child as a means of bringing pressure upon her paramour and inducing him to marry her. Amongst other causes of the more rapid growth of the Muhammadans the most important is, perhaps that already alluded to, *viz.*, the greater care which they take of their offspring owing to the absence of the various marriage difficulties which so often embarrass the Hindu father of a large family. Their dietary, moreover, is more nourishing and varied, and their physique is thus often better. In East Bengal, where their greater prolificness is very noticeable, they are more enterprising and therefore better off than their Hindu neighbours, and this is also the case in Rajputana, but in the Punjab, where their greater relative growth is equally marked, the 'Muhammadan is assuredly the poorest element in the population' and

laments over his shortcomings as a cultivator are a commonplace of the local Settlement Reports. In the Madras Census Report for 1891, Mr. Stuart mentioned the comparative seclusion in which Muhammadan women are kept as one of the reasons for their greater prolificness, but it will be shown elsewhere that the natural rate of increase of the Animistic tribes, whose women share all work with the men, is probably quite as great as that of the Muhammadans, and on the whole the main reason for the more rapid growth of both communities as compared with their Hindu neighbours seems clearly to be that a larger proportion of women of child-bearing age are married."

Some people seem to be of the opinion that infant or child marriage increases fecundity, as under this system girls become mothers at the very earliest time that it is physically possible for them to do so. But this opinion is unfounded and opposed to the facts. It is clear from the Census Reports that Hindu children are generally married earlier than Muhammadans or animists. Here are the figures:—

"At '10—15' nearly half the total number of Hindu females are married and at '15—20' more than four-fifths." "Of Muhammadan girls aged '5—10' only 7 per cent. are married, compared with 12 per cent. amongst Hindus, and at '10—15' only 39 compared with 47 per cent."

Among animistic females

"Marriage is much later even than with Muhammadans; at '10—15' only two-elevenths of the girls are married compared with nearly two-fifths, at '15—20' considerably less than three-fifths compared with four-fifths."

Let us see now what the Census Report says as to the relative fecundity of the various races.

"The fact that if the birth-rate be calculated on the number of married women aged '15—45' instead of on the total population, it is found to be higher in England than in India effectually disposes of the theory that the extremely high crude birth-rate in the latter country is due to the early age at which marriage is effected. We have seen moreover that the classes that are most prolific are those that are least addicted to the practice in question, i.e. the Animistic tribes and the Muhammadans. With the Hindus early marriage is most

common in North Bihar, and yet, in spite of the ease with which in this tract widows obtain a second husband, it contains one of the least progressive populations in India. It would seem as if early co-habitation and premature maternity tend to exhaust the frame and impair the capacity for further childbearing, rather than to increase the average number of children per family."

Nearly ninety years ago Dr. Francis Buchanan made his well-known survey of Bengal, embracing "the progress and most remarkable customs of each different sect or tribe of which the population consists." He writes in this survey:—

"Premature marriages among some tribes are, in Shahabad, on the same footing as in Bengal, that is, consummation takes place before the age of puberty. . . . This custom, so far as it extends, and the great number of widows condemned by rank to live single, no doubt proves some check upon population."

Again:—

" but in this district the girl remains at her father's house until the age of puberty, and of course her children are stronger and she is less liable to sterility."

The varying rates of infant mortality among different races are due to the age at which girls marry, the material condition of the people, the influence of race, climate, customs connected with child-birth, manner of feeding and degree of care with which children are brought up. Most of the causes are common to all the chief races of India. So that it cannot be disputed that infant mortality is due to a considerable extent to immature and premature maternity. Among Hindus per 10,000 of the population there are 1,206 male and 1,286 female infants of the age '0—5'; among Muhammadans 1,380 and 1,495; and among Animists 1,370 and 1,449. How far these differences are due to difference in fecundity and how far to varying rates of infant mortality it is difficult to determine.

The Census Report for Bengal contains the following remarks on this subject:—

"I have made particular enquiries as to the number of conversions at the present day, and the general

opinion is that it is not very great. Occasionally an eloquent Mullah obtains a few genuine converts but, as a rule, the persons who cross over from the one religion to the other do so for material, and not for religious reasons, *e. g.*, a Muhammadan takes a Hindu widow as his second wife, or a Hindu widow is detected in an intrigue with a Muhammadan, and, being outcasted, is fain to seek an asylum in the ranks of Islam, or a Hindu falls in love with a Muhammadan girl and has to adopt her religion before he can marry her. There are no doubt occasional instances of a genuine change of faith, but these form only a small minority. * * * It is clear that the main explanation of the relatively more rapid growth of the Muhammadan population must be its greater fecundity. One great reason for this is that the Muhammadan widow remarries more readily than her Hindu sister. The higher Hindu castes throughout the Province, and in Bengal Proper most of the other castes also, forbid their widows to marry a second time. The statistics of age and civil condition show that of every 100 Hindu women between the ages of 15 and 40, more than 16 are widows, whereas amongst the Mussalmans the number is only 12. *There is also less inequality in the ages of husband and wife than is often the case amongst Hindus.* The Muhammadan again has a more nutritious dietary than the Hindu and his fecundity is proportionately increased. Moreover, in Eastern Bengal at least, he is usually better off. *The Hindu has scruples about leaving his home,* and will rather stay on there and suffer some privation owing to his holding being too small to meet the needs of a growing family, rather than move elsewhere. The Muhammadan has no such prejudices, and it is he who occupies the *chars* of the great rivers of East Bengal and extracts bounteous crops from the fertile alluvial soil. Even in India, the growth of the population is regulated to a great extent by the material condition of the people, and there can be no doubt that the comparatively rapid increase of the Muhammadans is in part attributable to their being as a class in better circumstances than their Hindu neighbours."

Owing to all the causes already referred to Muhammadans have increased rapidly all over India. In a previous paragraph we have given the rates of increase for the two communities for all provinces.

The causes of the decrease of Hindus mentioned in the Census Reports also suggest the

remedies. (1) The prevention of premature maternity among Hindu girls, preferably by putting a stop to infant or child marriages, or at any rate by postponing the consummation of the marriage to a proper age, as is the custom among Jats and others in the Punjab, for instance. (2) Removing as far as possible the inequality in the ages of husband and wife. (3) Sanctioning the marriage of virgin widows, and tolerating the marriage of childless widows of child-bearing age. (4) Uprooting the prejudice against the "lower" castes, so that they may not be considered despicable and untouchable, and elevating their condition by educating them and giving them the respect that they may become entitled to by their talents and character. (5) The fusion, at first of sub-castes and then of castes, the eradication of *kulinism*, and the reduction of marriage expenses, so that the marriage of girls becoming easier and their birth being looked upon not as a curse, they may receive proper care and treatment. (6) Bringing about free emigration to fertile and healthy regions, or to places where healthy non-agricultural employment may be had. (7) The amelioration of the material condition of the people. It is, of course, beyond the scope of this article to show how all these reforms and improvements can be effected.

There is one other means of increasing the number of Hindus, *viz.*, the conversion of non-Hindus to Hinduism. The popular idea is that no non-Hindu can or does become a Hindu. But facts are opposed to this idea. History tells us that many non-Indian tribes have in historical times become Hindus, some being even recognised as Kshatriyas. That all Brahmans in India are not Aryans by race is also quite evident. But even in our own day conversion to Hinduism is quietly going on. Of course it cannot be expected that orthodox Hindus will receive Mussalman or Christian converts to Hinduism into the bosom of the Hindu community, still less is it to be expect-

ed that, so long as popular Hinduism does not become monotheistic and monolatrous, intelligent Mussalmans and Christians will accept Hinduism. Hence in referring to conversions to Hinduism we are thinking less of them than of the aborigines of India. Many of the latter are now becoming Hindus and calling themselves such. "The way in which Hinduism spreads among these rude tribes has often been discussed." It will suffice here to quote a few remarks from the Bengal Census Report.

"At the present time two great influences are at work. The first is the contempt shown by the general body of Hindus for their aboriginal neighbours, and their refusal to have any dealings with them. They are spurned as unclean, and gradually come to share the feelings themselves and to take the superior Hindu at his own valuation. The other influence, paradoxical as it may seem, is the cajolery of certain classes of Brahmans. Degraded members of the priestly caste wander amongst them in search of a livelihood. They commence by reading some religious book, and so gradually acquire an influence which often ends in their obtaining the position of spiritual adviser to the rude inhabitants of the village they have settled upon. In the Orissa states and the Chittagong Hill Tracts, Vaishnava Bairagis, more often than Brahmans, act as missionaries of a debased form of Hinduism.

"In this way the tendency is spreading amongst even the wilder tribes to call themselves Hindus. Thus in Singhbhum the Deputy Commissioner reports that some Hos 'style themselves Hindus and profess to believe in the Hindu gods and goddesses. Some of them have taken to wearing the Brahmanical thread.' In parts of the Chota Nagpur States, certain Pans call themselves Das and set up as twice-born Hindus, and in Baramba, many Kandhs and Savars, who were returned as Animists in 1891, claimed that since then they had taken to Hindu forms of worship, and were in consequence allowed to be classed as Hindus. In Mayurbhanj some Santals have accepted the ministrations of Vaishnava preachers and now call themselves Hindus. One of the curious features of the movement

inaugurated by the Kharwars or Santal revival was their leaning towards Hinduism. Occasionally but very rarely, there is a reaction. Mr. Bomj tells me that at the present moment there is movement of the sort in the Sonthal Parganas, where women have broken their lac bangles and taken on more to home-made cloth instead of the imported article."

The following extract from Mr. Risley's account of the Chákmás of Chittagong affords a further illustration of the tendency question:—

"The Chákmás profess to be Buddhists, but during the last generation or so their practice in matters of religion has been noticeably coloured by contact with the gross Hinduism of Eastern Bengal. The tendency was encouraged by the example of R. Dharm Baksh Khan and his wife Kalindi Rani, who observed the Hindu festivals, consulted Hindu astrologers, kept a Chittagong Brahman to supervise the daily worship of the goddess Kali, and persuaded themselves that they were the lineal representatives of the Kshatriya caste. Some years ago, however, celebrated Phoongyee came over from Arakan, after the Raja's death, to strengthen the cause of Buddhism and to take the Rani to task for her leanings towards idolatry. His efforts are said to have met with some success, and the Rani is believed to have formally proclaimed her adhesion to Buddhism." *Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, Vol. I, page 172.

What number of adherents Hinduism is gaining by proselytism of this sort it is perhaps impossible to ascertain. Nor is it my purpose to discuss whether propagandism of this type is desirable or not.

Some at any rate of the remedies enumerated in this article will be characterised by orthodox Hindus as un-Hindu. But that is begging the question. Whatever is calculated to conserve the vitality of the Hindu race and save it from decay and ultimate extinction is Hindu: let him dispute it who can or will.

FOLK-TALES OF HINDUSTAN

THE JAT AND THE BANIA.

IN a certain village there lived a Bania, who kept a shop of rice, wheat, salt, oil, &c., and supplied all the small wants of its little community. One day, while on the way to the neighbouring town to make purchases for his shop, he met a poor Jat (one of a caste of cultivators), who was also going to the town to pay his monthly instalment of debt to the Majahan (banker). It was a debt incurred by his great-grandfather to celebrate the obsequies of *his* great-grandfather. The debt, which in the beginning was but a hundred rupees, had grown ten-fold during half a century with interest and compound interest. The poor fellow was cogitating as to how to save his ancestral lands from the clutches of the money-lender, when he was accosted by the Bania in the following words:—"Well met Chowdhri. I see you are going to your inexorable Mahajan, to pay your instalment. Can nothing be done to save your lands?" The poor Jat said:—"Ah Shahjee! it is a sad tale as you know. My great-grandfather borrowed a hundred rupees; and the amount has swollen to one thousand rupees. How can my few *bighas* of land pay up such a large sum?" "Do not grieve, Bhai Chowdhri: what is written on one's forehead must happen. So instead of bewailing your lot let us beguile the tedium of this long journey by telling stories." "Well suggested, Shahjee! I perfectly agree; there is no use weeping over that which is written in our *kismet*. So let us beguile the irksomeness of the journey by telling stories. But let this be the condition that howsoever untrue or absurd the story may be, neither of us must call it untrue or even fictitious. He who does so must pay to the other one thousand rupees." "Agreed," said the Bania. "Let me begin my tale," he added, and thus proceeded:—

"You know my great-grandfather was the greatest man among the Banias, and was exceedingly rich."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"Now this great ancestor of mine once equipped forty ships and sailed to China and trafficked there in rich jewels and precious stones."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"Well, when he had remained there long enough to amass a large fortune, he returned home, bringing with him many curiosities from that country. Among them there was a speaking statue of pure gold of such cunning workmanship that it could answer all questions put to it."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"When my ancestor returned home, many came to have their fortune told by that wonderful statue and went away satisfied with its replies. One day your great-grandfather came to my ancestor to ask some questions of the speaking statue. He asked:—'What caste of men is the wisest of all?' The statue replied—'The Bania.' He next asked, 'What caste is the most foolish on earth?' The reply was, 'The Jat.' The last question your great-grandfather asked was, 'Who will be the greatest blockhead in my family?' The statue replied, 'Chowdhri *Lahri Singh*.' (That was the name of our Jat hero.)

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat, though the covert hit of the Bania went to his heart; and he inwardly vowed to repay the Bania in his own coin, and in such measure that he would rue it to the end of his days.

"Well then," went on the Bania, "the fame of the statue spread far and wide, and reached the king, who, summoning my great-grandfather, made him his Prime Minister in exchange for the statue."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"My great-grandfather remained long the trusted and faithful counsellor of the Raja, and when he died, my grandfather succeeded to the post. He lived in great affluence, but, not paying as much attention to his work as the Raja wished, he soon incurred the displeasure of the king and was ordered to be trampled to death by an elephant. He was placed before a mad elephant, but as soon as the brute saw him, he became calm, and bowing down before my ancestor lifted him with his trunk upon his back."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"Well then, when the king saw that the mad elephant would not kill my grandfather, he got pacified, and re-instated him in his favour and conferred great honours upon him. On the death of my grandfather, my father became Prime Minister, but, being of an enterprising turn of mind, he relinquished his situation and went on travel. In his tour round the world he saw many wonders, as for instance, men with one leg who hung head downwards from the branches of trees, one-eyed men, gaints, &c. One day my father perceived a mosquito, hovering near his ear to bite him. My father was sorely dismayed, not knowing what to do, as you know we Banias are forbidden to kill any living creature."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"So then, in great distress, my father fell on his knees and implored the mercy of the insect. On being thus entreated the mosquito said:—"Most noble Shahjee! You are the greatest man I have seen. I will do you a great service." Saying which the mosquito opened its mouth, and my father saw within it a large palace of burning gold, with many windows, eaves, gates, &c., and at one of the windows the most beautiful female figure he had ever seen. On the door of the palace he saw a peasant about to attack the princess. My father, who was famous for his spirit of valour, at once jumped into the mouth of

the mosquito and entered its stomach. I was all dark and he found himself groping in the belly of the insect."

"True, O Shahjee, true!" said the Jat.

"After some time, the darkness melted away and my father again saw the palace, the princess, and the peasant. My father, being a very courageous man, fell upon the peasant, who was no other than your father. They fought for a year in the stomach of the mosquito; after which period your father acknowledged himself vanquished and gave up all claims to the princess. So my father married the princess and lived in that palace, and I was born there. Your father remained in the service of my father as Durwan and used to sit the whole day and night at the door keeping watch. When I was fifteen years old a heavy rain of boiling water fell upon our palace, which melting away threw us into a burning sea. After much trouble we reached the shore, and we four, *viz.*, my father, your father, the princess and myself, jumped at once from the sea upon the shore. When lo! we found ourselves in a kitchen, and the cook looking terror-stricken at our appearance! After some minutes, when she had been assured that we were men and not ghosts, she said:—'You are nice fellows to spoil my broth. What business had you to enter that pot of boiling water in which I was cooking my fish and frighten me thus?' We all apologised to her and said:—'If we were in that pot, it was through ignorance. For it is fifteen years since we have been living in a palace within the belly of a mosquito?' 'Ah! I remember said the cook, 'just fifteen minutes ago I saw a mosquito which bit me on my arm. Here is the wound which the wretch inflicted. I fear you must have been injected into my arm by the insect; for I felt extraordinary pain. I squeezed out the poison, and saw a black drop as large as this mustard seed, and it happened to fall into the boiling water, and I never imagined that you were in it.' M

father replied :—‘ Bibiji, this seems to be the most satisfactory explanation of how we came into the pot. Our fifteen years must have been your fifteen minutes.’ In fact, I was but fifteen minutes old, though in stature and strength I was like a boy of fifteen years. We found to our surprise that we had been only fifteen minutes in the belly of the insect, though in that short space of time I was born, and grown so big, and my father and thy father had grown older by fifteen years. Though I look like a man of five and twenty or thereabouts, I am in reality a child of ten years, my extraordinary growth being the result of my fifteen minutes’ residence in the burning belly of the mosquito.”

“ True, O Shahjee, true ! ” said the Jat.

“ When we came out we found that we had come to another country, that, in fact, we were in this village. So my father, who was a Prime Minister before now, took to shop-keeping and I to helping him. The princess, my mother, died the other day as you know. This is my story.”

“ True, O Shahjee, true ! ” said the Jat. Your story is very true. My story though not less true, is, I fear, not so wonderful. But it is perfectly true, yea, every word of it. Now hear it with attention :—

“ My great-grandfather was the most well-to-do Jat in the whole village. His distinguished appearance, noble demeanour and profound wisdom extorted praise from all who came in contact with him. He was universally respected in the community, and being the headman of the village, his voice was ever raised in defence of the weak. In the *Chowpal* and village meetings the foremost seat was always given him, and the *hooka* invariably first offered him. He was loved by all for his many good qualities; whenever any poor fellow was in distress, he would help him by every means in his power; he would gladly lend his oxen to others to plough their fields; he would send his own men to reap the harvest

for others when they were short of hands; and everybody was welcome to a share in the produce of his fields and dairy. He settled all the disputes of the community; and there was none who questioned his authority. In fact, his mandates had greater force than the edicts of the Emperor or the decrees of the *Kazi*. He was a terror to the wicked, for, being of great physical strength, greater than that of Rustam or Bhim Sen, none dared incur his displeasure by any transgression of the human or divine law.”

“ True, O Chowdhri, true,” said the Baria.

“ Well, once upon a time there was a great famine in our village. No rain fell on the land; the rivers and wells dried up and the trees withered away. The cattle starved or want of fodder, and birds and beasts died on all sides in thousands. When my great-grandfather saw that the stores of the last year were exhausted, and the people would soon die of hunger if prompt steps were not taken to remedy the evil, he called together all the Jats and addressed them thus :—‘ Brother Jats, surely the god Indra has become angry with us, or he would not have withheld rain. I see clearly that we must all soon die of hunger, if measures be not taken to meet the calamity. If you hear my advice, I will try to supply you with food during the entire season of scarcity. I only want that you should all give up your fields to me for six months so that I may make them fruitful.’ ‘ Agreed,’ cried unanimously all the Jats. Well then my great ancestor at once girded up his loins, and by one strong pull lifted up the whole village of a thousand bigas of land and placed it on his head.”

“ True, O Chowdhri, true ! ” said the Baria, smiling inwardly at this tissue of preposterous nonsense.

“ Well then, my ancestor, carrying the whole village on his head, went about in search of rain. Wherever it rained there he went with the whole village on his head, and collected

all the rain water on the fields and in the reservoirs thereon. Having thus watered the fields he told the Jats to plough up the land and sow the seed. Thus for full six months my great grandfather went from one country to another after the clouds and the rains and accumulated all the rainfall of the season in his village. In the meantime his Jats ploughed and sowed, and the crops had never been so splendid. The wheat and the maize stalks being so copiously watered, rose up to such a height that they touched the sky."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"When my ancestor had accomplished his tour round the world with the village and its inhabitants upon his head, he returned to his country and placed the village where it had formerly stood. My great-grandfather reaped a plentiful harvest that year, and the whole village now belonged to him. The growth of the maize and the wheat was prodigious; every grain of corn was as big as your head."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"Well, when all the grain was collected, the produce proved abundant so that there was not room enough to store it in. People from all parts of the country and from distant lands hearing of our wonderful harvest, came to purchase the grain, and great was the profit which my ancestor made by the sales. Thousands and tens of thousands of rupees did my ancestor distribute among the needy; to many he gave the corn *gratis*; from those who could well afford to pay he took but a fair price."

By the time the story of the Jat had reached this point they entered the town, and the Jat went on with his tale as follows:—

"At that time your great-grandfather was a very poor man, and my ancestor out of pity employed him as a menial servant to weigh out the grain to the customers."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"Your ancestor was employed all day and night in weighing the corn, and was

very pitiable to see, and being a blockhead often made mistakes in counting up the weights of the grain he sold; for which I often got good thrashings from my ancestor."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

By this time they had entered the shop of the Mahajan (money-lender) to whom the Jat was indebted. They found the banker at his post, and the travellers bidding him "*Resam*," sat down on the floor. But the Jat without speaking to the banker, went on with his history:—"Well, Shahjee, when my great-grandfather had sold off all the harvest, your great-grandfather's occupation being gone, I was discharged. He then, before going away, asked a loan of my ancestor of one hundred rupees, which the latter generously gave."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"Very good," said the Jat raising his voice so that the banker might also hear, "Your ancestor did not repay that debt."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"Neither did your grandfather, nor your father pay off that debt, nor have you paid up to this time."

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"Now that sum of one hundred rupees with interest and compound interest at the usual rate makes up exactly one thousand rupees which sum you owe me," said the Jat.

"True, O Chowdhri, true!" said the Bania.

"So, as you have admitted the debt before my Mahajan, I request you to pay the amount to him so that I may have my lands released."

This came like a thunder-bolt on the Bania. He had admitted the debt before a third party. He was between the two horns of a dilemma. If he said that it was merely a story and altogether false, he must pay according to the terms of their bet; if he said it was true, he must pay the sum according to his own admission. So, *non volens*, he paid up the heavy forfeit and ruined himself for the remainder of his life.

SHAIKH CHH

THE STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

III

Let me now cast a glance at the University of Calcutta and say as the result thereof what the state of teaching there is in the subjects falling under the head of the "Natural Sciences." I base my remarks on the courses laid down by that University.

I have before me the Calcutta University Calendars for 1904 and 1906.

I.—Arts.

(a). For the First Examination in Arts a candidate has to select one of the following as an *Optional Subject*:—A. Logic: B. History: C. Physiology: D. Sanitary Science.

(b). For the degree of Bachelor of Arts the following is one of the optional subjects prescribed:—Physiology, and either Botany or Zoology, together with the doctrine of Scientific Method.

The course is defined in the following table:—

(1) *Physiology*:—Elementary, and General.

(2) *Botany*: (a) The Morphology and histology of Flowering Plants. The general principles of their classification on the systems of Linnaeus and DeCandolle, with a detailed acquaintance with the characters of thirty-six *Natural Orders*. (b) A general acquaintance with the morphology, histology and classification of Cryptogams.

(g). Vegetable Physiology.

(3). *Zoology* includes the following syllabus:—

(a). Embryonic development and comparative Anatomy of the principal orders of animals, ordinal classification of the animal kingdom,

and generic classification of one selected order of Vertebrata, and one of Invertebrata to be notified beforehand. The geographical distribution and habits of animals. The species of the mammals of India, omitting the micro-mammals (sic.) viz. Insectivora, Rodentia and Chiroptera, and one order of Reptilia, and one of Aves to be previously notified.

(b). Special Physiology of the Vertebrata.

(c). Special Physiology of the Invertebrata.

II.—Science.

For the degree of Bachelor of Science, in addition to the compulsory subjects, any two of the following optional subjects are prescribed:—1, Physiology; 2, Botany; 3, Zoology; 4, Geology; 5, Mineralogy; 6, Mathematics, Hydrostatics and Astronomy.

(1) In Physiology there is the *Pass Course*, and the *Honours Course*, which latter is more thorough than the former. In both the Courses there is a Practical Examination of a searching kind.

(2) In Botany the *Pass Course* includes the subjects set down for the B. A. degree as already given above. There is a searching Practical Examination.

For the *Honours Course*, the same subjects are set down as for the *Pass Course* cited above, but they are treated more fully, and the Practical Examination is much more thorough.

(3) In Zoology the *Pass Course*, including the same courses as prescribed for the B. A. Degree. There is a searching Practical examination.

For the *Honours Course* the same subjects are set down as for the *Pass Course*, but

they are treated more fully, and the practical Examination is much more thorough.

III. For the Degree of Master of Arts the following Course is laid down in *Natural Science* :—

(D) *Botany* :—(a). General and Special Morphology and Physiology.

(b). Systematic Botany.

(c). Palæobotany.

(d). Practical knowledge of Indian plants and *identification of specimens of them by ROXBURGH'S FLORA INDICA (Clarke's Edition)*

N. B.—Although Roxburgh's work is very accurate in the description of Indian plants, it is now antiquated. Its place has been taken by the publication of the *Flora of British India* by Hooper in 7 volumes.

(E) *Zoology* includes (a) Comparative Anatomy and Physiology, (b) Distribution, and (c) Evolution.

IV. For the Degree of Doctor in Science in the Branch of Natural Science—

A candidate has to be either a B. Sc. or an M. A. in Natural Science.

He has to pass in one of the following subsidiary subjects.

(g). A short general course in Zoology.

(h). Ditto ditto in Botany.

(i). Ditto ditto in Physiology.

A candidate who has passed his M. A. in Natural Science in Botany has to take up a short general course in Zoology; a candidate who has passed the M. A. in Physiology and Zoology has to take up Botany or Physiology. A candidate who has passed his M. A. in Geology and Mineralogy has to take up one of the following—Chemistry, Botany, or Zoology.

We are concerned here with Zoology and Botany.

(A). Two general papers are set to the Standard of Kirkaldy and Pollard's Translation of 'Boas' Text Book on Zoology.

One of the Papers is on the general principles of Zoology, Phylogeny and Classification,

Evolution, and Distribution in space and time the other paper is on Animal Morphology with a certain amount of Physiology and Embryology.

The "Practical" Paper is set to the standard of Zootomy. The Practical questions are based on the assumption that twelve different "types" are dissected by the candidate during the course of his study from large mammal to the microscopic amoeba the names of the animals are given in detail in the Calendar every year.

(B). In Botany the following curriculum is prescribed :—

(a). "A knowledge of the Morphology of the flowering plants being assumed as already acquired, this course will embrace the Morphology of the flowerless plants." Special attention is required as regards the Anatomy and Physiology of both the flowering and flowerless plants. Systematic Botany embraces the History of Botany. Sachs's work is prescribed in its English version. A knowledge of the various systems of Classification is required; as also a knowledge of the following subjects, namely :—

(1) The distribution and evolution of type in time and space: (2) the great alliance (or *Cohorts*) of Natural Orders: (3) the most striking groups of Economic plants: (4) a detailed study of the diagnostic character of selection of some 20 Natural Orders of flowering plants.

(b). A thorough study of Cryptogami Botany is required. The University Calendar says :—"A more extended study." By this I understand more than what is required for the M. A. degree in Botany. There is in this degree of D.Sc., required a practical knowledge of the use of the Microscope; a detailed acquaintance with the distinctive features of 50 Natural Orders including the Vascular Cryptogams; and lastly an acquaintance with the commoner genera of five of the selected Natural Orders.

(c). The Standard Books on Botany prescribed for this Examination are in my humble opinion, at least some of them, antiquated, not up to date.

III. In the Faculty of Medicine there are the qualifications of L. M. & S., of M. B., of Honours in Medicine and of Doctor in Medicine.

With regard to the Preliminary Scientific L. M. S., besides Chemistry, a candidate has to go through a course of Botany of 20 lectures. He has to pass an examination in Botany, "so far as regards the Anatomy, Histology, and Physiology of flowering plants."

In what is called the First Licentiate Medical Examination there is a very important provision made for progress in Botany. It is this:—"Any passed student of any Vernacular School of Medicine, if recommended by the Principal of an Affiliated Medical College for distinguished merit, may be admitted to the Combined Preliminary Scientific L. M. S., and First L. M. S. Examinations on producing the following certificates:—

"(a). Of having passed the First Examination in Arts of the University.

(b). Of having passed the Final Examination of the Vernacular School of Medicine with marked distinction.

(c). Of having, subsequently to qualifying in the Vernacular Classes, been engaged for one year in the study of Medicine and Surgery, and during that time of having attended in a School of Medicine recognised by the Syndicate, a course of lectures in Botany, Chemistry, Anatomy and Physiology."

I may observe here in passing that the Calcutta University steals a march over the Bombay University, inasmuch as the latter makes no provision such as the former makes for the advancement of those studying Medicine and Surgery in the Vernacular Medical Schools in Poona and Ahmedabad.

The Degree of Bachelor in Medicine.

It consists of three examinations, namely:—

(I). The Preliminary Scientific M. B. Examination which requires

(a). Chemistry, 2 courses each of 70 Lectures.

(b). Botany, 2 courses each of 20 Lectures.

(c). Comparative Anatomy, Comparative Physiology, and Zoology.

(d). A Course of Practical Chemical exercises.

N.B.—There is no practical course in (b) Botany, and (c) Comparative Anatomy &c., cited above. This is defective.

(II). The First M. B., (III) the Second M. B. and (IV) the Degree of Doctor in Medicine, require subjects which are purely Medical and Surgical, and, therefore, need not be dwelt upon here.

In the Engineering Faculty of the Calcutta University, Geology is required for the following examinations:—

(I). For a License in Engineering there are two Branches:—(A) Civil Engineering, (B) Mechanical Engineering. Candidates select any one of them.

For Civil Engineering Geology is one of the necessary subjects. The standard is high; and involves among other subjects a good knowledge of Indian Geology.

(II). For Honours in Engineering also, among others, Geology is a necessary subject. The candidate has to study the General Geology of India, and show a special knowledge of the Gondwana system. Two papers are set in Geology. There is an oral examination besides.

The selection of Text Books in Botany, Physiology, Zoology and Geology is very judicious and up-to-date. Roxburgh's *Flora Indica* is still retained in the curriculum for reference in identifying Indian plants. This is a very wise provision, as no work on Indian Botany excels Roxburgh's for an accurate description of plants.

Among the Endowments there is the Premchand Roychand Studentship.

Thanks to the wisdom of the Syndicate of the Calcutta University there is a field open to the student of the Calcutta University of the highest kind, in (1) Botany, (2) Physiology, and Zoology for competing for this handsome prize now at the disposal of the University. It is also open to students of Geology and Mineralogy. In the Natural Science Branch any two of the abovementioned three groups may be taken up; not more.

The large-hearted liberality of Mr. Premchand Roychand of Bombay founded this scholarship in 1866 by making a donation of two lacs of Rupees to the Calcutta University in the heyday of his fortune when he kept spell-bound the entire Commerce and Finance of Bombay and held the reins thereof with the magic hand of a Ruler. Mr. Premchand Roychand, while with the one hand he gathered money in lacs and crores, with the other gave away for the purposes of education in Bombay, Calcutta and else where with equal liberality, discernment and judicious care. It is to the munificence of Mr. Premchand Roychand that the Bombay University owes its splendid Rajabai Tower and the University Library, for each of which Mr. Premchand Roychand gave 2 lacs of Rupees. Mr. Premchand Roychand is now gone, but the Calcutta University P. R. Studentship remains. So does the Rajabai tower of the Bombay University to show to future generations what a mighty intellect Premchand Roychand's was; and what a large heart he had for giving away money for the use of intellectual scholars.

The conditions of the Premchand Roychand studentship are as follows:—

1. Five studentships of Rs. 1,400 a year shall be maintained on the interest of the Endowment (of Rs. 2 lacs).

2. Any Graduate of the University of Calcutta, who has been admitted to the Degree of Master or Doctor in any Faculty, shall be eligible for only one of those studentships

during twelve years from the time that he passed the Entrance Examination.

3. Each Studentship shall be tenable in the first instance, for two years, during which the student will be expected to carry on some special investigation or work in the subject or subjects in which the studentship was awarded. The studentship shall be extended for a further period of three years provided the student satisfies the Syndicate that he has carried out such investigation or work and he continues it during this further period. At the end of each year after the first year the student shall submit to the Syndicate a report of the work in which he has been engaged during the year.

Here is a glorious field for any Indian student of the Natural Sciences, namely, Botany, Physiology and Zoology, or Geology and Mineralogy to devote his talents and youthful energies in his selected line of scientific study with a remuneration worthy of the worker.

Let us see what the teaching staff is in the Colleges and affiliated institutions in connection with the University of Calcutta.

1. In the Presidency College of Calcutta among others there is a Professor of Biology, a Lecturer on Sanitary Science, and a teacher of Physiography and Demonstrator of Geology.

2. St. Xavier's College, Calcutta, has a Professor of Sanitary Science, in the person of the Rev. Father E. Lafont, S. J., C. I. E.

3. The General Assembly's Institution, Church of Scotland Mission, Calcutta, has in its teaching staff a Lecturer on Physiology.

4. Ravenshaw College, Katak, has a Lecturer on Sanitary Science in the person of Satischandra De, M. A., M. B.

5. Metropolitan Institution, Calcutta, has for teaching Sanitary Science, Dr. J. N. Mitra, M. R. C. P., London.

6. City College, Calcutta, has a Lecturer in Sanitary Science in the person of Amrit Lal Sarkar, L. M. S.

7. Rangoon College (Burma) has a Science Lecturer in the person of Maung Ba, B. A.

8. Victoria College, *Cooch Behar*, has a Professor of Science in the person of Tarapada Mukharjee, M.A. I am not able to say here what branch of Science, *Physical* or *Natural*, he lectures on.

9. In the Victoria College, *Narail*, there is a Professor of Science in the person of Upendra Chandra Ghose. But what Branch of Science he lectures on, whether *Physical* or *Natural*, I have not the means of knowing.

10. In the Behar National College, Bankipore, there is a Lecturer on Sanitary Science in the person of Debendranath Sen, M. A.

11. In the Central College, Calcutta, there is a Professor of Hygiene in the person of Trailokya Nath Banerjee, M. B.

12. In the Maharaja's College, Jaypur, there is a Professor of Science, in the person of Ramchandra Mukerji, B. A. What branch he teaches, whether *Physical* or *Natural*, I know not.

13. Jagannath College, Dacca, Dr. Kali Kumar, L. M. S., lectures on Sanitary Science and Physiology.

14. Baptist College, Rangoon, has a Professor of Science, Mathematics and Logic in the person of Rev. L. E. Hicks, M.A., Ph. D.

15. Central College, Jaffna, has a Lecturer on Science in the person of W. R. Cooke, Esq.

16. Krishna Chandra College, Hetampur, in the District of Birbhum, has a Professor of Sanitary Science, Physiology and Hygiene, in the person of Mohinimohan Banerjee, C.H.A. There is besides a Demonstrator of Science and Laboratory Assistant in the person of Nilratan Sen.

17. Dublin University Mission College, Hazaribagh, has a Professor of Physiology and Sanitary Science in the person of Rev. J. G. F. Hearn, M. D.

18. The Tangail Pramatha Manmatha College provides for a Professorship of "Physiology, Hygiene, &c." Dr. D. N. Chakrabarty,

L. M. S., is the Professor. What the "&c." after Hygiene means I have no means of knowing. I am far away from *Tangail*.

19. In the City College, Mymensingh Branch, founded as recently as 1902, there is a Professor of Physiology and Sanitary Science. Dr. Bipin Bihari Sen, L.M.S., is the occupant of the Professorial Chair.

20. The *Medical College* of Bengal. This College was founded by Lord William Bentinck in the year 1835.

The constitution of this College is of a complex nature. I have to deal with only one part thereof, namely, the tutorial provision made for the course of studies laid down in the Calcutta University for the various examinations required thereof annually as per settled rules and regulations for the conduct of such examinations, for the bestowal of academic degrees, honours and prizes in pursuance of established rules.

The Professorial Chair of Botany has had such distinguished teachers as Sir George King, and Lieut.-Colonel D. Prain, who is now the Head of the Kew Gardens in London. Right good service have they done. From time to time, to foster the study of Botany among the students of that subject in Bengal. No word of praise that I can utter, will be ever adequate for the most distinguished work they have done. The stamp they have left of their own work will be a monument of their splendid labours, in finding new plants in India and accurately naming and describing them.

The Chair of Comparative Anatomy in the Bengal Medical College is held by Lieutenant Colonel A. W. Alcock, I.M.S., M. B. Of him under the head Scientific Research there is the following notice:—

"Probably the highest purely scientific honour attainable in India is the award of the Barclay Memorial medal by the Asiatic Society of Bengal. This was founded now a number of years ago in the memory of one of the most active of workers, principally in microscopical botany. The award for the current

year was announced by Sir Andrew Fraser at the annual meeting of the Society on Wednesday last, as being made to Colonel A. Alcock, of the Indian Medical Service, and late of the Indian Museum. Colonel Alcock, after a brief scholastic experience in India, returned to England and qualified for the Medical service. Always an enthusiastic zoologist, he was allowed by his department to specialize in this direction, and was appointed naturalist to the Indian Marine Survey ship, the Investigator.

This in a large measure caused him to turn special attention to the groups of crustacea, crabs, cuttlefish, etc., of the Indian Ocean, and on this subject he became by far the greatest authority in the East, and one of the greatest in the world. Three years ago he received the hall-mark of high standing in the scientific world in being made a Fellow of the Royal Society. The "Statesman" says it is understood that Colonel Alcock, who is now on leave, is returning to India, and probably his past researches have only been the prelude to still greater ones in his chosen fields of study." (*Times of India*.) 15-2-07.

I may add to the foregoing quotation one remark. It is this:—In his preface to the work Colonel Alcock has published, as the result of his elaborate and learned labours in connection with Zoology as a Naturalist on the staff of the Indian Marine Survey ship named "The Investigator," he says, that

following his favorite pursuits in marine Zoology he has *wrecked* his professional career, namely, that of a Physician and Surgeon of great abilities in His Majesty's Indian Medical Service. Well be it so, I say. What is his loss, will be the gain of students of Zoology in the Medical College of Bengal. There has not been a better-qualified man in all India to teach Zoology and Comparative Anatomy to Indian students.

We next come to the scrutiny of the Teaching staff in Thomason Civil Engineering College of Roorkee. In the person of Professor F. W. Sedgwick, M. A., &c., there is an able teacher of Natural Science.

In the Civil Engineering College, Sibpur founded in 1880, I find, on the Instructive Staff in the Agricultural Department, Lieutenant Gage, I. M. S., as Professor of Botany; P. Bruhl, M. I. E. E., as Professor of Geology and D. D. Dutt, M. A., as Lecturer in Agriculture. Practical instruction in Farming is given by Farm Overseer Râjnath Roy.

Here ends my hurried review of the Science teaching available to the Indian student in the Calcutta University.

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

EXTREMIST POLITICS

IT has become a commonplace of Indian public life to talk of the new spirit which is abroad in this country. We are frequently told that the rise and achievements of Japan, the collapse of Russia, the revolutionary movement against the autocracy under the weight of which the Russian people are groaning, the inauguration of constitutional rule in Persia, the awakening of old China, have infused a new spirit into the people of India. No one who has watched

the signs of the times will care to deny that there is a considerable measure of truth in this statement. Apart from the effect on Indian thought of what is happening outside our country, the reactionary regime of Lord Curzon has contributed a mighty share to the growth of discontent in India. When Lord Curzon took charge of the Indian Viceroyalty eight years ago, the articulate section of the people were irritated enough, but the state of public feeling then was quite different

from what it is to-day. The complete divergence between the spoken word and the performed deed during the long dark night of Lord Curzon's administration has had a tremendous effect on the attitude of the educated people towards British rule. And the fact that the great agitation set on foot against the partition of Bengal has spread to the four corners of the country, and that, unlike in the case of previous agitations, the echoes of this particular agitation have not yet died out, but are gathering volume and strength as time passes, is proof conclusive of the determination of the people of India no longer silently to submit to unrighteous and ignominious treatment, but to make an effective protest against injustice and oppression. Even now there is immense apathy on the part of the educated people as a whole, but one is glad to think, that there is perceptibly less of it to-day at many places than was the case not so very long ago. There is, too, a new-born zeal for the development of Indian industries, and the enthusiasm that is felt by very many people for the Swadesi movement is something to feel thankful for. It does one's heart good to feel that large numbers of people scattered over different parts of the land are simultaneously engaged in the elevating task of national uplifting in different fields of activity. It cannot be under God's merciful providence that the well-meant labours of so many good men and true in the disinterested service of the Motherland will go for nought. The faith that is in every convinced believer in the existence of a kindly Father benignantly watching over and blessing all honest work unselfishly done in the service of humanity, revolts against the thought that there is no glorious future for our holy Motherland.

The new spirit of the people is, therefore, something to rejoice over. But there is one circumstance which goes far to check the enthusiasm which a right-minded man could

otherwise feel. I refer to the growth of a new party—I would not dignify it by the name of a new school of thought—with deal and methods different from what have so far been accepted by the recognized leaders of Indian thought and activity. Well-meaning people have lately been trying to prove that the differences between what is called the extremist party and what is known as the moderate party are more seeming than real. I have absolutely no wish to exaggerate the differences that unhappily have come to the surface among the members of what I may be permitted to call the Indian Liberal party, but for that reason I cannot shut my eyes to the fact of the existence of rather acute differences among us at present and for some time past. I will try to set out in brief what I apprehend to be those differences. The ideal we have deliberately accepted is self-government under British rule on colonial lines. In the language of the late Mr. Barakade we have chosen to accept British rule as a permanent and accomplished fact. All of us may not think with our late *guru* that British rule is meant in the inscrutable dispensations of Providence for the ultimate good of India, and many may not feel anything akin to enthusiasm over the fact of the existence of a British Indian rule. But we have of our free will and deliberate choice accepted, and do accept, British rule as an accomplished fact on the basis of which alone we can build. Not to speak of the utter impossibility of subverting and overthrowing British rule, I believe I am right in saying that in the opinion of the vast majority of educated Indians the future progress of the country is possible under the ægis of British rule alone. The causes for this are to be sought in our incapacity and our disunion. Our incapacity is physical, and, more than physical, moral. Our disunion is patent to all. It is an ancient enemy of Indian progress and flourishes to-day as much as ever before. The education of the

people to make them more efficient, and the promotion of social and religious reforms which are absolutely essential to make the people of India one, are possible only under a tolerant rule like the British. At the same time that we recognise the supreme necessity for the continuance of British rule, we are unable to reconcile ourselves to our present lot. I do not propose to detail here our manifold grievances and disabilities. It is not necessary to do so, as there is no difference of opinion in respect of them. We are all agreed that we are drudges in our own mother's household, that the humiliation and disgrace of our present position stares us in the face and paralyses our activities at every step. We are convinced that the present system of exclusive, and hence unnatural, alien domination must not be suffered to continue much longer, and we will make every endeavour to obtain that self-government on colonial lines which we have made up our minds is the great cure for our national ailments. The path we will tread in reaching that goal shall be the straight high road of constitutional agitation. Ours is a policy of *live and let live*: our ideal determines our methods. A dispassionate and reasoned survey of the situation in the country leads us to believe that nothing more and nothing less than loyal, peaceful constitutional agitation is what is open and permissible to us at present. We do not regard this as mendicancy, for the best of reasons that we seek for no favours but ask for our just rights. As Dr. M. G. Deshmukh recently remarked, it is only the asking something that does not legitimately belong to us but to the giver, that can be called begging. Those who give constitutional agitation the bad name of mendicancy with a view to condemn it, know as well as we do that we are not asking for anything which does not of right belong to us.

Now, what is the position of the so-called extremist party? I think I have read about as much of the writings and speeches of the

leaders of this new party as any other public in India, and I venture to indicate what I understand to be their principles and policies. The spokesmen of this party have not always said the same thing, and I am by no means certain whether the points of agreement between Poona and Lahore, Amraoti and Calcutta, are not purely negative. But such as they are, I apprehend the following to be their ideal and methods. The ideal is to be absolutely without British rule. One of them has repeatedly said that absolute autonomy free of British control is what he is striving for. He has publicly committed himself to the proposition that anarchy is preferable to the continuance of the present foreign rule. And none of his colleagues in the leadership of the new party has cared to dissociate himself from this view. To realize this ideal they propose as effective methods the boycott of foreign goods, of paid and honorary offices under Government, and of the Indian Universities and the colleges and schools affiliated to them; the formation of trade unions and the promotion of strikes, so as, I presume, to bring to a deadlock British industries planted in India and paralyse British trade and commerce;—in a word, obstruction is their method. This is the form of passive resistance which is in favour with them.

I have already stated why it is that the so-called moderates cannot accept the ideal of the extremist party. A few words about what we think of their methods will perhaps be out of place. In one word I would say that our people are not prepared for obstruction. First, let us consider the practicability and expediency of boycott. Eighteen months' experience has amply vindicated the position of those who were from the first doubtful of its success in the present stage of our national situation. In the first place we are so greatly dependent on foreign goods for meeting our daily wants that indigenous industries will first have to be built up before

we can afford to abstain from the purchase of all foreign articles. I may at once say that if by boycott be simply meant what we know as the Swadesi movement—the preference of indigenous to foreign goods even when the former cost a trifle more and are somewhat inferior in quality, there are not many educated Indians who are not in favour of it. But I do not suppose we have the right to give new meanings to English words. We have to give to them the interpretation they bear. It is not true that boycott means nothing more than the gradual substitution of indigenous for foreign goods. As the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale has expressively put it, there cannot be a graduated boycott as there is a graduated income-tax. Boycott means a complete and sudden cessation of commercial intercourse with the country the use of whose products is forbidden, it is in effect a declaration of commercial war. Knowing as we do that the British are still a nation of shopkeepers, there is no doubt in any one's mind that if we can effectually ruin British trade with India we shall be doing a most useful thing indeed in order to win our political freedom. But there is as little doubt that an ineffectual attempt in this direction will prove harmful to us. We shall then succeed, not in achieving our end, but only in provoking hostility and resentment which will put off the day of political reform by quite a generation. Boycott, if it is a strong weapon, as we admit it is, is a dangerous weapon, too, which will injure the man who uses it, if he cannot skilfully handle it. Now, what is the position to-day? After eighteen months of boycott agitation, with patriotism at fever-heat, we import a larger quantity of cotton goods and of sugar, the two articles against which the boycott is principally directed, than we did at the commencement of the agitation. In the birth place of the boycott agitation, I mean the province of Bengal, they have not succeeded in keeping out even an article of luxury, which is further

productive of harm, foreign cigarettes in spite of patriotic vows innumerable and self-lending ordinances many.) I thankfully admit that there is a good deal more of industrial activity to-day than even in the recent past; but after all, is it not still true that the maximum of talk is followed by the minimum of substantial work? Again, where is the tremendous volume of feeling among the mass of the population which is a condition precedent to the success of the boycott movement? Will any body tell me what we are to do, what we have to do, when provoked by the manner of the boycott agitation, the Government of India will impose a duty of 20 or 30 per cent. on imports of, say, textile machinery? Instances of gross fiscal injustice have been many in the past, probably there will be no lack of them in the future; the more so if we provoke them into acts of resentment. The boycott of foreign goods is at present impossible, and agitation directed to that end futile.

Coming to the boycott of paid and honorary offices under Government, I think it is enough to say that no one who has the slightest acquaintance with Indian character and Indian conditions will regard it as practicable for one moment. Every well-wisher of India is anxious that there should be less hankering after Government service and the learned professions than at present; but this is not the same thing as boycotting Government offices. The problem of what to do with our boys is becoming increasingly grave, and every one wishes that industries should grow up to provide occupation for a large body of the youth of the country. But till then, and even then, it is impossible that numbers of Indian young men should not be absorbed in Government service, high as well as low. As regards honorary offices, we and not the Government will be the losers if the ~~bes.~~ among us refuse to work in such capacities. We have to train ourselves in the work of Government. we have to make ourselves heard in the

councils of the empire. Twenty-eight independent and patriotic men severed their connection with the Calcutta Municipal Corporation about seven years ago. Who have been the losers? Surely not the Government of Bengal, but the rate-payers of Calcutta. By a wanton conspiracy the great leader of educated Indian thought, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, was at first declared defeated at the recent elections to the Bombay Corporation. Who were likely to suffer from this, and who showed the keenest anxiety for the return of this greatest of Indian Municipal Councillors to the scene of his activities and triumphs of nearly two generations? Not the Government, but the rate-payers of Bombay. Look at the question from another point of view. Babu Surendra Nath Banerjee resigned last year his office of Honorary Presidency Magistrate: has not another Indian been readily found to fill the place vacated by him? The anti-partitionists of East Bengal have kept themselves aloof from the Legislative Council of the new province: have not other Indians—Hindus as well as Mahomedans—come forward to take their places? If to-day one Indian resigns his place, a hundred fellow-countrymen of his apply for the post within twenty-four hours. First build up the strength of the nation and increase the public-spiritedness of the people, and it will be time enough to come forward with proposals of this character. Situated as we are at present, they hardly merit even serious examination.

What are we to say of the proposal to boycott the Indian Universities and the educational institutions affiliated to them? There was a momentary revolt against them on the part of the youth of Bengal year before last, and we have now the Bengal National Council of Education with its College and Schools. We wish them well, and we hope that similar institutions will spring up in other parts of the land. But it has been authoritatively declared by both Sir Gooroo Dass Banerji and

the Hon'ble Dr. Rash Behari Ghose, the leaders of the new educational movement, that its aim is to supplement and not to supplant the recognised colleges and schools of Bengal and the University of Calcutta. Heaven knows how meagre are the educational facilities we now enjoy; are we in a moment of wounded pride and political frenzy to commit the suicidal folly of depriving ourselves of even those meagre facilities, in the hope of one day starting new institutions whose one recommendation will be that they are to be dubbed national?

As regards strikes and trade unions, may we not pertinently enquire what has been the fate of the Railway Union and Printers' Union and the few such other mushroom organisations brought into existence in Bengal, before losing ourselves in enthusiasm for them? There was the strike of the employees on the East Indian Railway. To what extent were the strikers supported by those who profess belief in the organized promotion of strikes? Is it not taking a great responsibility on our selves to preach to ignorant and half-educated men the utility of strikes when the preachers are not prepared with funds to maintain the strikers till they get new employment and to defend them in legal proceedings, and with organizations to support them at all stages of their fight? For my part I am of opinion that the majority of educated Indians have not yet become so public-spirited or so capable as usefully to preach and promote these methods of obstruction and resistance, and I would not risk the safety and comfort of the many men who now obtain a living as employees in Government and mercantile establishments by putting into their heads all sorts of impossible notions. A time will come, I dare say, in the process of the growth of industrial India, when the tyranny of capitalists will inevitably lead to the formation of trade unions and the frequent resort to strikes for the settlement of industrial disputes. But that day is not yet.

This brief examination of the tenets of the new political party in India leads us to think that the political salvation of our country is not to be achieved by making its leaders our conscience-keepers and following them with closed eyes and implicit faith whithersoever they may choose to lead us. The leaders of the Congress movement—men of the intellectual and moral calibre of Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji, Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, and the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale, with their many merits and many achievements—tell us to trust to the time-honoured methods which have been tried and not found wanting, to work for the good of the country with disinterestedness and patience, and in faith and hope, to pursue a policy of what I have ventured to call *live* and *let live*; all the while devoting ourselves to the great task of building up the strength of the nation by the furtherance of education, the development of industries, and the promotion of those social and religious reforms without which, all intelligent and honest, observant and thinking minds are convinced, national regeneration is well nigh impossible. The leading men of the new party do not take count of the myriad difficulties of the situation and simply tell us to abandon the peaceful path of loyal patriotism in favour of the dark and devious ways of obstruction and racial hatred. One is justified in demanding conclusive testimony to the wisdom of their counsels before trusting these gods we know not of. If there were only one side to the problem, that is, the unsuitable and unjust character of the Government and the paramount necessity of either mending or ending it without regard to other considerations, we might perhaps give the new party a little patient hearing, and a trial even. But there is another side, too. The two weakest links in the chain are our incapacity and our disunion. With patriotism unknown to, and unrecognised as a virtue by, perhaps 99,999 people out of a lakh; with education so little spread, with the ideas

and ideals of the people so time-worn and anachronistic, with so many racial and provincial differences still luxuriantly thriving, with the almost entire womanhood of the country living in a world apart as it were, and knowing so little of and caring so much less for, country and nation; with six crores of low castes not recognised as a part of the body politic; with the myriad castes and sub-castes and sub-sections of sub-castes into which the Hindus are divided; and with the complicated and almost hope-killing Hindu-Mahomedan problem clogging the wheels of progress at every step—one must indeed have more of bigoted faith in the infallibility of oneself and the magic effect of one's own nostrums than a capacity for observing and thinking aright to confidently recommend for adoption by the country, the political ideal and the political methods of the new faction in Indian public life. Let the self-sufficient and self-willed members of this new party cease to be overpowered by the beauty of their doctrines and think a while like rational beings, and they will yet perceive the unwisdom of their ways. Let them remember as the late Mr. Ranade put it so well, that not “the sanguineness of temper which desires to accomplish the work of centuries in as many decades, and the work of decades in as many years, and the work of years in as many days” but a spirit of “sturdy hopefulness” is the real “source of strength” in the public work which lies before us. “People who have got this spirit of sanguineness developed in them,” said Mr. Ranade in beautiful words of profound wisdom, “are clearly to be distinguished from those who, while they feel hopeful of the final result, are still weighed down with the thought that they have to undergo a long discipline, and have no heart for boisterous displays or dreams of mock revivals of past glory. The results are to be achieved in ourselves and not by change of extraneous circumstances

We should learn to be men, stalwart-puritan men, battling for the right, not indifferent nor sanguine." It is this "change in character which has to be accomplished." We have to

remake ourselves if I might say so, and work as Ranade taught us to work, if there is to be real national regeneration.

C. Y. CHINTAMANI

THE THREE FORMS OF ART

THE great sage Shukracharyya lays down the following canon in his treatise on Art:—

"The artist should attain to the images of gods by means of spiritual contemplation only. This spiritual vision is the best and the truest standard for him. He should depend upon it and not even upon the visible objects perceived by external senses.

"It is always commendable for the artist to draw the images of gods. To make human figures is bad and even unholy. It is far better to present the figure of a god though it is not beautiful than to reproduce a remarkably handsome human figure."

Henry Weekes, Late Professor of Art in the Royal Academy, London, whose opinion is authoritative, says of Greek art:—

"In the best days of Phidias and even of his scholars there was but one aim—Nature was looked upon only with one view, that of understanding and representing her meaning and her efforts at attaining perfection in various grades whether of animate or inanimate life."

The following extract relates to the Japanese standard:—

"They aim not at a literal transcription of nature but at an expression of its inner significance...Directness, reticence and restraint are its main characteristics. To present the essential quality of a scene, not its mere outward appearance and that with the least possible obtrusion of the material, was its object."

To elucidate and sum up the above: The Hindu Artist severed all connection with the visible world of the senses and by rising to a higher spiritual plane employed his chisel or

brush to represent images realised in contemplation alone—in absolute disregard of the forms of the material world.

The Greek school of art observed natural phenomena to discover the quintessence of the sublime and the beautiful in them. The perfect shape that the Greek artist drew was creation of mind and not a transcript of nature.

To the Japanese artist, the beautiful and the grotesque—Heaven and Hell—are all alike. He omits nothing. Whatever he sees with his eyes or imagines in his mind furnishes object-lessons to his brush. But he hits at their inner significance and does not go about to copy from nature.

These three schools of art have apparently three different standpoints from which they start but they essentially aim at the same thing, however wide asunder their objects may appear from one another to a superficial observer. They all realise that the great aim of art is to draw from the mind and that it is the inner conception that should furnish inspiration to the artist.

When the Greek sculptor cut in stone the image of a peerless beauty or of a man indicating masculine strength, he did not care to keep a model before him. The ideal beauty that he worshipped in the heart of his heart was the perfection of masculine symmetry that existed only as a form in his mind, inspired

his chisel to work. Were he to wait till a perfect living model was found, Greek art would have never come into existence.

The Japanese painter looks at the flight of cranes in the air. Their merry and blithe notes and swift motion in the sky make a vivid impression on his mind and with a few happy strokes of his brush he draws a picture of the birds which may not conform to the exact proportions of the actual cranes. He, however, does not care for anatomical accuracy and is satisfied if his inner conception has been typified on the screen.

In like manner and in a far truer sense the Indian artist works out the image realised in his soul. He feels no scruple or hesitation in drawing a Brahma with four faces or a Vishnu with four arms. What he reads in his scriptures about these divinities, he realises in his mind by contemplation; and supernatural and extraordinary shapes surrounded by a halo of celestial glory which enlivens his vision of gods are created in utter disregard of existing forms.

So it becomes clear that in all these three schools, however divergent their modes might be from one another, it is the mind that forms images and the artist does not think his task over by merely employing his hand to copy. As in the classic Indian figure of the Trimurti, one image manifests itself in three aspects or rather three images blend themselves in one, so also these three standards of art having different features peculiar to themselves, are blended in one unanimity of purpose, viz., to portray the inner conception. To carry this comparison into details:—In our country the god of art may be well represented by the great Siva—entirely forgetful of the world—not without a touch of eccentricity and even wildness in him. In Greece he figures as Vishnu—the resplendent and perfect God served by Lakshmi, the goddess of beauty and grace. And in Japan he is Brahma, the Creator; whatever he wishes, is created on the spot.

Besides these three styles of art compared by me to the Trimurti of the Hindu mythology, a new style has been introduced amongst us which now carries high favour with the Europeans. This newcomer owns no affinity with the Trimurti. In the pantheon of the gods, he claims no place. He should rather be called an evil genius of Art. As the goddess Lakshmi, who represents health, wealth and grace, is sometimes worshipped by avaricious people in the purse of gold, the functions of the presiding deity of Art are in a similar manner identified with those of Mammon in modern Europe. This evil spirit smells of trader's greed, and decked with glittering and fashionable costumes sells himself at a fixed price and sometimes even at a high value in the market. His occupation is to please wealthy people. One may find the inspiration received from this deity in the statue of Lord Dufferin in the *maidan* of Calcutta and in the figure of Kartik worshipped by the Hindus of modern Bengal. This fashionable style has not yet appeared in Japan, but if she is carried away by an admiration of European institutions, we are not sure if she will continue to keep true to her traditions of art. As when the merits of a pious man wear off, he falls from Paradise; in the same manner the Greek art having lost its high aim and purpose has degenerated to this miserable style. We may, therefore, designate this as lost or fallen art. The Greek artist worshipped the human shape and did not, like the Hindu, soar high to approach the gods. Hence that art in the days of its degeneracy has degraded itself to pander to the tastes of rich paymasters amongst men.

When a wall is to be painted it is often found expedient to apply a shade of colour a little too deep so that in time that shade passing away, the true colour might stand. It is the same with art. The aim should be fixed a step higher than humanity. Our great masters knew it well. They felt that descent from a great man to a man is a matter of time. The

difference is but a step; but that between a god and a man is great. So the fall from the high Indian standard cannot so easily be complete. In drawing a human figure the artist cannot lose sight of human elements, but if the human elements be an object of all-engrossing care, it takes no great time for the artist to reduce the warrior god Kartik to a fashionable dilettante, and the art-masters of India like Shukracharyya felt this strongly while insisting on the ideal of art to be placed far above the human world. If one compares the results achieved by the Greek and Indian arts in the present age, one will find convincing proofs of the truth of the Indian saying relating to art. Japanese art is as yet in a progressive stage and it will not be proper to make any surmises regarding its future.

If we look at India, we find three stages through which Indian art has passed. The Brahmanic, the Buddhistic and the Mogul standards successively engage our attention. In the Brahmanic age there is an exuberance of the supernatural element in Indian art. The figures of this age are distinct from human types. Half man and half beast like Narasinha, monsters with ten heads, a Brahma with four faces and a Vishnu with four arms, the supernatural and the extraordinary predominate everywhere. We trace this spirit of total abstraction from the world of sense and attempt to transcend it at every step, even in the conception of the complexion of Ramachandra, who is represented to be green as fresh grass-blades and that of Krishna, who is said to be dark as a newly-formed cloud. As if the art-world capriciously cuts itself off from all ties with the visible material world—careless and even eccentric is its course like that of the great god Siva. To a superficial observer all these might appear as childish caprices but to a thinking mind, this pantheon of the art-gallery will unfold a scene of the emancipation of Art from all bondage—a wild ecstatic joy and glory of the freedom of

the Artist's soul from the fetters of this earthly residence—the parallel to which we scarcely find outside the pale of India. The figures cut in stone by the sculptors of the Brahmanic age owe no kinship with the human world—they rise far above it in their divine majesty. Lofty and unapproachable divinities—absolutely careless of mankind!

In the Buddhistic age the ideal in art grew more kindred to humanity. The absolute freedom and wildness of the Brahmanic age was to a great extent curtailed but the standard remained lofty still. It did not yield to human control. The great Buddha became the one theme of Art, which cared not a straw even for great monarchs like Asoka. The artist's whole soul lay centred in one point—the lotus-feet of Buddha. If Indian art had yielded to the influence of wealth and power, we should have found statues of Asoka, instead of his edicts on the pillars which that great monarch erected all over the country. No one, therefore, can assert that in the Buddhistic age Art was depraved or that it lost ground as compared with the lofty ideal of the Brahmanic age. In that age it soared high up in the clouds and in the Buddhistic period though it came down to the earth, it kept its eyes as steadily fixed on the higher regions.

Next comes the Mogul period. Art was no longer free, its freedom was lost in the service of the Moslem Emperor, but it did not become a handmaid ministering to the wishes of the great Mogul. The Artist began to present the pictures of the Mogul Emperor and his consort, but who would look into these paintings and say that it was the human figure that gave inspiration to the artist's soul?—In these paintings also, the superhuman element predominates. Shining as they do in resplendent brightness of colour and in profuse glitter of gold, these paintings more properly represent the grace and majesty of abstract royalty than the actual figures of the Emperors or Empresses whose portraits the artist was

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



RAPHAEL'S SISTINE MADONNA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

commanded to draw. And when in the time of the Emperor Shahjahan the royal mandate relaxed its hold upon Art, it once more breathed free and ascended heavenwards. It took its inspiration then direct from the celestial regions and recorded a story of the triumph of love over death in a dream in marble which still adorns the bank of the Jumna. It is to divinity alone that Indian Art has paid homage and addressed the following prayer:—

"Thou art the soul of my soul—thou art my only refuge."

Let us now follow the course that the Greek Art took in the later ages.

With the fall of the Greek Empire, the Romans with the Cæsars at their head rose to power. It was no ordinary power that these monarchs wielded. They aspired to be the Sovereigns of the whole world. A feeling of national pride on account of this matchless power found expression in the Art and Literature of the Romans of this period. The great Roman Kings were deified and the greatness of the Roman Emperors and their Court became the favourite and all-engrossing theme of poets and painters. Here was a descent of Greek Art from Jupiter to Cæsar. The Romans were never known to be a spiritual race—nor did they acquire a keener appreciation of beauty than the Greeks. So the aim and the standard of art were lowered. The Roman Art-gallery lost its heavenly lustre and reflected the morbid ray that issued from the pompous Roman Courts—from the Emperors and their satellites.

But with the Christian Renaissance there came a change for the better, Art once more caught glimpses of heaven. The wonderful pictures of the Madonna and the infant Jesus by Raphael are the result of this influence. Art once more reasserted its position in nobly conceived spiritual ideas; but as a light comes brighter in its last flicker before it goes out, so the influence of the Christian

Renaissance was a short-lived one, it had merely a day of glory and spent itself after producing a Raphael and a Michael Angelo. The true religion of Christ passed away and Christianity as a form ruled Rome with the Pope at its head instead of Christ, after the fall of the Roman Empire. The papal authority was as iron-handed as that of the Roman



RAPHAEL SANTI.

From his portrait by himself.

Emperors. The Art which adored Christ, became now a parasite of the Pope in the Vatican. It may be argued here that Raphael drew his pictures under Papal patronage. Under Papal patronage no doubt, but not under Papal inspiration by any means, for his inspiration came direct from Heaven and could not have come from the Vatican.

We said that Art yielded and succumbed to Papal influence. With the decadence of

the Papal supremacy, however, there was a mushroom growth of small kingdoms all over Europe. Under the patronage of the Great Popes there was yet some dignity attached to Art, but when their power declined, European Art found employment in decorating and embellishing the garden-houses of smaller kings and their favourites, and in pandering to their tastes in a servile manner. All high ideals were abandoned and imitation and copying found favour with half-educated people. Like a handmaid, Art waited upon the favour of its petty patrons who dictated its course. As it is absurd to expect the highest results of Yoga from a Yogi who yields to earthly desires, it is similarly vain to expect any success from the fallen standard of modern European Art. Our remarks may be considered too strong, for who would believe in these days that we have nothing to learn from the European School of Art? But for the sake of truth it must be said that there are more chances for an Indian student of getting his tastes vitiated by foreign imitation than of acquiring any good results from it,—the students of Modern Art Schools of India are themselves the living proofs of our statement. We have not been able to improve the indigenous Indian art in any way but learnt only to treat it with contempt and create a similar feeling for it in the minds of the public. We sometimes find fault with our public because they do not favour Indian Art, but it is not, we hold, correct to do so, since a good artist will direct public taste and should not succumb to it. As a genuine saint cares not for a monarch's throne, nor for the praises or abuses of the people, but remains firm in his course, so a good artist should remain unmoved by worldly temptations and should not care at all for the verdict of the unthinking people around. He should remain true to the inner conception of beauty which is the only source of inspiration. The artist who follows in a servile manner the tastes of the "hydra-headed mob" can-

not create any good or lasting work of art. It is for him to create the standard of art and in doing so lies essentially his greatness and glory. The students of our modern art schools are responsible for directing the tastes of the Indian people towards the degraded standard of European art, and it is their business to redeem their good name by improving the public taste. The good to be attained from the European standard of Art is like the jewel on the head of a venomous snake;—one must thoroughly protect oneself by wearing the steel armour of nationality before he aspires after the precious thing, for without it, ruin will come upon him.

If any one would like to see more closely how the European standard of Art has been lowered, let him place a modern art production side by side with a Greek statue. In the modern figure nature has been imitated even to a fault. All the details have been sharply worked out. One might almost count the hairs in the lashes of the eyes and the eye-brows and certify their number to be correct—but the Greek statue is not exactly like a human being;—the figure is heavenly and inspired into the soul of the artist by an inner conception of the sublime in nature. How different from the present type, which by attempting to take a transcription of nature too closely looks by the side of the Greek statue as the village deity Satya-Pir does by the side of the great Indian god Vishnu! Place one of the Greek statues near those of Vishnu and Buddha, and if you like, get the figure of a Bodhisattva from the Nara Temple of Japan and thus complete this glorious pantheon. You will conceive the greatness of the images formed in the soul of the sculptors by spiritual vision. One will be struck by a great similarity in the above statues and from a superficial view may even consider them to be productions of the same school of art. Many art-critics have concluded that the Buddhistic images owe a great deal to the Greek model, and that the

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



RAPHAEL'S MADONNA DELLA SEDIA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

Japanese artists took their lessons from Indian masters. They are very much mistaken. The figures are similar, because they come from the same source—spiritual inspiration.

Let the Hyperion of the Greek art be reduced to the Satyr of the modern European art and let Japan follow her own ideal in art—our business now is to stick to what we have.

The question will surely arise—What have we now in India to boast of? We have lost everything. But is it really so? The great religious faith of the Indian people which enabled them to perform Herculean works with patience—made them cut to pieces great mountains, as though they were mere stone-slabs, for building innumerable temples of wonderful designs—inspired them to adorn the great mountain-caves with gorgeous paintings which last to this day as lamps of their never-decaying glory—that great religious faith, which is a force and stimulus for the development of national genius, is not yet dead in us. Where is that nation that built the towering *stupas* of Sanchi and did marvellous painting in the Ajanta caves? That nation neither dropped from the Heavens nor did it rise from the lower regions. They lived in India then and are living in the sacred Indian soil up to this day. Then why should we despair of success—and why should we not equal our forefathers? There will be no want of specimens to guide us. Specimens of old Indian Art of the Buddhistic and the Brahmanic ages are still to be found in plenty. In point of skill, the palm is still given to the Indian Artist. The influence of the degraded European Art has held us in an unholy spell; let us rise above it and we shall be able to know our true aim.

“Images of gods only are to be made.” The great saying still works on the minds of

Indian Artists. By Indian Artist I do not mean students of the Art Schools of India. Those people whose hereditary occupation in Indian villages is to make images of gods—to sketch their pictures on canvass—to make wonderful flowers out of a piece of gold—to turn a shell into an elegant bracelet of remarkable design—to weave forest-flowers into beautiful crowns and ornaments for decorating gods—in short, those who from childhood upwards are occupied in reproducing in clay, in gold, in stone and in silver the images of deities conceived in the spirit only—I am referring to these people alone. They have not yet violated the canons laid down by the Indian sages, hence their fall has not yet begun. If any one wants to feel the force of spiritual conception in art, let him visit one of the Bengal temples in the month of Asvin when the sacred incense burns, the conch-shell sounds and the bell rings in the evenings, and through the smoke of the sacred *Dhupa* and the lights held up by the priests for *Arati*, the gorgeous image of *Durgā* conspicuously shines forth. If one looks upon the image with reverence, the spell of the influence of the modern European Art will pass away by the grace of the goddess, and he will be able to discover the superiority of a spiritual consciousness of beauty which enables the Indian Artist to create such unapproachable figures in clay. The greatness of the spiritual element in art will then be appreciated, and one will know where lie the essential glory and beauty of Indian Art.

The above is an English rendering by Babu Dinesh Chandra Sen of a paper in Bengali, which I read sometime ago at the Government School of Arts, Calcutta.

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THE NEW AND THE OLD SCHOOL IN INDIAN POLITICS: A PLEA FOR UNITY AND MUTUAL GOOD-WILL

TO all those who care more for India than for the particular party to which they belong, and who attach more value to the progress of the country and the amelioration of the condition of its people than to party triumphs and verbal disputations, it is disheartening to find that men of education and talents, who from their declarations must be keen on "National Unity", are doing things calculated to prevent such unity and to produce in the new generation a spirit unfavourable to solid and permanent progress. They are pained to see that these gentlemen who have styled themselves the New or Forward party, while expressing satisfaction at the general conciliatory spirit which at the session of the last Congress prevented a split among the ranks of the Congress workers, have, with an energy and pertinacity irreconcilable with such professions, immediately on the termination of the Congress, returned to their former regrettable methods of misrepresenting the opinions, attitude, work and aims of the Moderates and using toward them language which can be properly applied only to enemies. Stories are invented about these latter, and spread from the platform and through the press; and no hesitation is shown in twisting and colouring facts. Finding that the appeals made to the middle-aged and the old have achieved little success, and that temporary or partial acquiescence obtained by dialectical subtleties from men of worldly experience and knowledge, is followed by repudiation more or less pronounced and emphatic, they have now applied themselves to the task of capturing the youthful generation with a view of employing them against the old

workers; and for doing so methods are adopted which would have the baneful and disastrous effect of seriously undermining the equilibrium and healthy moral tone of those who come under their influence. If all leaders of the new school had confined themselves to the mere exposition of their doctrine and sought to secure their spread by arguments, persuasive methods and see decent language, it would not have been necessary to animadvert upon their writings and speeches. Even the young generation with their simple minds insufficiently acquainted with the stern realities of life could have been safely trusted to compare, weigh and judge the apparently rival faiths and make their selection and shape their conduct accordingly. As will be shown presently principles now professed by the "Forward party" do not materially differ from those which the Congress workers have for years been proclaiming, and the practice and general life of the former is not in any way different from that of the latter. Had the presentation of the new view been characterised by fairness, things would have been allowed to take their own course. The appeal in that case would have been to the judgment, moral fervour and patriotism of the community and these would have determined whether there was a case made out for rejecting the principles and altering the practice advocated by the Congress and the leaders of the Liberal party during the past two years and more. But when day after day and week after week language is used, and tactics are pursued, the only object of which can be to create in the minds of those v

are not fully acquainted with the past,—with the full truth and the whole truth,—an entirely false view of the ideals, objects and methods of the old party and a general feeling of detestation and contempt for such well-tried, doughty and trusty leaders as Sir Pherozeshah Mehta, Mr. Surendra Nath Bannerji, Mr. G. K. Gokhale, Mr. Madan Mohan Malviya, &c., it becomes a duty to enter the lists for the establishment of truth and the vindication of the character of the maligned. In the present juncture there are other considerations of an equally imperative character which make a similar call. Whether deliberately or in sheer thoughtlessness of consequences the Extremist leaders are advocating methods and doing acts the only effect of which—the only object of which—can be to bring about a cleavage in the Liberal party. Worse still they are employing language and not infrequently laying down propositions which are incompatible with truth, justice and righteousness, with tolerance and fellow-feeling, and which are calculated to seriously impair the development of the national character on healthy lines and to affect the people's capacity for solid substantial work. It has, therefore, become incumbent upon every one who values Unity and the existence of the Indian race and who perceives the deleterious effects of these regrettable methods to speak out his mind and to exert himself to the utmost to counteract their influence and neutralise their evil.

It is deplorable that just at the time when a new spirit is moving the people, when they are slowly awakening to the consciousness of a national existence, when after two decades of agitation the claims of Indians to political liberty more or less full are receiving some recognition, the country should be threatened with a schism among the members of the party of Progress and Reform. The difficulties which they have to overcome are so numerous, the obstacles which they have

to surmount are so great, the prejudices which they have to conquer are so deeply ingrained, that even with the most complete unity, with the most undivided attention, with the most unremitting exertions, their task is overwhelmingly stupendous. The number of those capable of understanding and following the complex problems which have to be faced is, comparatively speaking, so small, the number of those taking interest in them and devoting their time, energy and money to the country's work is so insignificant, that *prima facie* it would have appeared incredible, that men presumably of sense and knowledge would do anything to throw away such advantages as they possess and weaken their already thin ranks. But this is exactly what is being done. Language which transgresses the limits of civility and decency is employed not by mere irresponsible followers but by the proclaimed leaders of the forward party towards men most of whom have for years been steadily and quietly working for the common weal and some of whom can show a record of permanent and valuable services such as none of their assailants can. From the platform and through the press are sent forth adjurations for disavowing and casting off the moderates and pulling down and publicly dishonouring the old leaders.

Into the genesis of this attitude of the extremist leaders and the motives which lie behind it, it is unnecessary to go on the present occasion. The significant fact which has to be considered is the disintegrating character of the new teaching, its avowed object of driving out of public life, of lowering in public esteem men whose only fault is that they cannot indulge in the gushing protestations of the freshly made convert. Not that there is any danger of the bulk of the moderate party abandoning their work and desisting from the performance of their duty. They are fully alive to the claims of the motherland upon them and they are prepared through good

repute and ill, in the midst of denunciation and abuse, to carry on their work according to their lights and opportunities. The regret which they feel is that instead of both the sections working conjointly and harmoniously, as they might and ought to, or each being permitted to quietly work on the lines most consonant with its principles and congenial to its temperament, they should be diverted from the main work by the necessity which has been created to combat the misconceptions spread about them by the forward party.

The old workers in the Congress cause see in the new life which is awakening and the new spirit which is rising throughout the country, the fruition of their great hopes, the fulfilment of their anticipations. Engendered by the spread of liberal knowledge and culture, brought into existence by the work of the Congress and of the political organisations which preceded it, by the activity in the press and in meeting rooms, the spirit of Nationalism derived hardihood and strength from the reactionary Jingo policy of the nineties and the repressive measures of the Curzonian regime. And now under the influence of that ferment which is rousing China and has awakened Persia, it promises to attain virility and power. The fate of India depends upon the universality, the strength, and the effectiveness of the national sentiment. The light, which first appeared on the mountain peaks, has, after spreading over the sides of the hills commenced penetrating into the valleys; and before long even the darkest recesses will be illumined. For directing this newly created force into fruitful channels, for utilising the coming light for beneficent purposes, it is union which is wanted, not disunion. For conquering the apathy and indifference of ages and dispelling the ignorance of centuries, the combination of all workers is a prime necessity. Where national life has been fully established and is vigorously working, the springing up of rival parties

is not merely permissible but may even be necessary for a healthy existence. But in the India of to-day there is no room for parties *among the ranks of the Liberals*. On them is cast the sacred duty of carrying and feeding the nationalist torch. On them rests the responsibility of rousing their sleeping countrymen and bringing them into the light. There are enough of racial, caste and religious differences, which have prevented the union of the people and brought on them disastrous consequences, the effects of which continue even now. It is simply suicidal that those among whom enlightenment and thought have produced the conviction about the urgent necessity of an absolutely perfect union should magnify unimportant differences of views due to temperament, surroundings and opportunities to such an extent as to jeopardise co-operation.

It is only by high ideals that national elevation can be attained: it is through observance of the moral laws, through obedience of the eternal verities that it can be implanted on a firm basis. Those who in one breath passionately advocate Indian Unity and at the very next moment clamour for the social and political ostracism of an important section of their countrymen, not only show to the world and to their followers that practice may, without blame, be divorced from principles, but adopt an essentially low and anti-social ideal. Far more seriously do they imperil the national welfare and progress when they say (very probably without due consideration and in the heat of the moment) that "morality has no place in politics." To note sorrowfully or indignantly that the moral law is often violated in statecraft is one thing; to preach to young students that it may with propriety or wisdom be ignored is another. To scoff at those who place their reliance on it is blasphemy. Is not the degradation of India due to the violation of the moral law? Is it not the non-observance in fact and in practice of the

principles of truth, justice, righteousness and mutual love which has brought about political servitude and economic poverty? Were not selfishness, jealousy and vindictiveness the operative causes which in the 12th century gave entry to Mahomed of Ghor? Was it not disunion among Indians—itsself the product of selfishness, injustice and unrighteousness—which facilitated the establishment of the British domination? What is true of India is true of the whole world. Apart from higher spiritual considerations it must be emphatically asserted that even on grounds of mere expediency morality cannot safely be cast out of politics. Those who preach the contrary doctrine do, though unwittingly, a great disservice to their country.

The insistence upon differences and the vigorous crusade organised to emphasize and accentuate those differences have in themselves a disintegrating effect. Owing to peculiar circumstances the separatist tendency has developed in India so abnormally and injuriously that no patriotic Indian would be justified in giving a further stimulus to it, unless the demands of truth and the permanent interests of the country absolutely required it.

Now if the moderates were teaching pernicious doctrines which the Forward party considered as opposed to the moral law or the interest of the country, they would have been perfectly justified in asking the people to disavow them and to cast them out from society. But in that case it would have been the bounden duty of the members of the former party itself to break all connection with these supposed bad men, never to take help or succour from them. Morality, self-respect, consistency dictate such a course. The fact that inspite of what is written or said by several members of the Forward school in unpleasantly pungent language about the moderates, prominent personages from amongst them continue to work in the same political organisations with the latter is clear

proof that they know that what they say is not correct, and that the so-called differences have been unnecessarily exaggerated. Indeed the ablest and the acutest journal of the party has on more occasions than one admitted that for practical purposes the difference between these two sections of the Congress party is not a difference in ideals and objects but in methods. If so, it is eminently unwise to import so much rancour and venom in the discussion of such a comparatively unimportant matter. We deprecate the spirit in which the controversy is carried on. After the close of the last session of the Congress, members of the Forward school raised a pæan of victory in the press and went about stumping the country proclaiming that their party had triumphed over the moderates. It was a most pitiable and sorry exhibition of partisanship and of love for trumpery things, when higher interests and momentous questions are loudly demanding energetic handling at our hands. If the Congress party is one, if both the sections belong to it, if both the sections are resolved to work together in that cause, what mattered it which section was triumphant? If they were comrades in arms, fighting together to obtain recognition of their common rights from the bureaucracy, if they entertained towards each other brotherly feeling as they ought to, where was the propriety of persistently trying to establish by elaborate arguments that the new party successfully imposed their will upon the old? Assuming it was so, it was pettiness to indulge in such cock-crowing. Had it been a merely momentary shout of exultation, it would have been regarded as a pardonable human weakness. But there is persistent harping. And I would earnestly ask whether such harping is not only not calculated to hamper smooth working, but to produce a demoralising effect and to provoke retaliation from men whose co-operation is *ex-hypothesi* desirable. But the most ur-

desirable result is that it draws away attention from the graver issues which both the sections have to solve and leads the young generation into wrong channels.

Further when the facts do not warrant this harping, the procedure is absolutely unjustifiable. For a clear perception of this position, it is desirable to approach the main resolutions and one or two subsidiary questions involved in them in a dispassionate and detached spirit.

Let us take the Swarajya resolution first. The proposition on this subject does not go beyond the declarations contained and the principles advocated in the speech of the President, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji. Immediately on the delivery of the speech the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Bande Mataram* and *New India* expressed their dissatisfaction and disapprobation of it. They characterised its policy and contents as disappointing. If the ideal set out in the speech did not meet with the approval of these typical exponents of the forward school, how can it be said with justice that in passing a resolution exactly on the lines of that speech, the Congress was made to listen to the dictates of that party or that the moderates were made to swallow a bitter pill? Some people go the length of saying that that resolution strikes a new note in the politics of the Congress and that the credit of insisting upon the principle of self-government contained therein belongs to the forward school. They say that that resolution marks a departure in the Congress programme and inaugurates a new era of political thought. Anyone who has devoted ordinary attention to Congress literature knows how wide this assertion is of real facts. Mr. Gokhale in his speech as President of the Benares Congress, set out in no unmistakable language this very ideal; and so did Sir Henry Cotton, who in his presidential address in Bombay in 1904 dealt with it at some length. In the Presidential address at the Lahore

Congress of 1893, Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji asserted the same principle and so did Mr. W. C. Bonnerjee in 1892. Indeed if one only refers to the first edition of Sir Henry Cotton's "New India," published in 1885, he will find the whole question very fully discussed in the chapter on Political Reconstruction. Far from the resolution which was passed by the Congress representing the demands of the Forward school, the papers representing that school had for months previous to the meeting of the Congress been casting ridicule and scorn on the principle enunciated therein. And if for the principle and the ideal no credit can be claimed by the Forward party, there is no ground for indulging in heroics over the word "Swarajya" as a peculiar contribution of 1906. That term as applicable to the kind of self-government obtained or obtainable during the continuance of the British connection has been in vogue, in the Maharashtra at any rate, since Lord Ripon's measures of local self-government were promulgated. To prevent mis-conception and unnecessary discussion it is well to point out that the present moderate party do not claim any originality in setting forth the ideal advocated by them. According to their view the Congress resolutions only focus and give expression to the views which after careful thinking and discussion the *elite* of the country deem just, reasonable and practicable.

Going next to the resolution on Swadeshism, it has to be pointed out that the all-India Congress Committee which met at Bombay on 17th November, 1906, agreed without hesitation, without discussion, without a single dissentient voice to its inclusion in the Congress programme. A similar resolution had been passed at the Industrial Conference held at Benares in 1905. The majority of the Subjects Committee of the Congress of that year were desirous that the Congress, too, should pass a resolution to the same effect. It was only with reluctance

that they yielded to the representation of some delegates from the Punjab that some non-Hindus in Government service who were warm and active Swadeshites might feel their hands weakened if a political complexion were given to a matter of a purely economic and industrial nature by the Congress passing a resolution on it, and that the urgency for a resolution was obviated by the fact that the Industrial Conference was going to move in that direction. The reasoning is not very conclusive. But as after the discussion which took place no great keenness was evinced, the majority of the Committee agreed to the view from the Punjab. In the Congress of 1906 when the draft resolution on the subject was considered in the Subjects Committee, there was no amendment moved in regard to it by the Forward party. The next morning, however, Mr. Tilak came with a batch of amendments which he proposed to move. In an informal and friendly talk which took place before the arrival of the President, it came out that he wished to propose the inclusion of the principle of sacrifice in the resolution. To this suggestion Pandit Madan Mohan Malaviya, who was in charge of the resolution, agreed, and several members of the non-Forward party who were near there also assented. But a difficulty arose over other alterations which were pressed and further discussion became necessary. Eventually those points were also adjusted and the point to which Pandit Madan Mohan and others had already agreed being included, the proposition as passed was moved by him. It will thus be seen that in regard to the proposition itself there was unanimity long before the Congress met, and so far as the particular suggestion made by Mr. Tilak went, the mover and most, if not all, of those of the other section who happened to be consulted, agreed with readiness. So far as this subject is concerned, there is no warrant for according to the moderates a position of antagonism.

In regard to what is called "Economic," the resolution as passed by the Congress in 1906 omits the portion of the draft prepared by the Calcutta Committee to which the Forward party attached the greatest importance. This portion which called upon the other provinces of India to adopt the "Boycott" was rejected in the Subjects Committee by a large majority. Its excision gave rise to a regrettable scene that night. But the fact remains that it was cut out deliberately in that Committee and its inclusion was not moved, in the Congress. The resolution as passed deals in terms with the province of Bengal alone and in no wise goes beyond the principles and limitations expounded in Mr. Gokhale's presidential address. Those views were before the country for one year between the Congresses of 1905 and 1906, and they were not repudiated by the moderate section. Inasmuch as the proposition passed by the Congress represented those views, the moderate party had no reason to be dissatisfied. They sympathised with Bengal in her tribulations and were prepared to express their sense of the justifiability of the boycott inaugurated by her under the circumstances in which she was placed. It is difficult to understand how the Forward party can claim a triumph here. If the excised resolution adequately represented their demands as they now say it does, it is pertinent to inquire why a tumult was raised in the Subjects Committee over the excision. It is incontestable that these gentlemen attached the very highest importance to the Congress passing a resolution committing all the provinces to the adoption and introduction of the political boycott as distinguished from the industrial boycott, which latter is in effect merely thorough-going Swadeshism. The Congress of the previous year had pronounced the justification of its adoption by Bengal. But this had not given satisfaction to the Forward party. During the six or seven months which

preceded the last session they had been warmly and zealously pleading for the establishment of boycott all round, and seeking the sanction of the country. They were exceedingly keen on obtaining the mandate of the Congress in explicit terms. They wanted the whole country to be committed in express language. The view set out in the resolution of the 1905 Congress or in the Presidential address of Mr. Gokhale, was regarded by them as a mere milk and water kind of benediction. It was to clinch matters that the last clause of the Draft Resolution was introduced in the Calcutta Committee. It clearly and plainly called upon the provinces of India other than Bengal to follow the example of that province and to introduce boycott within their respective spheres. When this main position was openly, avowedly and after stormy scenes repudiated by the majority of the Subjects Committee no ground is left for the remarkable contention that the mutilated resolution represents the Extremist view and that that party has got all it wanted. No person with a knowledge of all these facts can truly say that on the Boycott resolution the Extreme party succeeded in imposing their will upon the Moderates. It is the former who received a set-back in this matter as on the self-government proposition. No amount of playing with words and putting strained constructions can alter facts or the obvious import of the language employed. It is clear to those who have experience of the world and of politics, why this tone of satisfaction is adopted and this protestation that they have got what they wanted is so sedulously emphasized. When the *Amrita Bazar Patrika*, *Bande Mataram* and *New India* blurted out their disappointment at Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji not saying ditto to them, cleverer and astuter persons than those who direct the policy of these papers saw the unwisdom from the party point of view of such inconvenient confession. Those acuter

persons saw that opposed as their extreme demands were by the oldest, the most experienced and knowing men in the country, they would have a very small chance of successfully carrying on their propaganda even among the youthful, if they admitted that they had been worsted. Hence the assumed tone of satisfaction.

If, however, we are mistaken in our surmise and their satisfaction is sincere and they have loyally accepted the propositions which were actually passed as those best obtainable under the circumstances, we felicitate them on their wise attitude bespeaking the prevalence of reason over party predilections. But in that case we must respectfully inquire as to how they can justly say what they have repeatedly done that the moderates have been compelled to abandon their positions and why do they continue returning to the subject in a factious spirit?

In regard to the propriety of having a resolution on National Education there were never two opinions. Long before the present tension (which by the bye is most undesirable and uncalled for) the need for the introduction of a system of Education which will be more conducive to the growth of a healthy, robust, national spirit was felt, and some action taken. It is to be deprecated that even on a subject on which there is agreement, disagreement should be sought to be created.

It is thus clear that on the four points on which the Forward party claim victory and in regard to which they attribute very foolish, illogical or even unpatriotic views to the Moderates, facts do not support them. Equally, I would say more, reprehensible is the procedure of seeking to create prejudice against the Moderates by calling them the apostles of political mendicancy. There is shown not only persistence in making almost daily an unfounded and absurd charge, but there is evinced positive delight in using offensive language and cutting epithets. Here again,

I would ask, is the charge justifiable, is the language proper, is the attitude wise?

The function and main object of the Congress has been defined by the working Congressists to be to focus Indian opinion and with the aid of the light thus obtained or the force thus created to rouse Englishmen in England to a perception of their duty towards the people of India. The knowledge of the people in regard to their political rights has to be increased, their sense of duty to themselves, their children and their country is to be developed and strengthened, public opinion is to be roused, constant continuous agitation is to be carried on in the country, and with the help of this force behind it, the Congress is to press the case of Indians on the repositories of power and ask them to see the urgent necessity that exists of meeting the people's just claim. This policy of pressing our demands on the conscience and judgment of England is in derision stigmatized "mendicancy" by the Forwards. Let us see what some of the most prominent members of that school said not long ago.

On the 28th of December, 1904, a resolution was moved by Sir W. Wedderburn in the Congress held at Bombay, proposing "that looking to the vital importance of bringing the claims of India before the electors, before the Parliamentary candidates, and before the political leaders, it is expedient that the Congress should depute representatives to England for this purpose." This resolution was seconded by Mr. B. G. Tilak. In his speech he commended the resolution to the acceptance of the delegates and called it as one of the most important resolutions on that day's programme. He accepted the definition that the function of the Congress was to focus the rays of public opinion annually. That focussing was required for the purpose of directing the rays to illumine the hearts of the bureaucracy in India. That was one purpose. "The second purpose," he said, "for which we

focuss public opinion is to remove the indifference and prejudice that you find in the English public as regards India. What follows from the definition of this phrase is that the Congress work which has been carried on from this platform this year must be carried on and that agitation must be created in England. Our principal work, our principal purpose, and our principal hope to carry out our programme that we prepare here, lies not here but in England. As Sir W. Wedderburn said in the Subjects Committee yesterday we prepare our brief here but that brief has to be carried over to England. It is there that the Judges sit, and our advocates must plead our case before the English Judges and before the Judges in India. The Government of India is impervious to our cries. It can only be pierced from within, and we must try to have sometime or other control over and influence with the machinery which will succeed in piercing through the Government of India and making an opening in it on our side. That is the work that we have before us. We have tried the experiment that is suggested in this resolution twice before, and this is the third time that we are sending our delegates to England, and I trust that this experiment will result in the establishment of a permanent political mission in England. That is what our object ought to be. I know that our distinguished leaders whom I need not mention will go to England on this occasion, even for a month or two, but then their expedition must be followed by another force. The object of the second expedition ought to be, if possible, to try and establish a permanent political mission in England. Some half a dozen of us can manage to stay in England and work there throughout the year,—365 days in the year,—and I have strong hopes that within a very short time we will succeed in winning over to our side many indifferent Englishmen that now have no notion of the subject and would perhaps be very willing to

help us in forming India a living member of the British Empire. * * * We want India to be assimilated into a political body of the British Empire. We should have the same rights and privileges as the other members of the British Empire. * * * That is our object, that is, to establish a political mission in England. This idea is not quite imaginary and illusive. The mission was to be like the Christian missions and the ideal which we have at heart, *viz.*, to educate the English people and to convert them to our view is far more practicable than that of the Christian Missionaries. If we worked with perseverance and zeal in England, for, say, half a dozen years, I think our cause stands a good chance of being a successful one and will triumph over the difficulties that are in our way. I think you will eventually succeed with your perseverance, with your enthusiasm and with the force of your character."

Comment on the above is superfluous.

Mr. Tilak has now been attacking Mr. Gokhale and others for using the term "constitutional" in regard to India and has been inquiring where was the charter (*Sanad*) creating such a constitution. In the issue of his paper the *Kesari*, dated the 2nd January, 1906, he points out that the Queen's Proclamation of 1858 is our charter. And then comes a sentence containing sentiments for uttering which derision is now poured on and odium sought to be created against the moderates. The sentence runs thus:—"Taking our stand on this charter and guiding ourselves by the generous policy observable in statesmen like Mr. Gladstone and by the strength of our own fitness we shall slowly and slowly but certainly obtain the rights of self-government enjoyed by the Colonies".

On 22nd April, 1905, Mr. Khaparde delivered an address as President of the Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conference. The following excerpts from it will speak for themselves:—"I feel that we ought all to feel

exceedingly grateful to Government for its attitude of complete toleration and neutrality towards movements of this kind." After referring to the despotic Government of Russia he says, "how thankful then do we naturally feel in India. Though there is a foreign Government, it is even along national lines, and what is more, all the people educated or otherwise, have accepted it as national." We can meet publicly and embody our aspirations into resolutions, &c., &c. It is this trait of this present administration which endears it to us all and renders it national; and we have met this morning to give all the effect we can to our desire, to aid its stability by raising an additional prop to support it permanently. We do so because we see in it elements which if properly developed will have a far-reaching effect in bringing a state of things which will be honourable to India and England and beneficial to both". He recognised in Lord Curzon the statesman relying on the creation and maintenance of friendly relations abroad by peaceful or commercial missions (? peace Tibet mission), and in Lord Kitchener the soldier strengthening and advancing his position of attack or defence, with whom the humble citizens (of the congress and conferences) co-operated for a common goal, namely, a permanently established and prosperous empire under the British flag. "We, in our humble sphere, have liberty of action and speech within well understood limits." "Through our National Congress we have been endeavouring for the last 20 years and upwards to mould into a harmonious whole the different component parts of the Indian Empire by leavening thought, by directing it into common channels, by pointing the channels towards a common ideal to merely a Colonial form of Government always willing to be guided by British statesmen and always ready to subserve the common good of the British Empire over which the Sun never sets. We have provided a ready machinery

converging all the lines of activities into constitutional action. And very keenly to (?) there is neither time nor place for sitting on our oars and counting up the benefits have conferred (?). We established our progress over 20 years ago. From the nature of its constitution it does not seek to create public opinion. It merely collects into one the opinions already formed by the public at large, and gives expression to them by its resolutions. To bring these prominently to the notice of the Government of India in India and the Government of India in England, the committees of the Congress in India and England submit memoranda embodying the same in resolutions." The work done by it and the mode followed in doing it are defended against the charge of lagging and cringing." "Our chief aim is to establish a good understanding between the government and the people and thereby not only to promote cordial relations between them, &c., &c., give a strong interest to the great majority of the people in the permanence of the Empire." "The Conference was to be a distinct and powerful aid to Government and not as an obstacle to easy administration." "We have to act along the line of least resistance." "Recently a feeling of apathy is observed as coming over a nation of our public men. It is said that continuous agitation and discussion for 20 years in the Congress has led to no appreciable results, and, therefore, there must be something radically wrong with our methods." "But we depend too much upon Government in every matter of reform and that the more importunate our demand the more pliant does the Government become in categorically refusing it. All this and much more that may be added need not discourage

Constitutional methods are always dilatory in their operations even in Great Britain, and more are they, therefore, likely to be so in India." After noticing the case

of the Deceased Wife's Sister Bill. Mr. Kharparde takes up the case of Ireland. "The English and the Irish," says he, "have practically one and the same language, one and the same religion, they always intermarry and to crown all Irish soldiers have fought and are fighting the battles of England all over the world, statesmen of Irish extraction are upholding English supremacy and doing their best to promote friendly relations between England and all the powers of the world. Ireland has some fifty odd members in the House of Commons and representatives in the House of Lords. With all this Ireland has received no great measure of justice notwithstanding the fact that a great statesman of towering personality like the great Mr. Gladstone espoused their cause and advocated it both in and out of Parliament. If this is so with all the advantages mentioned before, how much more uphill must be the work in India, separated as we are from England by long distance, by difference in religion and language and social life generally." After noticing the devolution scheme he proceeds to observe: "With this recent instance before our eyes is there any room for discouragement or despair? Delays in political matters are immensely longer than the so-called long delays of law; and they themselves under the present system afford no legitimate ground for dissatisfaction. Every worker in the field has to recognise their inevitability and concert his measures accordingly. Once he has decided on his course of action he cannot afford to be disheartened by temporary defeats and must persevere without looking back even for a moment. The thing may be compared to attacks on entrenched positions. The first few sets may be set back but after repeated checks comes one which proves itself irresistible and captures the position. The same happens in the constitutional war of peace. In this respect we must take a leaf from the

life of the indomitable soldier. This is not optimism though it has often been described as such; but merely a bare recognition of the conditions under which constitutional agitation has to be carried on. * * * We should derive courage from the successful efforts of constitutional reformers like Bright and Cobden and others who after prolonged agitation succeeded in repealing Corn Laws, &c., &c." Referring to Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji he proceeded, "He has devoted a whole life-time to the work and does not feel discouraged even in his old age; much less should we then, having fewer years on our back and being in our own country, feel discouraged for want of success, even if really there was a total failure of all results to our efforts, which I venture to assert, is very far from being the case. In common with many esteemed friends I fully believe that we have made an advance all along the line, and if ever there was an occasion when it was our duty to put forward all our strength, the present is that one. Putting our faith, therefore, in the innate righteousness of our cause, the real soundness of the English heart, the kindness of our friends, and if I may be permitted to say so, the honesty of our opponents, let us take the next step forward, &c., &c." Referring to Mr. Chitnavis and Mr. B. K. Bose he said, "the honourable members so sent by you to Calcutta did, I am glad to observe, good work in their proper sphere and did such credit to your selection that Government recognized it by conferring titles formally admitting them to the new order of nobility created by itself."

The appointments to the Legislative Councils are spoken of as PRIVILEGES. In regard to the privilege of selecting their member he told the C. P. people that he felt convinced that if a proper representation were made couched in decorous language and conceived in a spirit of moderation they would not only get a courteous reply but be speedily restored to their

former position of forming one of the electorates for the Supreme Legislative Council. They would not only thus secure a boon for themselves but be instrumental in helping Berar. The election to the Legislative Council was called the key-note of all reforms. "With a seat in the Council of the empire our views will admit of being placed before the Government from the outside as well as from within and that will be an advantage which will be difficult to over-estimate."

With respect to the attacks made in regard to the cry of mendicancy, Mr. Khaparde said, "it may be objected as it has been objected by a section of both the Anglo-Indian and purely Indian press that what I have advocated up to this time is a part and parcel of the so-called begging scheme. We meet purely to air our views and ask or beg the Government to do or not to do a particular thing. In their view this amounts virtually to begging and we are all political beggars. Now according to my lights there is nothing in a name, and if the application of a somewhat offensive appellation pleases them, I have not much to say, but if they mean to attack our policy and condemn it in that covert way, I have to urge by way partly of defence and partly of reply that they have not clearly conceived the import of their accusation. Do they mean that we should not approach the Government and do everything we ask for ourselves? If this be so, they should know that we live under a paternal Government which looks upon us as minors, who have not yet quite reached the years of discretion. Government as guardian claims a hand in every move, and has monopolised all the fields of action that we are unable to stir in any direction without in some way securing official concurrence or at least a promise or indication of official non-interference. Even if it were not so, would it be possible to do anything in the way without the active sympathy of the actual or at least potential members of the ruling

archy of the land. In England they say everything is done by the people, but our rising friends forget that in England people are the most potent factor of the Government. So when intending reformers approach people there, they are approaching the people as opposed to the ostensible Government. We will thus see that there is not much in the objection, and those that take it do so at the risk of being discomfited by every thinking person."

Without going into the numerous points which the very full extracts quoted above suggest, attention is drawn only to two things which strike even a cursory reader, *viz*:—(1) the utter irreconcilability of what was said by Mr. Tilak in December, 1904, and Mr. Khaparde in April, 1905, with what they are saying now; (2) the firmness of the faith which they had then in what they now deride as the policy of mendicancy. Mr. Tilak had no less confidence as Mr. Gokhale and others have, that if our case was well drawn and properly advocated before the British people, we were bound to obtain success. He regarded such advocacy as the only course open to us, and he recognised full well that it was in England that the main work had to be tried on and carried on vigorously and for many years at least. Mr. Khaparde not only eloquently answered the stock arguments which the Forward school advance against constitutional methods, but his regard and respect for high officials and his appreciation of the "honesty of our opponents" far exceeded that of any of the Moderates. It is not questioned that they have altered their former views honestly. But why using improper language towards men whose only fault can be that they are not capable of changing their opinions and policies with the same facility that a man casts off one suit to put on another? It is a sad disregard of facts to say that these workers discount self-reliance, or that it is a peculiar possession

of the men of the "New Party." Is the advance of the country secured by representing the old school as relying only on "begging petitions"? Have they not over and over again urged the necessity of popular education and popular action?

For a time it was hoped that this spirit was a piece of temporary aberration which would pass away, and that such fervent partisan appeals as those of the Hon'ble Mr. Gokhale would have a soothing calming effect. But when even they and their authors are ridiculed and when in an assemblage of graduates and under-graduates a prominent leader rises towards his quondam comrades—men in regard to whom only some months ago he had employed eulogistic terms—language too horrid to mention, and no disapprobation is expressed of it, it has become necessary to appeal to the sense of justice and propriety of educated India, and to call on them to pause and consider the serious results of such a course. The appeal is addressed equally to the erring violent writers and speakers. Violence on one side is already begetting violence on the other. Want of charity by one is apt to produce uncharitableness in reply. We note with pain that personalities are being indulged in as a retort to the abovementioned attacks. Is there such superabundance of energy, such overflow of zeal, such unlimited command of time among the members of the Indian Liberal party as to justify this reprehensible waste?

Men of great natural powers and vast reading as the Forward party's leaders are, they know as well as the moderates the distinction between Industrial Boycott and Political Boycott. Industrial Boycott properly resorted to with a view to the country's advancement does not in the least differ from thorough-going Swadeshim which the Moderates accept and value as much as the other party. *The Mahratta* of Poona admits that there being unsavoury associations with the

term "Boycott" it might in this connection well be dropped. To the doctrine that Indians should give preference even at some sacrifice to indigenous articles, should dispense with the use of foreign ones except such as are necessary, both sections give equal assent and adhesion. Whether the Government or its officers approve of this attitude of theirs or not, the Moderates are as outspoken and as tenacious as the Forwards. In the practical development of industries and in the efforts to promote scientific and technical education it is the Moderates who are doing greater work. Short, therefore, of avoiding the use of an unmeaning and offensive expression they are doing all that can be fairly expected of them. People who shout "Boycott" and बहिष्कार cannot show more solid substantial work to their credit.

It is a curious commentary on the wisdom and efficacy of the cry that some of the apostles have themselves departed from its full and complete observance in practice, voluntarily or involuntarily. The young generation should calmly consider whether it is more honourable, more conducive to the growth of a manly uprightness to admit frankly that certain doctrines can be accepted only with limitations, or to make professions which one either cannot or will not carry out in observance.

The general Industrial Boycott is not a weapon wielded for political purposes. If boycott of goods is desired to be used for such purposes, then it must be directed not against all foreign goods but against those of England alone and must be openly avowed and proclaimed. It is practically a message to the governing race that unless our demands are granted we would rather buy from their enemies than from them. This Boycott can be adopted only when the bulk of the nation is prepared to boldly withstand and meet the reprisals which a political Boycott is bound to provoke. If they are, then the advocacy of such a course has come within the region of

practical politics. But where immediate the advocates of Boycott are asked to make a clear declaration in writing and publish with their signatures the majority of the flinch from doing so, the doctrine still remains in the domain of abstract theory. It is the best a pious declaration.

As to the more "Thorough" policy advocated by some, which insists upon the avoidance of honorary offices like those of Municipal Commissionerships, District Councillorships, memberships of the Universities and Legislative Councils, its impracticability and unworkableness are proved by the practical action of several prominent persons of the Forward party. By continuing their connection with these bodies these gentlemen in fact admit the correctness of what the Moderates say that wisdom lies in taking advantage of such opportunities as are available to us for improving the lot of our people. If self-government is our aim, we ought not to despise the institutions which will develop our experience and enable us to acquire practice.

Neither in matters of fundamental policy nor in actual practice there being any real difference between the Forwards and the Moderates, it is earnestly asked whether a good purpose will be served by the kind of discussions which are being carried on or the language which is employed. Both the sections constitute the Liberal party of India. Both regard it their highest duty to bring about union between the different races, creeds and communities who venerate India as their motherland. Both are anxious that the country should be a manly, self-respecting, self-reliant Indian nation equipped with knowledge, all its higher faculties properly trained, guided by high character and impelled by noble purposes to work for the elevation of their country. Let there be mutual trust, tolerance, mutual forbearance and above all mutual love.

R. N. MUDHOLKA

Amraoti, February 28th, 1907.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



H. H. THE MAHARAJA SAYAJI RAO GAIKWAD OF BARODA.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

nce the above was written two occurrences have taken place, which should serve to remind both Moderates and Forwards of the immense difficulties which they have to confront, and of the absolute necessity that there exists for their forming a most compact union, sinking all their small differences, summarily abandoning all verbal disputations. The defeat of Sir Pherozeshah M. Mehta and the truly Independent Justices by the tactics the Caucus lays bare one of our weakest points. It is not so much the dominating instincts of the members of the official hierarchy or the opposition of the non-official European element which should cause any turbance of spirit. The matters of graver concern are the short-sighted incapacity, the selfish factiousness among the Indian Justices, the sordid meanness, which alone could render possible the unholy combination organised with the sole and avowed object of pulling down in his high eminence the ablest and most powerful non-official Indian in the country.

The other event of even more serious import is the recrudescence of race animosity among the Hindus and Mahomedans at Comilla.

In the presence of these stupendous difficulties let us not have a new source of dissension. The hope of India lies in the wisdom of her best sons. The truly patriotic non-official Indians are in the Congress camp. For the sake of the motherland let them not be divided into Forwards and Laggards or Extremists and Moderates. It can only be by their combined exertions that class jealousies will be suppressed, that class distrust will be uprooted. It will be only when by a complete and thorough union they make their power felt in society that self-seeking mediocrities, high-born nonentities and unscrupulous trimmers will be weeded out of public life. It will be only when these two things are accomplished that we shall have reached the first milestone on the path of our political progress.

R. N. M.

NOTES

The Maharaja and Maharani of Gaikwad.

One of the most promising features about the national awakening which we are now going through in India, one of the things that most deeply show its *organic* character, is the fact that we open our eyes and find ourselves already possessed of every sense and organ essential to national development ; though we do not deny that they require to be fully developed and trained. Amongst other things nothing could have been more fortunate for us in the fact that amongst our own sovereigns, those who are bone of our bone and flesh of

our flesh, we should have two such persons as the Maharaja and Maharani of Baroda.

We are not of those who decry the faults of our own princes and nobles, when faults exist. We know well the impossibility for a lad of royal birth to grow up strong and intellectual and self-restrained, when deliberately surrounded by foreigners, themselves not the noblest of their nation, and who are ready, only too often, to encourage in their charges those expensive vices which will enable themselves to remain as the bloodsuckers of an estate. Even when an Indian Prince is given to the race-course, to gambling and to

drunkenness, much as we deplore such a condition of things, we would prefer that prince to any foreigner or foreigners who could be substituted for him.

But in the case of their Highnesses the Maharaja and Maharani of Baroda no one need speak apologetically. In them we have two sovereigns of whom any country and all our people may be proud. The kindness and simplicity of their manners, moreover, leads all to feel enthusiasm for them. Never were personages born to great rank and fortune, more filled with the conviction that their privileges were not for monopoly but for distribution. This is a moment in the affairs of India when parsimony or selfishness on the part of a highly cultured prince might seem as excusable as it would certainly be disastrous. Of these things, however, excusable as they might or might not be, the Maharaja of Baroda is not guilty. He realises to the full as much as any private person might do, that in matters of education and initiative, industrial and other, it is time that is golden. He knows that revenues are well scattered on behalf of knowledge. He knows that to save industries from decay a year gained is better than many lakhs spent. Both in the education of the backward classes and in the introduction of compulsory education, the Gaikwad has taken the lead and the British Government must follow. In the industrial field he has done much to furnish proper training to his subjects and give them an object lesson in manufacturing under modern conditions. In selecting officials to carry on the work of administration, he has chosen the best qualified Indians, irrespective of their race or creed. He is a patron of learning and literature, and encourages literary men in their efforts even though they write books in a vernacular other than that of Baroda. He gives practical help to the preachers of many religious and social reform movements. The subjects of such a Prince may well celebrate

the 25th anniversary of his accession with genuine enthusiasm as they did on the 5th of March last. Their address thus passes in review most of the efforts made in the course of his reign for the betterment of his people making a fresh review on our part unnecessary:—

Under a firm conviction that the foundation of progress is education, Your Highness has assiduously striven to educate your subjects morally, mentally and physically. In the cause of education Your Highness has spent millions of rupees in establishing Colleges, High Schools, and the Kala Bhavan and other Technical Institutions, for introducing in your Raj the arts and sciences of the West. Your Highness has travelled in distant lands and minutely studied the different educational Institutions there for the advancement of your subjects. Your Highness has been sending young men to civilized countries for the purpose of studying the latest methods of the Arts and Sciences. Your Highness has taken the lead in introducing free and compulsory education in this Raj. Your Highness stands first in the field to recognise the evils of combining Executive and Judicial functions in one officer and to remedy the same by separating the two. This has been an immense boon to us. Your Highness has moreover established Panchayats in every village, taluka and district and given local self-government to municipalities, with a view to give practical training in local self-government, and to provide for the prompt removal of inconveniences. Your Highness has been graciously pleased to institute Local Boards and Municipalities on an elective basis with a liberal grant of funds for the maintenance thereof. It has been your constant solicitude to foster indigenous industries and commerce and to give encouragement to new industries. Your Highness has carefully studied the economic condition of India and the views expressed by you from time to time in regard thereto are not only sound but have evoked universal admiration. Your Highness has ever evinced an earnest desire to increase the prosperity of the State and augment the material wealth of your subjects by providing Railways, Canals, Tanks and other works of public utility. During the prevalence of dire famines in Gujarat, Your Highness gave a new lease of life to your subjects by providing relief to the poor on a liberal scale and by generously writing off arrears aggregating to several lacs of rupees. Your Highness has not only improved

Agriculture by means of scientific experiments but has also ameliorated the condition of your farmers by abolishing vexatious cesses and granting advances on a large scale. We have been enjoying the fruit of these and other beneficial works provided for our welfare during the last quarter of a century. This occasion is, therefore, especially gratifying to us and our hearts are overflowing with joy. Your Highness has ever been anxious to see your subjects prospering and progressing without any distinction of caste or creed and has endeared yourself to all."

In some of his educational and industrial attempts he has not been quite successful, but even where he has failed, his failures will and do make for future success on the part of himself and others. Where our country now stands, the greatest of all heroes are those who hurl themselves forward to fall almost unarmed, not to succeed, but only in order that their comrades may rise on their own lead.

In all the beneficial endeavours of the Maharaja the Maharani is his proud co-adjutor and most faithful admirer. It is inevitable that western travel should form the same intellectual stimulus in the life and thought of a mature woman as it is capable of doing in those of mature men. And of this the Maharani is a noble example. Her recent visit to America seems to have made her an ardent apostle of the education of Indian women. For this to be effective, she is strongly inclined to feel that there must be some postponement of the age of marriage. For once married, there cannot, she fears, be the same whole-hearted concentration upon knowledge as before. But this, it will be noted, is not a suggestion of change for the sake of change, neither for the sake of the greater pleasure won from change. It is a desire expressed to make room for a higher ideal of womanhood;—wifehood postponed, if so we must regard it, in order thereafter to achieve a nobler wifehood. Sita and Savitri, we ought to remember, were great *women* first and only afterwards devoted wives. Women as great

as they would have been great in any sphere. It is, therefore, greatness, humanity, womanhood that we need, not this particular type or the other.

Her Highness is no advocate of Europeanisation in itself. "Shall we copy European evening dress?" she says indignantly. "Of course not! That custom is bad! It is for us to avail ourselves only of such customs as help us better to reach our own ideals." But it is evident that she has been much impressed by the education of girls as she has seen it in America, and by the independence and maturity of women there. In this, and in her eager desire to apply the knowledge she has gained, for the good of the women of her own land, her subjects and others, she shows herself every inch a queen, and a great queen,—and gains thereby as an Indian queen, without knowing it, the loyal affection and devotion of every Indian heart amongst us. How much greater than royalty of throne and crown, is it, having these, to be yet more—a Queen of Hearts!

Her speech at the last Ladies' Conference held in Calcutta shows how much the national impulse pulsates through her veins and how literally she is the consort of her noble husband. She says in that speech:—

"Another object of the *Mahila Samiti* is to spread a knowledge of Indian literature and history; and in this respect also, I think, we women have a degree of influence perhaps more far-reaching than that of men. We shape the minds of our children in their infancy and boyhood, we can inspire them with a love and a legitimate pride in our past history, and we can create in them a taste for our modern literatures. I believe there are gifted ladies in this advanced Province who have written works which will live in the literature of the land. But all of us,—who are without such high gifts—have the power to train our children in a love of their own history and literature; and believe me, the teachings of the nursery have a more lasting and durable influence through life than is generally supposed. The manhood of India is our handiwork; let us, mothers, train the future manhood of India to the service of our country.

Lastly, to encourage the arts and industries of India is also one of the objects of the *Mahila Samiti* and, I believe, of this Conference. I know the ladies of Bengal have helped and supported the *Swadeshi* movement which is now spreading fast over Northern India and the Punjab, over Gujarat and the Deccan, over Madras, Mysore and Travancore, everywhere over this great continent.

From all parts of India we have watched with a wondering admiration this great movement which you have boldly started, and nobly sustained until all India to-day is uniting in this great and patriotic endeavour. Indian Stores are growing up, almost spontaneously, in every Province; mills are increasing in number in the great industrial towns of Western India; handlooms have more than doubled in Bengal within the last two years; the use of Indian metalware and other articles of domestic use is rapidly extending. I am told that thousands of weavers and workers in metal, who had lost their vocations, are returning to their looms and their anvils; and that in many a village home, our poor sisters,—the mothers and wives and daughters of our poor artisans,—are feeling a new incitement to work. History, if it is a record of national progress, will record the wonderful spread of this great movement,—so recent, already so successful, and which the entire nation is so resolved to make durable and lasting. Let us, women of India, join whole-heartedly in this movement; and in the selection of articles for our daily and domestic use, in the purchase of dress and ornaments for ourselves and our children, let us piously remember the claims of those millions of poor Indian weavers and artisans whose suffering and poverty we have the power to remove. Wherever we may dwell in this vast country, whatever be our religious creed and profession in life, let us all unite in the common aim and endeavour to advance the progress and the prosperity of our country.

New light is breaking on India with the commencement of a new century. Let us all pray to that Great Being who can help the poor, and raise the lowly that it may be the dawn of a long bright day for our beloved Motherland."

The concessions made to the people on the occasion of the anniversary are truly royal, and the provision of wells for low castes is characteristic. They are:

"(1) Arrears of revenue due from certain villages be written off. (2) Vernacular education be made

free in all standards. (3) Two new boarding houses be opened in Pattan and Amreli. (4) Five scholarships be founded for sending students to Europe. (5) The new market in the city will at Government expense be presented to the City Municipality. (6) A poor house and an asylum for the poor be opened in the city. (7) Four new hospitals be opened in the districts. (8) Five and a half lakhs of rupees be expended in providing wells for the benefit of low castes, like Dheds, etc., and (9) A square be opened in the thickly populated part of Baroda City for giving to its citizens the benefit of free air."

The Maharaja is no doubt thinking of reform in many other directions, too, such as the reduction and fixity of the land tax, granting more liberties to the Press, and the right of interpellation to representatives of the people like what they enjoy in Mysore, &c.

Lord Curzon on Famines in India.

The speech made by Lord Curzon on Famines in India on February 15th last, at a small gathering in London, reveals the man as nothing else and no other subject could have done. We are accustomed to the self-gratulation of rich people, whose egotism takes the peculiar form of idealising all connected with themselves. But few natures yield with such *naivete* to the full tide of this enthusiasm as that of the English gentleman in question. Never did a man take himself so seriously. Never did anyone, in unguarded moments, so completely unmask. Never was there anyone who, by the things he chose for admiration, gave so easy an opportunity to others of plumbing himself to his depths. The depths in this particular case, as regards heart and mind, would not seem to be great.

With regard to famine relief in India, then Lord Curzon hardly knows how to say enough.

The English in India, he says, have "evolved a science of famine relief, a science sufficiently elastic to be capable of adjustment to the circumstances and requirements of different times and localities, but at the same time sufficiently precise to be embodied in great codes of famine procedure."

The tortured land cries out in vain, asking why there should be famine at all, amongst her people. No country, no civilisation under normal conditions of health, suffers from such disaster easily. Nowhere in the world ought it to fall upon all classes alike, within a given area. Nowhere ought it to be on the increase. In India, however, famine has become chronic. An English editor only the other day remarked in a communication to India,

"No one, you see, can do anything for a famine in India. It's always there. It's chronic."

Nor could this be otherwise, under a system of Imperialism. In England itself, as in every imperialised country, the people are the victims of an increasing poverty, while the means of livelihood are being progressively absorbed by the privileged classes. Ten days of hard winter weather are enough to throw the population of East and South London into a state of famine. Nor could it be otherwise. A country requires the labour of all its people for its full development. But under imperialism a great proportion of the population are drafted away to make the army and navy, necessary for the protection not of the homes of the imperialising people, but of the areas of investment which have been seized in other parts of the world by their privileged classes. The army and navy therefore represent, as far as the home-land is concerned, pure idleness. The bulk of the remaining population, again, is drawn into cities, in order to manufacture those products which are, when sold in distant exploited areas, to make a fortune, not for the thousand workers, but for the single employer and organiser of the factory.

Under imperialism, therefore, even in the imperialising country, the condition of the People becomes daily more and more miserable. The villages are depleted. The farmlands fall out of cultivation. The workers become more and more dependent, not on the stores which the earth yields from harvest

to harvest, but on the day's wages for the day's work. And the day's work means for the greater part, the tending of some huge machine, in some subordinate capacity, or some task or other connected, not with production, but with distribution, of food and clothing. Let a crisis occur in trade, or a failure of supply take place in some distant part of the earth, and millions of men fall out of employment at once. That is to say, famine occurs.

If this however be the inevitable condition of the worker in England, and to a lesser degree in other countries of the West also, how much worse must it necessarily be amongst the imperialised. Here, everything pays tribute. Government ought to cost a people nothing beyond the time and maintenance of the men who carry it on. In this case, however, Government is created, at an extravagant wage. The industries of the country ought to supply the peasant with clothing and tools. The peasant ought to supply the artisan with food. But here, as far as possible, the artisan is driven out of his proper work, and the peasantry as far as possible are turned into coolies, working on railways, or organised on the land for the growing of such imperial crops as tea, indigo, opium, and jute. The imperialised country does not even learn the trick of imperial organisation, for that task is carefully reserved for themselves by the imperialisers.

A railway is only a distributor, not a productive, enterprise. But the characteristic industry of the imperialisers is the railway. It is created and organised by him. It is for his purposes only. And it pays tribute to him. It is as much his and the creature of his interests, as the stamp affixed to legal agreements.

An imperialised country, therefore, is drained in many ways, not in any one alone. Yet it would take all the labour of a people to keep their country on the normal level of self-development, that is to say, to keep the

food-supply at its proper point of sufficiency. What then could we expect in India, where the labour of the people is uniformly directed to the comfortable maintenance of the upper middle and higher classes in England, in their seats of West London, Brighton, Bath, and Bournemouth, and to the enrichment of great manufacturing and trading houses in that country? What could we expect? Moreover, since every famine breeds worse famine in the future, since every famine means further restriction of the cultivated area, we can see that famine once beginning in an imperialised country, must grow worse from time to time, and must quickly become chronic.

This reasoning is completely borne out by the history of Indian famines under Imperialism. Only last year the Rev. Dr. Aked, addressing a London audience, said :—

"Famine in India was chronic, and things were going from bad to worse. In the first quarter of the nineteenth century there were five famines with a million deaths; in the second quarter, two famines, with half a million deaths, and in the third quarter, six famines, with five million deaths, and in the last quarter, sixteen famines, with twenty-six million deaths. The average income told the same tale. India had retrograded materially, and the simple fact was that the longer our rule continued, the worse the condition of things became."

Having created such a state of things, however, an imperial Government must needs evolve some method of coping with it. Partly, doubtless, because human beings are not, after all, devils. But also partly because if the tax-payers died to a man, the exchequer would be emptied. Every worker saved, is a future source of income. It might be answered here that every fortune saved, every rich family kept on its feet, meant a future source of still greater income, so that the interests of ruler and ruled were identical. But this, in the present case, is not wholly true. It might hold good if the civilians, who are the actual rulers of the country, were the only class whose interests were involved. But there

are planters, engineers, manufacturers, whose one ambition is to organise and control Indian labour, and as far as these interests are concerned, the more and the sooner the labourer is reduced to the condition of a slave as in the tea gardens of Assam, the better.

Every working-life and potential working-life, saved, then, is a future source of income. Under these circumstances

"We have evolved a science of famine relief, a science sufficiently elastic to be capable of adjustment to the circumstances and requirements of different times and localities, but at the same time sufficiently precise to be embodied in great codes of famine procedure."

Shame to the man who can venture thus nakedly to exult in a virtue of his own which he has to admit as inadequate to the occasion,

["The emaciated ones were the skulkers who could not be tempted outside their homes, the poor wretches who drifted aimlessly from the Native States and back again, and the thousands who were too tired, or too proud to solicit assistance."]

and which, moreover, has been made possible only by the most terrible of human disasters! How he exults is seen in the following words:

"When people wanted to know what the British Government was capable of doing in India they should go out not in prosperous times but, sad as the experience might be, when the country was in the throes of a great famine. They would see there what no Government in the world had ever attempted to undertake in the past, what no Government except our own was capable of undertaking now and what he firmly believed, no Government, European or Indian, by which conceivably we could be superseded or succeeded, would attempt to undertake in the future."

Lord Curzon's book, however, on his travels in Korea and the far East makes us understand how entirely sincere is this rejoicing which we have stigmatised as 'naked and unashamed.' He never, in that book, deals with basic facts regarding the peoples amongst whom he travels, their mode of life, their standard of comfort, their thought, their poetry, or the like. His remarks on such subjects are confined to a few hackneyed, though

apt, quotations. His facts are always bureaucratic, of the census, of import and export, of facilities of transport and the like. The book is a perfect manual for the would-be exploiter whether political or mercantile. He sees nothing, apparently, in any country, save an opportunity for organisation by the class to which he himself belongs. He is not immoral in his geographical outlook: he is merely unmoral or sub-moral, as unmoral as nature herself.

Let us hear what, after his long viceroyalty, he has to say regarding the future of India:

"That the British Government would be able to prevent famine in India, the people and the climate being what they were, within any time they could measure, he thought extremely unlikely. That they would seriously reduce the frequency of famines he hoped was probable."

And here for once we agree with Lord Curzon. That the British Government may seriously reduce the frequency of famines in India can only at best be regarded as a pious hope. That they will or ever could, things being what they are, do anything to prevent them, we, with him, think "extremely unlikely."

Free Education.

Every civilised country has long recognised the duty of the State to provide free education to all children living therein, and compell those to attend school who might not desire to do so. The British Indian Government has not yet done its duty in this respect. The Imperial Government has no doubt invited the Provincial Governments to express their opinions on the subject; but it is not known when the decision of the former will be published. In the meantime let us try to see clearly what the consequences of free education given by the state in a subject country like India are likely to be. The first result would probably be the disappearance of all private primary schools, unless, of course,

individuals or associations maintained such institutions of their own. It is notorious that in recent years all vernacular text-books have been so expurgated or written to order as not to contain a single sentence or passage that breathes heroism and patriotism, and fills the mind with a desire to serve the motherland and assert national rights. History has been and in future will be distorted in increasing measure to suit the purposes of the foreign bureaucracy. This is enough to show the kind of literature that will be provided for primary school children. Shall we, therefore, oppose free education? No, a thousand times no. But what are we going to do to provide our national patriotic literature to children and the mass of the people, and thus take advantage of the educational weapon to forward the national cause? What are we going to do to provide independent free primary schools for our children in villages and towns? The Government does not care much for discontent and unrest in the ranks of the educated minority. But it certainly desires that the mass of the people should be on its side. And more and more legislation and administrative measures will have the tendency to create an opposition of interests between the classes and the masses. Have we sufficient foresight and patriotism and energy to perceive all this and create a solidarity of feeling and interests among all classes, or have we not?

National Education.

In some places, national schools have been opened, mostly for secondary education. We do not deny their need and utility. But primary schools of this description are at least as necessary. There ought not to be any excuse for saying that the more well-to-do classes care for the education of their own children alone, that the bureaucracy are the real *má báp* of the farmer and peasant folk, the artisan and the day-labourer, and that

those who are conscious of the *fact* of nationality do not practically show that they so feel the *bond* of nationality as to extend a helping hand to the dwellers in huts who *are* really the nation. Our indifference in this matter would be fatal to the national cause.

Our demand for independent schools does not mean that Government need not or should not educate the people. We demand and would eagerly welcome and accept universal free education, by whomsoever given. But in India so much leeway has to be made up that unless both Government and the people make strenuous efforts to give the benefits of education to all children of school-going age, the solution of the problem must be relegated to a distant future. Departmental methods have the tendency, moreover, to run in a single groove; whereas it is only by a wide variety in educational methods that the many needs of human nature and of the various classes and individuals living in a country can be met. Besides, as we have hinted above, it is not the business of an alien Government to foster the growth of patriotism and nationality. In fact the tendency may sometimes be justly suspected to lie quite in the opposite direction, as the elimination of English history from the Calcutta University curriculum shows.

Nothing, therefore, is so important as even our halting attempts at national education. "Heroes," as a great man said to a friend the other day, "are *made*, not born, by heroic thought." It is the greatest mistake to think that heroes are born, like poets. Nothing of the sort. All of us have the stuff in us. It wants encouraging, and it wants opportunity. That is all. What! Are Indians less heroic than other people? Not to refer to the past achievements of Hindu and Mussalman commanders and common soldiers alike, are Indian soldiers of the present day inferior in gallantry to Europeans? And heroism is displayed not chiefly or in its highest form in the battlefield alone, nor is it confined to the male sex.

An ancient form of benediction in India to women was, "Be the mother of heroes." But it is only women cast in heroic mould that become the mothers of heroes. Every school-boy knows the names of Indian heroines. But among Indian women were they alone heroic? What of *suttee*? This is isolated heroism, heroism of the spirit. What the world trembles before is united heroism, aggressive heroism, heroism of the muscles. The latter, however, to those really capable of the former, is mere child's play.

Human beings, however, are easily hypnotised by ideas. Surround a child with an atmosphere in which he is familiar with the idea that all his ancestors have been cowards, and the boy will become like, not the real but the imaginary, forefathers. It is for this reason that national education is so important. No other can really interpret the national past to the children of the nation.

Look at modern armies. A thousand men live in cantonments under the charge of two or three officers, and fail to realise what slaves they are. They rise and go to bed at the hour laid down. They marry if they have permission. They submit to punishments like so many children. And finally, it is even expected that they will stand up and face death without breaking ranks. The thing is absurd, incredible, yet it is true—armed men marshalled and disciplined and set up to be shot at, by a few non-combatant officers. Yes, it is true. And more. We know that just in proportion as we ourselves were highly developed and sensitive, we should find it impossible to break the ranks. We should obey implicitly those absurd orders, subversive of commonsense and natural instincts of self-protection. We should share in the hypnotism. This is why one idea can only be killed by another idea. This is why miracles are and will be worked in India by the word *nationality*. It is why national education is so all-important.

English History in the Calcutta University.

Under the new regulations of the Calcutta University, English History has been practically "boycotted." In the Matriculation course there is no room at all for the history of England, and even the history of India is 'optional.' In the Intermediate-in-Arts there are to be two papers in history, one in English and the other in Greek and Roman history. But in this examination, history is optional. This is the case in the B. A., too. So it comes to this that a man may hereafter obtain the highest distinction in the Calcutta University without knowing any history, not even that of his own country! We suppose the Calcutta University will not "boycott" English literature. But how is English literature to be taught or understood without a knowledge of English history?

The tabooing of English history is amusing as a political move. English history is the history of English Freedom, but when shut out of the curriculum, it is not eliminated from modern Indian culture,—it is only liberalised and emancipated. Many cultured persons are now of opinion that it is not in freedom that Western countries differ from Eastern. They think that a more philosophic view of human institutions than is now common will teach us that in the actual enjoyment of freedom, Eastern countries have been purely Asiatic systems of Government, been superior to Western. They have enjoyed as a natural right what Western peoples have had to struggle for and achieve gradually. As a European professor of wide culture and liberal opinions writes to us:

"As a matter of fact democracy in England has been little more than a form till quite recent times. Even now the peasants are in almost complete subjection to the farmers and landholders."

It is unfortunately only too obvious, of course, that India has not always had the good sense in applying and using and guarding her

freedom and her democracy in the past: just as she was perfectly childlike in failing to understand that the passionate love of the ancestral village and the worship of the Ganges and other sacred rivers are intense forms of the stuff that lies behind all patriotism, and constitute a fundamental unity amongst the Indian peoples, the like of which has never been seen. It may come into realisation more or less effectively at any moment, just as, though the gold found in a mine may or may not be coined, *the thing itself is there and has always been there*. In this, India is the inferior to none.

But, whatever view may be taken of the relative degrees of freedom enjoyed by the self-governing countries of the East and the West, there can be no doubt that it is the spectacle of *the organisation of the struggle for freedom* in the West, the gradual emergence of point after point in the rights of man, that makes Western history valuable to us, and instructive under our present circumstances. That of France would perhaps be even more formative than that of England. Or an Indian historian may some day arise who will take a wider view than is possible to the small writers of school text-books, of the progress of European freedom, and will write the story of the Birth and Development of Nations under Feudalism, the Church and modern finance. And his would be a comparative history of Europe and would involve much recasting of the very notion of what constitutes the historical frame-work. But we believe in the power of the Indian mind and we believe the brain to do this will yet be born.

We rather suspect that the Struggle of Nations in Europe follows a spiral line. Louis XI does in France in the 15th century what the early Tudors do in England in the 16th. William III does for England in the beginning of the 18th century what Henry IV does for France at the end of the sixteenth. One destroys the church in the sixteenth century

and the other is still struggling against it in the 20th: and so on. Not contemporary, not parallel, not serial, yet one common purpose running through both histories—the growth and development of peoples and their organised struggle against many forms of tyranny.

It is a puerile remedy for dangerous discontent that would deprive us of knowledge. The thing to be dreaded in us is not information but the mind that loves information. And if one field of activity be closed to our energy of thought, it is quite certain that we shall only fall with greater vigour upon the study of facts in the world about us, striking out fresh areas of knowledge and fresh lines of struggle for ourselves. It is a sad and an ominous moment when a man will admit that he has a quarrel against Truth.

Buying up a people's food.

Bengal has been thrilled of late to her very depths, by a new extension of the process of exploitation. A well-known European firm is trying to buy up the rice of the country, while the crops are still in the fields. It is understood that this is the beginning of the operation known as "making a corner" in rice. The country is startled by the fact that now for the first time, the *Chasha* is approached by the European dealer direct, ignoring the *faria* and the *mahajan*. A wide-spread movement is necessary to meet this and protect the farm-folk against it. If it goes on, a few years may be expected to make of the fertile province of Bengal one great *smashan*. We unhesitatingly, therefore, urge the peasants to repudiate any engagement they have entered into on this subject. If they have already spent the money, let them consider it as a debt, and pay it when they can. But let them on no account part with their rice, at the time of the *Aus* crop. Let the word "Hold the rice!" ring throughout the land, and let all the rigours of social ostracism be brought to bear upon any man who fails to

obey. This may involve a certain amount of suffering. But any suffering, any "crime" for the individual, is better than that a province should lie at the mercy of an English firm in the city, for the price of its food.

We are glad, since writing the above, to read in the papers of the formation of an "Anarakshini Sabhá," with branches.

The late Colonel Olcott.

From the biographical sketch of the late Colonel Olcott by Mrs. Annie Besant published in the papers one learns that the late



President Founder of the Theosophical Society was a notable personality in his own country before he came out to India. What he has done for his Society all the world knows. But



H. H. THE JAMSAHEB OF JAMNAGAR (KUMAR SRI RANJIT SINHJI)

what non-Theosophists are concerned with is his work in connection with the revival of national feeling in Ceylon and with the elevation of the Pariahs of Madras. His work in Ceylon has borne fruit in the revival of Buddhist activities and the establishment of a large number of Buddhist National Schools. Evidently the Colonel recognized "the essential unity of India, and of Ceylon with India. If that is not recognized, the ultimate insignificance of the Ceylonese is assured; they will neither grow nor develop, but will be like a branch severed from a main stem, without roots or nourishment." Of his work in educating the Pariahs we cannot speak too highly. One of the cardinal principles of the Theosophical Society is Universal Brotherhood; and the Colonel only acted in accordance with this principle in seeking to elevate the Pariahs. What a blessed thing it would have been if many other leading Theosophists had followed his example, instead of inventing all sorts of fantastic and pseudo-scientific arguments in favour of caste and being in their life and conduct embodiments of the quintessence of kitchen-orthodoxy. We may make any amount of progress in literary, scientific, esoteric or occult pursuits; but India's regeneration will nevertheless be as remote as ever until we practically and actively recognise the humanity and brotherhood of the depressed classes. That Colonel Olcott recognized this fact is his chief claim to gratitude from non-Theosophical Indians, and, may we not add, from Theosophists, too?

H. H. The Jam Saheb of Jamnagar.

We congratulate His Highness the Jam Saheb of Jamnagar on his accession to the *gadi*. The famous cricketer Kumar Sri Ranjitsinhji will henceforth be known as the Jam Saheb Ranmall. On the occasion of his installation he said:—

"In my case, while it will be vain to predict that my new career will add to my reputation, I can only say that I shall always endeavour to 'play the game' in

such a manner as not to lose whatever credit I have earned in another field. I only hope I shall be able to achieve that.....I cannot afford to be idle, luxurious or indifferent, as that would involve injury not only to my personal interests but to the interests of the large population committed to my care."

It is clear, of course, that he will not make gross sensual pleasure the one object of his life, as unfortunately many Indian Princes have done. We hope he will be true to his word, and show that the lessons of English democracy have not been lost upon him. Indian Princes who are not sensualists often prove as bad for their subjects by neglecting their proper duties and trying only to be in the good graces of the political officers. The Jam Saheb possesses great tact and ability and if he makes the good of his subjects and of Indians in general the mission of his life he is sure to attain the only kind of success that is worth striving for.

Two Pictures.

Mr. M. V. Dhurandhar's drawing reproduced in this number represents the scene in the *Aranyakanda* of the Ramayana where Rama, Sita and Lakshmana visit the votaries Savari in her hermitage, when she offers them some fruits as a token of adoring hospitality. The three royal exiles are deeply touched.

Ravi Varma's picture represents the legendary account of the child Krishna visiting the prison after killing Kansa to liberate his parents Vasudeva and Devaki. Devaki presses Krishna to her bosom and kisses him, who with pained looks points to the fetters on her and Vasudeva's feet. The other boy, embracing Vasudeva, is Balarama, Krishna's brother.

The Late Marchioness of Ripon.

All India has heard with sincere regret that Lady Ripon has passed to her rest, leaving her husband in his old age to face the trials of the world alone. Like her mother Lady Vyner, the late Marchioness of Ripon did much

good by stealth. It will perhaps never be fully known how much we are indebted to Her Ladyship for the good which Lord Ripon did us. For she was to her noble husband a true helpmate. There are some authors who do not so much provide for us ready-made thoughts or information as provoke thought. Similar was the action of Lord Ripon's administration on the Indian mind. The tangible results of his reign may not bear any proportion to his fame among us, but he provoked national and patriotic thought and roused us to a sense of our rights.

The Kingston Incident.

Reuter wired recently that Sir A. Swettenham, the Governor of Jamaica, had resigned. The reason is that during the late earthquake in Jamaica an American admiral landed his men in Kingston for the relief of its distressed inhabitants, whereupon the Governor rather bluntly told the admiral that his help was not needed. The British ministry threw their employee overboard. Hence the resignation. He was, of course, perfectly right to drive

off armed men who landed in Jamaica "as if it were a part of China" (a phrase which all Asia will note). The point for us to notice is the ease with which the white man turns on his own brother at a moment's notice, when he finds his rights invaded. He allows no nonsense, about 'social considerations,' or the philanthropic intention, but frankly and manfully turns the troops off his territory. There is no loss of strength by foolish "eye-shame" here. And quite right, too. We orientals have too much of this, to approve when a royal guest asks for a cigarette, of offering him a cigarette-case for sale. Yet undoubtedly, it would be better on all counts for us to loose our fine discrimination as to the decorum of the host, than to keep this other nonsense, which deters from political and individual manliness and efficiency. If a man, under specious show of courtesy, is trying to pick our pocket, we must learn not to submit to the pick-pocket, though our own rudeness in grasping him by the wrist and handing him over to the police may call to our own cheeks a blush never seen on his!

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

Human Personality and its survival of bodily death, by F. W. H. Myers. Edited and abridged by his son L. H. Myers. London, Longmans, Green & Co. 1907. Pp. xviii, 470. Price 10s. 6d. net.

Ambitious has been the march of science in recent times and many a new realm of knowledge has been explored. But there is one mystery which the professional scientist fights shy of, and to the question of questions,—viz., whether man has an immortal soul?—he generally has no answer to offer. On the other hand, ever since the beginning of times man has believed that this life is not the be-all and the end-all existence, and great teachers have preached that human per-

sonality does not perish with the dissolution of the corporeal frame, that

"Dust thou art, to dust returnest
Was not spoken of the soul."

With growing knowledge even the man of science is coming to believe that

"There are more things in heaven and earth
Than are dreamt of in your philosophy"

And savants like Sir W. Crookes, Dr. A. R. Wallace, Professor Lombroso and Professor Oliver Lodge, will be found in sympathy with the Society for Psychical Research in many matters. The time appears to have

come when the problems of *spirit* should be studied in a scientific way, by observation and experiment, for instance, and not be condemned as matter of superstition or relegated to the uncritical domain of religion. The late Mr. Frederick Myers made a valuable contribution to this subject when he published in two large volumes his essay on "Human Personality." His one contention was that in the discussion of the deeper problems of man's nature and destiny there ought to be exactly the same openness of mind, the same diligence in the search for objective evidence of any kind, and the same critical analysis of results, as was habitually shown, say, in the discussion of the nature and destiny of the planet upon which man lived and moved. Mr. Myers found the evidence of what he called "supernormal" phenomena abundant—there are things happening every now and then which are *beyond* what usually happens. But he did not believe that there were any phenomena which would override natural laws. The supernormal phenomena to his mind exhibited the action of laws higher, in a psychical aspect, than were discerned in action in everyday life, and by *higher* he meant "apparently belonging to a more advanced stage of evolution." His object was to find for these phenomena a scientific solution.

Psychologists have long debated the question whether the human self is one or many. The trend of modern thought is towards the co-ordinate view, and writers, who do not admit that the self is a co-ordination, still speak of unconscious cerebration and mentation beyond the threshold of consciousness. Mr. Myers regards each man as at once profoundly unitary and almost infinitely composite, as inheriting from earthly ancestors a multiplex and "colonial" organism—polyzoic and perhaps polypsychic in an extreme degree; but also as ruling and unifying that organism by a soul or spirit absolutely beyond our present analysis—a soul which has originated in a spiritual or metetherial environment, which even while embodied subsists in that environment, and which will still subsist therein after the body's decay. The conscious or empirical self does not comprise the whole of the consciousness or of the faculty within us. There exists a more comprehensive consciousness, a profounder faculty, thinks Mr. Myers, which for the most part remains potential only so far

as regards the life of earth, but from which the consciousness and the faculty of earth-life are mere selections, and which reasserts itself in its plenitude after the liberating change of death. Mr. Myers, therefore, does not agree with A. R. Wallace in believing that all or almost all supernormal phenomena are due to the action of spirits of the dead; by far the larger proportion he holds are due to the action of the still embodied spirit of the agent or percipient himself. He consequently discusses and illustrates, first of all, alternations of personality.

The mass of consciousness may disintegrate by reason of disease like hysteria or epilepsy, a person may develop fixed ideas or a second self; but whatever the form a disturbance of personality may take, it is undoubtedly a psycho-pathological problem of the deepest interest. The next topic Mr. Myers discusses is genius, which, differing from Lombroso, he regards as a culminant and not an aberrant manifestation. Genius, according to him, is a kind of exalted but undeveloped clairvoyance, Love is a kind of exalted but unspecialised telepathy. Sleep, and hypnotism as an empirical development of sleep, are next treated of. Hypnotism as naturally leads to other experiments which give a further insight into the subliminal faculty. Sensory hallucinations are explained and illustrated and other telepathic experiences. Phantasms of the dead come next in order, and then there is a chapter on the unwilling activity of hand or voice used as a means of communication between the subliminal and the supraliminal self. Activity of this kind, or 'motor automatism', as Mr. Myers calls it, may sometimes lead on to the apparent possession of the sensitive by some extraneous spirit, and so "trance, possession, and ecstasy" are next discussed. Then follows an epilogue in which the learned author adumbrates the replacement of the authority of creeds and churches by the authority of observation and experiment. "The impulse of faith will resolve itself into a reasoned and resolute imagination, bent upon raising even higher than now the highest ideals of man." Religion and Science are no separable or independent provinces of thought or action, and the goal of evolution is an "ultimate incandescence where science and religion fuse in one, a cosmic evolution of Energy into Life, and of Life into Love which is Joy." In a number of valuable appendices Mr. Myers

has collected together well accredited instances of spiritual phenomena of various kinds.

We have given above a very brief outline of this treatise on Human Personality. In it, for the first time, we find a more or less comprehensive treatment of an extremely obscure and perplexing subject, which aims at being scientific. The work is the product of hard thinking and is by no means a book which he who runs may read. There is much controversial matter in it, much which is doubtful and not likely to be accepted by either the man of science or the lay critic. Above all the book is confessedly "an exposition rather than a proof." But we believe with the author that amid much deception and self-deception, fraud and illusion, veritable manifestations do sometimes reach us from both sides of the grave; and we are in entire sympathy with him when he says that *spiritual evolution* is our destiny in this and other worlds. Mr. Myers has done good service by insisting that even in the realm of "Divine things," actual analysed fact, wherever ascertainable, must form the basis of both conviction and faith, though we are not at all sure that Divinity will ever become matter of empirical knowledge.

Mr. Leopold Hamilton Myers deserves the thanks of serious students of psychology for having edited a cheap and abridged edition of his father's *magnum opus*. Many a purple patch has been removed, and the number of illustrative cases has been reduced. But the substance of the exposition and argument has been left intact, and we doubt not that in this popular form Mr. Frederick Myers's essay will appeal to a larger circle of readers.

SATISH CHANDRA BANERJI.

The Oudh Policy.—By Mr. S. H. Butler, C.I.E.

We have read this dainty little book with great delight. It is very rarely that an Englishman with his isolated habits and detached view-point is able to see beneath the surface of Indian life and portray its hopes, aspirations, passions and foibles. Yet here we have a sympathetic description of the ways of the people of Oudh, and as we read on we irresistibly feel that Mr. Butler's hand is upon the pulse of the entire province. Instead of a keen, cold, logical pamphlet, crammed with dead statistical figures and stale colourless facts sedulously compiled from moth-eaten tomes,

we have an eloquent and splendid treatment of a chapter of Indian history, which though not grand on an epic scale, is neither ignoble nor devoid of perennial interest. It is quite in keeping with the fitness of things that just as we are moving on the fore-top of the wave—just as we are feeling an ampler touch and apprehending a nobler glory—the policy of sympathy should be enunciated in such clear resonant accents by those in whose hands lies the final shaping of our destinies. All who are now in close contact with India speak in a language which bears an inspiring message infusing the warmth of a new ideal. The Prince of Wales, the Prime Minister, the Secretary of State, all are at one regarding the policy of trust and confidence; and Mr. Butler's winning words, coming as they do from an official who is directly responsible for the welfare of large masses of men and who understands their multitudinous wants and the subtle complexion of their ways, have a yet more golden significance.

"To the Englishman", says he, "who loves his birth-right and carries thoughts of freedom with him to the East, there is something in the atmosphere of Oudh which makes him feel at home. The interest of work is widened by the knowledge that behind anomalies, which almost daily come to notice, there lies a story of struggle and compromise between contending forces of another generation; and the outlook of the administration is broadened by dealing with shrewd and influential men, who have in a high degree the instinct of affairs, and can assist him in a way that no police or revenue officials can do."

In many places Mr. Butler has deprecated the attitude of the overweening members of the I.C.S. All through he has avoided erecting himself, to use his own vivid expression, "into an earthly providence," and has shown a rare delicacy, seldom met with in the Anglo-Indian press, in dwelling upon the relations between the Europeans and the Indians.

"Not the least," he continues, "of the advantages of Oudh policy is its influence on the social relations of Europeans and Indian gentlemen. The social problem is perhaps of more importance at the present time than any set of political problems. The difficulties of social fusion between peoples of different creed and colour are especially great, when upon the one side ladies lead society and upon the other side they are kept in strict seclusion. And the difficulties of the European official for whom impartiality between rival factions is at once his first duty and the source of his influence, are augmented by the fact that the members of the one great community can feed with him, while members of the other great community cannot. But the time has passed when the question can be left with a bidding to Ephraim not to annoy Judah, and a bidding to Judah not to vex Ephraim. The difficulties must be faced; and if the old English spirit survives, in some time the difficulties will be overcome."

Sympathy, then, is the dominant note. New thought-currents are in the air, and each community is trying to adjust its mental battery to accurately register the impressions. If Mr. Butler condemns the Nawabs in terms which border upon harshness, it does not behove us to trot out extracts from forgotten works which show up the British rule in its worst aspects, and to go mooning over the helplessness of the Oudh kings. We have passed into a new regime and we cannot have the faintest shadow of respect or admiration for them. No chapter of Indian History is so filled with crimes, so foul with corruption, so dark with lecherous effminacy, so stained with guilt and misrule and heartless profligacy. The Nawabs never contributed a single permanent idea to the political code. They never devised a single political experiment. They never created a single department for the furtherance of political life and freedom. They never tried to induce a capacity for "national cohesion" and stir the pulse of "civic organism." Moral slovens of the blackest dye, sunk in bestial lethargy, domineering, imperious, inflated with their own importance, they are the only rulers for whose prototypes we must go to the worst period of the Roman Empire. The modern generation stands at the opposite pole, quite sundered from those vile associations and has nothing in common with them. It is touching other worlds and has far different aspirations. In societies, says Mr. Frederick Harrison, to destroy the effete at the right time in the right way and once for all is to reconstruct. Well may, therefore, Mr. Butler exclaim :

"Never under British dominion has misrule so flagrant been tolerated so long; never have protected princes, unequal to their burden, received so long indulgence from the suzerain power."

But if the author in this book has exposed the rotten-core of the system in vogue during the reign of the Nawabs, he has written most lovingly of their once famous metropolis. Mr. Butler's scheme for the improvement of Lucknow is a common topic of vulgar conversation in the bazaars, and he has even been twitted with wasting his time and energy after an ideal fancy picture of an unsubstantial city floating hazily in the inane. All who love Oudh, however, will hail with unmixed joy all attempts of Mr. Butler to raise the status of the town by laying out beautiful roads, opening broad views of enchanting landscape, plan-

ning gardens and parks full of a strange charm. And though in Lucknow there may not be any passionate fragments of stone or marble which fervently appeal to the antiquarian carrying him across the baried ages of civilisation, as in Jerusalem, Athens, Rome, Constantinople, Alexanderia and Delhi, yet it is here

"the beautiful evergreen city, the most European of Indian cities and yet most Indian, the home and temple of the aristocratic policy, the happy meeting ground of old and new that the grand work of integration seems destined to begin." (p. 50.)

That would certainly be a great step and its consummation is devoutly to be wished for.

Space forbids us to deal with another most important aspect of the book, viz., the relation of the English Government with the Oudh Taluqdars. Mr. Butler has indulged in tropes in speaking of their moral and intellectual calibre. As a rude matter of fact the barons are not particularly bright specimens of humanity. They have stagnated. They have not felt the plastic force of circumstance.

While the surrounding atmosphere has changed, while the ancient frontiers have vanished and new marks have been set up, while a thorough overhauling has gone on in almost every sphere of action, they have remained fast wedded to the old order, dead to all the healthier influences under which the present age has expanded and marched forward. The brand *Excalibar* with its mystic flashes of the spirit of progress which Western Education is teaching us, in a moral sense, to wield, is a thing utterly unknown to them. All the finer cravings, all the nobler tendencies, all that generous fire of enthusiasm which study of foreign literature, contact with foreign people, knowledge of foreign institutions, residence in foreign countries, have kindled in the breasts of our prominent men, are unmeaning abracadabra to them. And yet, since the air is ringing with clear clarion cries for advancement along all lines of activity, if Mr. Butler is able to spiritualise the stuff of which they are made, haply the streaks of the ideal dawn may be visible on the horizon at no distant date!

Ghaziपुर.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

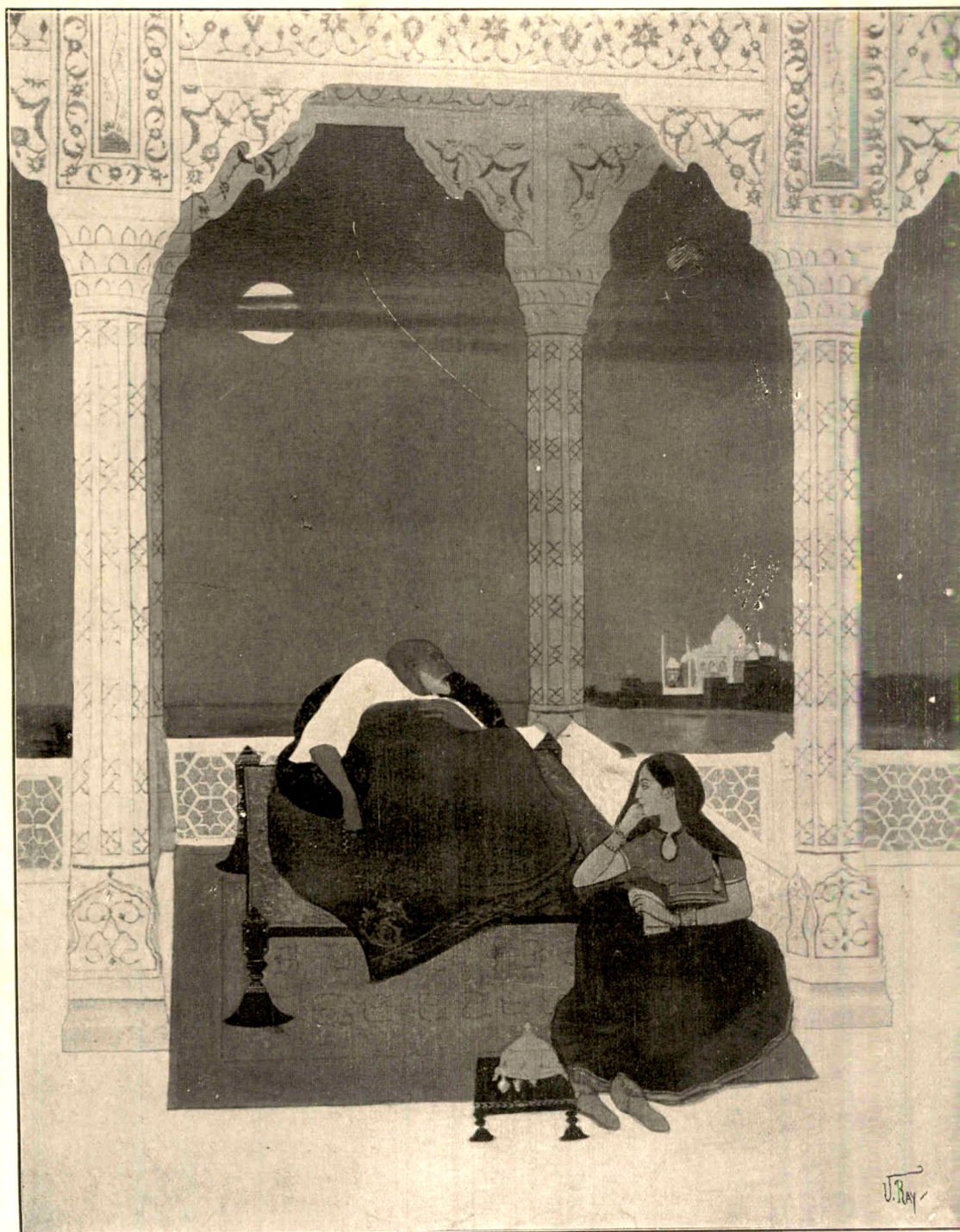
URDU.

Nothing is more needful in Upper India for the purpose of popularising Social Reform principles than the publication of brochures, pamphlets, and leaflets,

dealing with different Reform problems, in the vernacular of this part of the country. While yielding to none in our appreciation of "practical" work and individual examples, we still believe that much educative work still remains to be done, which can be accomplished to a considerable extent by following the method indicated above. It is, therefore, with very great pleasure that we welcome the publication of an Urdu *Widow Marriage pamphlet* called *سائے بدھ، بڑا*, by Rai Sahib Doctor Murari Lal, Assistant Health Officer of Cawnpore. The pamphlet is being distributed *gratis*. That Rai Sahib Murari Lal has the courage of his convictions is amply shown by the fact that he gave his widowed sister in marriage. This pamphlet is written in order to answer the objections raised by the Rai Sahib's opponents. The compiler has collected in the first part of the pamphlet all those Shastric authorities which permit widow-marriage among the Hindus or show that such marriages were allowed in ancient India. In the latter portion he deals with the same problem from the rationalistic point of view and lays bare the many evil consequences which follow the custom of enforced widowhood in Hindu Society. The language is simple and forcible, and the different points are well brought out and discussed. We hope this pamphlet will be studied by thousands to whom English works on the subject are a sealed book. Doctor Murari Lal has rendered a real service to his countrymen by publishing his pamphlet in the vernacular and he deserves the thanks of all well-wishers of Social Reform for distributing it free.

Gulshan-i-Hind—is the name of a book published by Abdulla Khan Sahib of Hyderabad (Deccan). An old manuscript of this book, says the publisher, was thrown on its bank by the river which flows by the capital of the Nizam, during the flood of 1320 Hijri (1902 A. D.). It is most probably the remnant of some valuable library which the fury of the flood had destroyed. It fortunately fell into the hands of one who could appreciate its worth and who made it over to the publisher. The present edition has been edited by Maulvi Shibli, and Maulvi Abdul Haq has contributed to it a well-written introduction. It is a

Tazkira, i. e. a volume containing short biographical sketches of Urdu poets together with selections from their writings. Among others it deals with the lives and poetry of Jeirat, Mir Hasan, Dard, Sauda, Meer, Mushafi and many other less-known poets. The book was written by a Mirza Ali Lutf, at the request of that well-known patron of Hindustani, Mr. John Gilchrist. Lutf was a member of the Fort William group of writers who carried on their work for many years under the guidance of Mr. John Gilchrist, and who enriched the vernacular literatures of Urdu and Hindi to no inconsiderable extent. The most famous members of this group were Meer Amman of Delhi, the author of *Bagh-o-Bahar* and Lallo Lalji, the author of *Prem-sagar*. Lutf too was one of these. The book under review is based on *Gulzar-i-Ibrahim*, a *tazkira* of Urdu poets written in Persian by Ali Ibrahim Khan in 1784, and was written in 1801. There are many books of this kind in Urdu, the best-written and most famous being the famous *Ali-i-Hayat* of Maulana Azad. But the book which we are reviewing possesses certain interesting features which are peculiar to it. *First*, the language of the book is rather quaint and archaic and the construction of sentences, which are made to rhyme with and balance against each other, complex and involved. It indeed presents to us a very faithful specimen of Urdu as it was written a hundred years ago, and in its quaint phrases and obscure constructions it has preserved for us an excellent illustration of one of those stages through which that tongue has passed in the course of its evolution. *Secondly*, the author was the contemporary of many of those poets whose account is given in the book and so in these cases his personal knowledge of the subjects of his sketches lends a peculiar interest and value to them. *Thirdly*, the author when dealing with the lives of such poets as were also men of action, e. g., Shah Alam, the Emperor of Delhi, Tana Shah of Golconda and Asafuddaula of Lucknow, does not hesitate to include in his sketches such historical and biographical facts as were known to him and which, though unconnected with literary criticism, possess a value of their own for the historical student. For these reasons we think that *Gulshan-i-Hind* is a valuable contribution to Urdu literature and deserves to be better known and more widely read.



THE PASSING OF SHAH JAHAN.

By Abanindranath Tagore.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

MAY, 1907

No. 5

GLIMPSES OF FAMINE AND FLOOD IN EAST BENGAL IN 1906

VII THE TRAGEDY OF JUTE

A few sociologists, notably Professor Patrick Geddes and his school, have pointed out the necessity for studying the social significance of various agricultural and industrial products. Thus, if these men are correct, the change from the manufacture of wool to that of silk for example, by a community, is not by any means so simple as would appear to the careless eye. Each different material imposes its different conditions of labour, and has in a thousand ways its own characteristic necessities. Each article produced or manufactured, therefore, will be found according to these thinkers, if we study closely enough, to entail certain human adaptations peculiar to itself. And this we may refer to as its *social value*.

To most of us, however, this point of view has not yet come in sight. We do not dream that there is any other standard of benefit to the worker or the consumer than the financial. And for this reason I hope to make extremely clear the story I am about to tell of Eastern Bengal.

Twenty years ago, in every cottage garden in Eastern Bengal, was found a patch, more or less large as the case might be, containing

a tall dark herb, botanically intermediate between a mallow and a flax, known to us as jute.

The plant was grown by the peasants mainly for the sake of its fibre. This was very valuable in a country where rough string and bamboo are the chief building materials. There was also the supply of lamp-wicks to be thought of for the year. The leaves of the plant, moreover, when dried, were medicinal. And finally, in the case of the Hindu home, at any rate, it could not be dispensed with, since it was required in certain of the year's religious festivals. Only last year I remember, on the night of our beautiful Eastern Feast of Lamps, as I went out through the lanes of my neighbourhood, I was suddenly startled by a quaint little gathering of unknown objects, lying on the roadway in the middle of an awkward twist in a narrow street. A light not yet out, and a little smouldering straw, showed that I had come upon some altar of worship, and I turned to my companion for an explanation. The lad who was with me smiled easily and said: "Oh this is the *A-lakchi puja*. It is written that on this night in 'some bad place', with jute sticks and these few things, we should worship the Power that shines through the Unluck". Strange predestination

surely! through these several centuries has Hinduism been worshipping the Unluck under the symbol of jute sticks!

The plant was open to the objection which applies also in the case of Irish flax, namely, that the long stems had to be cut down, placed in water, and practically rotted in order to get at the fibre, and this must always have made it an aversion to the Hindu. Still its economic value and the requirements of the faith were both imperative, and the quantity grown by each cottager was only such as he and his family would consume in the year.

About some twenty to twenty-five years ago, however,—owing to what chain of events I do not know, for I have not traced out the history of jute as a commercial product,—it seems to have been discovered by the outside world, and its value as a fibre must have been rapidly recognized. It has the advantage, as we all now know, of being easily woven into any one of a number of attractive looking materials, some of which resemble silk and others flannel. It has the further advantage, from the modern shop-keeper's point of view, that it will not wear long, and therefore necessitates that rapid succession of garments which change of fashion is in itself only another device for bringing about. And it is further said, that Bengal is the only country in the world in which it can be produced. Here then was the tragedy incipient. Twenty years ago, it is said, the cultivation of jute made its appearance on something of a commercial scale in these East Bengal districts. At first, however, it spread slowly. But some seven or eight years ago it made a sudden advance, and to-day the culture of the plant is going forward by leaps and bounds. As one goes down the river from Khulna to Barisal, one sees on all hands the fields of jute alternating with the fields of rice, and this particular line of country is not as yet one of the worst infected. As one watches the boats being loaded it is always

with jute, and even about Calcutta, hour after hour, day after day, the carts come pouring in along the open country roads, laden with their bales of jute. In this way the 'granary of Bengal' has been, and is being transformed into one vast jute plantation. The temptation to the peasant was, what it always is everywhere,—recklessness as to the future, in the face of a large financial reward, for jute at present brings him a good price. In the same way, as we all know, the peasants of Norway have denuded their beautiful mountains in many cases, of their forests, careless always of the interests of the future, in face of that crushing need of the present, which is the curse of the modern and especially of the poorer world. And in East Bengal the discovery of jute coincided with that other process, of which I have already spoken, by which the Commonwealth based upon Rice was being transformed inevitably into the Commonwealth based upon Money.

Such was the temptation, but in fact the bribe was a delusive one. For jute tends to exhaust the soil in which it is grown, and itself declines in value with successive years. It requires, for its successful culture, practically the same fields which are most favourable to rice. Thus the two crops cannot well be grown in rotation, since the soil will not afterwards produce such good rice, if indeed, any. Besides, as we know, though the peasant cannot, the high prices will no longer be available, when the growth is once universally established.

This then is what has made the present situation so hopeless. It is not only that there is no rice in the village. But far off, in lands from which the village might have drawn a supply, or at least from which some place accessible to it might have done so, there is no rice either. For these last few years, with increasing speed, all alike have been abandoning the old ideal of the conserving of rice, in favour of the new wealth-producer

of the hour. Till to-day, even when relief was to be brought, there was nowhere from which to bring it, but distant Rangoon. So that the cry has gone out from Rangoon itself, that there also will famine be felt, if the present drain goes on.

Such is the state of affairs. Doubtless it is understood by no one. One does not want to accuse the jute merchant of any inhuman desire to enslave or impoverish these helpless countryfolk. He simply pursues the interests of his trade. But the jute agent is everywhere. At every bazaar and market he catches the ear of the unwary, who has not yet been drawn in, and bribes him, with the promise of high prices and the offer of free seed. It is not malevolence. It is merely ignorance coupled with self-interest. We may grant so much. And yet it is difficult to excuse the Scottish gentleman, Sir Andrew Fraser, who has been entrusted by his Government with the Lieutenant-Governorship of the Western half of Bengal, when we read in the papers here, as was wired to us by Reuter a week or two ago, that, addressing a gathering of merchants in Dundee, he assured them that he would do all that lay in his power to put the European manufacturer, through European agents, directly in contact with the jute-growing peasantry. Have we then no ideals left in England? Or may a man shamelessly announce to his friends and relations, in the hearing of the world, that he regards the outpost of honour and duty to which his country has accredited him as an opportunity for advancing *their* interests?

For it must be understood here that if the facts be as I have stated them, then the only remaining compensation that could be made to the Bengali people would be to give *them* as large a share of the profits as was possible, and this obviously could only be done by continuing to employ Bengali middle-men and agents as at present.

Thus the mysterious prescience of ancient faiths is justified. When the Roman Empire was but young, it may be, the simple peasants of the Gangetic Delta already worshipped the Power in the Unluck under the strangely-chosen symbol of the Jute-herb, and to-day, an arctic winter of starvation has spread its mantle over them, largely through the agency of this old-time acquaintance. But what are we to say, we others, who by our greed and luxury have written so many chapters in the Martyrdom of Man, as indigo, opium, india-rubber, and now jute?

September, 26, 1906.

VIII

THE GREATEST THING EVER DONE IN BENGAL

The energising effect of political vigour on all civic and corporate action was never better seen than in Barisal during the last months of the year 1906. The name of the place has become famous in India and in England, for the manly tone adopted by its people in protest against the partition of Bengal, the Gurkha occupation, and the methods of Fuller as Lieutenant-Governor. But few probably have realised that had it not been for this agitation, and for the determined spirit of co-operation evoked by it, thousands of helpless people who have now been aided and relieved, must have been swept out of the ranks of the living by the ruthless hand of famine during the past year. And the fashion in which they were saved, it may be worth while to place on record.

On the 19th of June, as I said in a previous paper, the District Board of Backergunge opened relief works for the people ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ order to test the reality of the persistent rumours about famine. On the 12th of July, the Lieutenant-Governor Sir Bampfylde Fuller, —ordering the closure of these relief works, on the plea that the matter was ~~in~~ ⁱⁿ for the attention not of local bodies, but of the

Provincial Government—came down to Barisal to make a personal inspection into the state of affairs. It is difficult to understand how far this personal inspection can have gone, or what it can have meant, for in the first week of September, six weeks later, all official famine relief was closed, and the statement was made by the Government that famine was non-existent. In spite of some self-contradiction and certain conflicting admissions, to this statement, it may be said, the Government has since adhered—officially speaking, there is and has been no famine in Eastern Bengal. Is this statement to be taken as malicious, or as a measure of the colossal ignorance of the persons making it, of the condition of these populations whose affairs they administer? It might be well, moreover, while I am at this point, to mention a rumour that persistently reached us, here in Bengal, during the latter half of 1906, to the effect that certain Madras officials had vetoed amongst the Madras people during the same period, the collection of funds for famine-relief in Southern India, on the plea that *as famine had not yet been declared by Government to exist, the organising of a fund on its behalf, was an act of sedition.* If this is true, it should be dealt with by the people themselves, and also by the supreme Government, in no half-hearted fashion. Is it possible that there exist persons so wrong-headed as to imagine that the declaration of a state of famine could ever be a function of Government? Canute, ordering the waves to retire, was making no more monstrous claim. *Famine is always, even under the least terrible of circumstances, declared by those who suffer it and by them forced upon the attention of Governments.*

The people of East Bengal fortunately refused, on the present occasion, to take the word of the Government, for the flourishing condition of things in their own midst. A thrill of horror had run through the whole

district when, so early as January, a Moham-medan peasant who lived near Barisal walked into a police-station, and charged himself with the murder of his own three children. The man had been driven to frenzy, it appeared, by seeing the sufferings endured by his widowed sister, for want of food, and in his despair had committed this fatal deed. The youngest son, it may be added, was not killed, only severely wounded, and with care he recovered. The father's whole cry was, "Let me die! If I cannot earn food for those dependent on me, let me be hanged!"

This occurrence drew the attention of all the Bengali people to the terrible state of affairs about them. But as the crops were not exhausted till May, stray relief only was given. By that time, however, the need was understood. To every part of the distressed territory, the cities began to send help. The zemindars were themselves suffering from loss of credit, owing to the famine, yet every nerve was strained by them to assist the peasantry. In Calcutta, children going to school saved their luncheon pice "for the famine" and every Indian school and office organised a fund. But it was in Barisal, that the most potent measures were adopted. Here the activity which the stress of previous months had awakened, at once flowed into these new channels, and in the town of Barisal a relief-organisation was opened on the 11th of June, which was able, with Aswini Kumar Dutt at its head, to scatter the young men of the city, and open relief centres through their means, in 160 different places in the district of Backergunge. Each centre moreover distributed relief in from 6 to 12 villages about it. And almost every village relief-centre had its own village committee, to superintend the work.

Amongst voluntary organisations, unrecognised by State or Government, and taking place spontaneously in face of the need

th which they were to deal, this, for
sidity of formation, loyalty to its leaders,
esion, and efficiency, might well, I think,
im to be unprecedented in any country.
nds poured in upon it, small when we
sider the distress that had to be coped
th, immense when we realise the almost
sought nature of the offerings. Altogether,
the course of the months that followed,
l until the work closed in December,—
wini Kumar Dutt and his workers were
le to distribute 31,172 Rupees, 5,766 maunds
rice, and 3,510 pieces of cloth.

Altogether they had relieved 489,301 per-
s. The government had given gratuitous
ief to 27,357, and helped by means of Test
rks 15,483, a total of 42,840. The District
ard had given gratuitous relief to 64,321,
l helped with Test works, 101,340, a total
165,661. It should here, however, be noted
t duration and amount of relief are im-
tant factors in estimating the amount of
p given, and beyond the fact that Aswini
u's organisation did not close till Decem-
22nd, we have no figures under this
d. This, I think, we have the right to
ard as the greatest thing ever done in
ngal. Had the political agitation of the
vious months ended with the withdrawal
Fuller, or had it been incapable of bearing
it beyond the walls of the city, then the
ple of Barisal might have deserved the
nts which those who love them not have
elled against them. But the end of all
itics is in the feeding of the People, and the
ndness, sincerity, and appropriateness of
s particular political movement has thus
n attested to the full.

et it would be folly to flatter ourselves
t because this was well done, therefore
was done. Many and many a district in
st Bengal, has lain outside the reach of any
anisation, in the direct throes of want.
one case which I have already mentioned,
eed, the cry of hunger could be heard all

night long, from a great population—a state of
things which I am only able to imagine, be-
cause I have seen mothers at Matibanga,
unable, in the early morning, to still the
hunger-wail of their own children. More-
over, the middle and higher classes—who
suffer secondarily and indirectly in point of
time from the failure of crops, do not in
the end have to endure any less than the
starving peasantry. And these, only in ex-
ceptional cases and secretly, can be reached
by relief-organisations. I have no doubt that
at this moment (March, 1907), the sufferings of
these classes are indescribable. For has not
their turn come? It needs no mathematical
demonstration, to enable us to see that this
must be the case. The fact is patent and
self-evident, and none will venture to con-
tradict it.

It is not to be supposed, however, that the
people themselves throughout Eastern Bengal,
have been wholly passive. It is hardly to be
imagined that a sturdy Mahomedan pea-
santry, capable of organised raids and brought
to desperation by want of food—would tamely
submit to starve, outside cities whose supplies
might be seized. Accordingly, in this East
Bengal famine, "looting" as it is called, has
become wide-spread. The people in various
places have come down in their hundreds, on
landing stages and ware-houses, and have
carried off the rice waiting there for distribu-
tion. The numbers were in these cases so
great that very few of the delinquents (if
indeed we have the hardihood to call them so)
could be captured by the police. but these,
when brought before the magistrates,
invariably answered, "Yes we have taken the
rice. But we shall return it in *Faush* (that
is to say, at harvest time)."

In one place that I have heard of, the Eng-
lish magistrate himself was a man of some
heart. In this neighbourhood, a European
firm of rice-dealers, whose ware-houses were
filled with grain, announced their intention

of putting up the price. In reply to remonstrances, including those of the magistrate, they stated simply that they were guided, not by considerations of sentiment but by those of "business," and that this was their opportunity for making a profit. The people, as it chanced, however, were not leaderless, and an intimation reached these valiant brokers that their ware-houses would that night be looted by the populace. They, it appears, demanded from the chief official an increased police-force to meet the crowd. But he very properly declined to take any cognisance of an appeal based only on a vague threat, and ultimately designed to starve an already famine-stricken populace. And the result was that this firm found itself compelled to give its word to the people, not to raise the price of rice. Subsequently, a small deputation waited on them unarmed, to acknowledge their promise, and also perhaps to let them see what they might have expected had they proved more obdurate.

It is a favourite theory of the ignorant, that famine is caused by this particular process in trade, of "engrossing," that is to say, of accumulating the required food stuff, and then refusing to sell it at any but an exorbitant price. Apart from the fact that the opportunity to do this must in itself be the result of famine, I may say that so sapient an explanation is only heard in cities. I interviewed large numbers of the better class of peasant-farmers, travelling on the decks of the river-steamers, and amongst other questions, I asked their opinion on this point. They took little account of it, pointing out that on the neighbouring island of Bogga Bunder, where there was usually a store of rice, equal to twenty lakhs of maunds, there was this year barely two lakhs. This evil, they told me, did exist in cities, and played a great part in creating famine-prices there, but not in the country, and amongst those dealers who themselves belonged to the agricultural classes.

It is worth while, perhaps, to say a word as to the methods of the famine-relief organisation. The work had its own inspector, its constant communication with head-quarters, and its lists and registers. The manner of the young men who distributed relief was most tender and respectful; their sympathy for suffering, only too intense. In one case I found one of these workers removed but a short distance as it seemed, from the physical condition of the starving people about him, and discovered that he could not bear the idea while in the famine districts, of eating more than half of a man's daily allowance of food. So that, while he was bearing the heaviest of burdens, he was less and less sufficiently fed.

Undoubtedly India has to adopt these modern methods of enormous organisation. They ought never, however, to have become necessary. The old system, under which a few richer families would always remain in a blighted district, as organic sources of social aid and distribution, was far far finer. It is only the utter bleeding of such families and all their class to the last drop, that has impelled us upon the mechanical and overgrown methods of Europe. But every order carries within itself the seeds of its own decay. And this, which seemed the initiation of a mechanical social era, has actually resulted, as we see here, in waking the sense of motherhood and protection in the heart of the city itself for the country-side.

The Indian boys correct more easily than we, the faults of European relief-workers. Yet the same superstitions weigh upon them at first. The prevalence of alcoholism in our societies has led to our idealising of a singularly unbeautiful and ungracious type of altruism. And this idealism we have succeeded, by means of criticism, in imparting to others. At Matibhanga I found a case in point.

Some small distribution of extra food or money was going on at our door, and I asked

workers not to pass over a certain woman whose miserable look had attracted my notice the first, and whom I had heard say that she had not had a meal for three days. "It is not!" exclaimed the Secretary, as I stated "She must be quite dishonest! I myself gave her five seers of rice to-day!" The five seers we had to give, were given nevertheless—she had at least the same right as others. It was long before I could break the spell of this confusion of thought had cast over my own mind. The woman had had five seers of rice given her that day. But this meant the relief of a whole family, doubtless for a year. It was probably true that she herself had gone hungry for three days. And how could she tell that the organisation would help her more? It had entered into no competition with her. Was she to trust it as God? Was it not her duty to put forward the case for herself and her children when she saw the hungry who, compared to herself, were rich, who doubtless seemed like millionaires. Five seers of rice! Was this untold wealth, to a poor woman and a wife?

This is one of the evils that organisations do. The egotism that we might to some extent conquer in our own hearts, springs up again, into full life and vigour, on behalf of this huge insensate piece of machinery, and we advise over a prostrate world, in its name. This is one feature of what in modern times miscalled charity is surely grim enough to make the angels weep. The whole nervousness of the giver is lest he give too much. I have never in any organisation met one who was equally afraid to give too little!

IX

FAMINE PREVENTION

There was a school-master and his students, in 1901, who organised the relief of Backergunge.

Aswini Kumar Dutt is nothing, after all, but the Barisal school-master. In Oriental countries, passing out of the mediæval

formation into the modern, the school and college are necessarily the spiritual centre. It is here that the clash of new ideas is felt. The difficulties under which the country may groan, here run some chance of being analysed and understood. The world of learning, moreover, is the modern equivalent for ancient churches. Only before God could the Norman baron and Saxon peasant claim to be equal. Only in the monastery or the priesthood had they the remotest chance of meeting on common ground. Similarly, in Islam, the Turkish aristocrat may inter-marry with the Egyptian *fellah*. The faith makes all brothers. Here there can be no secret held by race from race. The faithful are the faithful: all without are mere *Kafirs*. In the Buddhist *Sangha*, in like manner, the low-born Emperor Asoka found himself intellectually and spiritually the equal of the most exclusive, even as the meanest peasant entered there a world where none was his superior.

Under Modern Imperialism, the methods of exploitation are different from those of the past. Only outwardly is their garb the same. Empire always means the subjugation of one country by another. But the methods of this subjugation are different when Assyria subdues Judæa, or Spain Mexico, or Belgium the Valley of the Congo, from those employed by Rome in Gaul, or by Britain in India. In the last-named case, the subjection has become financial, and a growing exploitation proceeds along the lines of finance. Over-taxation, the building of railroads, the destruction of native industries, and the creation of wide-spread famines,—these are so many landmarks, as it were, in a single process of subordination and exploitation. And a curious thing about it is that by investing his savings in English hands, anyone of a subject race may himself become an exploiter, either of his own or of some other people. The very ideal of the Imperialist would be reached, therefore, when there was no other way for a man to invest with

safety or with profit, save through the ruling race in some form or another.

This is a condition of things with which no church can deal. The Christian priest was able to restrain the Norman baron, in his relation to the Saxon churl, because the methods of that exploitation were within his compass to understand. When a man was hanged up by the thumbs over a slow fire, or his teeth were drawn one by one, to extort information as to his hoards, it was not difficult to see that all was not well. Even a peasant had brain enough to preach a better way. But the element of personal oppression, though not wholly absent, is minimised under the modern system, and while the clergy are now doubtless better educated, they are themselves amongst the exploiters. How can a bishop hold the glass up to Imperialism, when he himself has invested the hope of his own and his children's future in its ship?

It is clear that there is but one world,—the world of learning, of knowledge, of truth freed from racial bias—in which the People now can find the springs of self-direction and self-renewal. For the modern world has done good in one direction by making possible an idea of truth, common to all peoples and contributed to by all. The fact as it is, not as one or another of us would like it to be, is the image before which the modern man is required to kneel, the appeal to which he is expected to respond. Here and here alone, there is neither Jew nor Gentile, Greek nor Scythian, bond nor free. In other words, what the church was to feudal peoples, that the school must needs be to the imperialised. What the Christian Faith did for the English serf, that secular learning must do for the subordinated Oriental.

It is the school, moreover, and not the Parliament, which is to be the cradle of new social combinations. The school in British India has long stood un-moralised, because

there was no central ethical imperative, round which could gather the new morality of the new era. But to-day, the central ethical imperative has been heard. Every student of every race and every province in India has caught the word of command "Arise and become a nation! Be the servant of your own people! Be a man of your own land!" They may blunder over the method of application. It may be some time yet before they even understand the call. But their attention is concentrated upon it, from end to end of the country, and great new births are afoot. The first of these will undoubtedly be a new morality. Already we are witnessing the signs of it, but as yet it is not fully aware of itself. For the first problem this new morality will grapple with seriously, will be the problem of famine, and the man who solves that will stand in the future history of India under the name of Kalki, the Tenth of the Avatars. The industrial revival, and the achievement of nationality, are mere departments of the great problem of famine, even as the newspaper and the Congress are mere departments of the school. The end of all politics, aye, and of all *dharma*, as the Hindu deeply understands, lies in the feeding of the People, and this depends on the solution of famine. We have seen that the real cause of famine is less failure of harvests than exhaustion of stores. Failure of harvests must occur periodically. The question with regard to an agricultural country ought not to be, Is the harvest good? but, Could the peasantry stand another couple of bad seasons? In East Bengal, to-day,—to speak of that part of India for which I can best answer personally,—they have nothing wherewith to meet a single month of scarcity. This, then, must be remedied. But how?

Rice must again be accumulated, instead of withdrawn. A people are not prosperous unless they are growing in prosperity. A people are not prosperous, unless they are

usually prosperous. A government survey is no sign for, or against, the prosperity of a country. An army might possess itself of a "surplus", in a country which it was devastating. Hackneyed phrases only darken counsel. We must try to discard these, and get to facts. The basic fact is that an agricultural country in which peasant-homes are prosperous, established in prosperity, or prepared to withstand reasonable strain of bad harvests, is a prosperous country; and an agricultural country in which the peasant is less secure of this, is not prosperous, though her lawns are sown on gold and her kings go decked in diamonds. The condition of the peasant is the test, for the simple reason that it could never be to the interest of a Government, which depended upon his taxes, or a city that depended on him for its supplies, to kill him off, so that he paid no tax, and raised no rice, for evermore thereafter. To run a country in a way that it falls into perpetual famine, the slightest excuse, is, even from an utilitarian point of view, to kill the goose that lays the golden eggs. An Asoka could never do this. An Akbar could never do it. It could only be done by those who avowedly possessed no permanent interest in the land. But whatever the cure may be, it is obvious that the people themselves must find and apply it. In the present case it is clear that rice must be restored, and jute, if possible, driven out. The question would be less serious if the cultivation of rice were on the increase in the East of India. But this is not the case. Contrary to what is popularly supposed, India is not means an over-populated country. She is miserably under-populated, as any railway survey shows. She has room and potentiality for many times her present population of food-growers. It is probable, further, that the production of rice per head of the peasantry is itself decreasing. For it is clear that heavy taxation tends to restrict cultivated areas, inasmuch as the seed-grain itself or the

ploughing bullocks may have to be sacrificed, in order to find coin for the tax-gatherer. It follows that the most pressing of all questions is the restoration of rice in the peasant-economy. Associations might be formed in cities, for the promotion of rice-growing, and by them seed of the best quality might be distributed free. If it is worth while for jute-merchants to distribute free jute-seed, it cannot be less so for rice-merchants in the interests of their trade, zemindars of their estates, and public-spirited citizens, out of love to their country, to give that of rice! The same organizations should undoubtedly send out agents to oppose the growing of jute. It should be taught with no uncertain voice that money is no substitute whatever for rice. The opposite is the error which is at the bottom of all our misery. *Money is no substitute for rice.* The Boycott which Bengal has declared against foreign goods, should be extended and deepened by this crusade against jute, and in similar ways. Capital should be lent at low interest, or given, for the buying back of tools and animals. In doing all this, there could not fail of a closer union between town and country. The students, who have already sacrificed so much, in so many a fashion, to carry relief to the famine-stricken, would confer a still greater good on the same people, if they would establish their own homes permanently in the villages where they have now worked. If this were done, we should have in every such village-home a culture-centre, not unlike the western parsonage in the village of artisans. From this, to the village, would emanate knowledge and impulse towards the establishing of small industries. Here would be found advice from the man in times of perplexity and help from the wife in crises of illness and need. To the city, on the other hand, such a home would be a source of knowledge, a link of union. It would be impossible, further, for famine again to reach the dread proportions it had assumed here last June, without a

word being heard on the subject. We should hear a good deal, indeed, on many other subjects. We should hear of a condition of things under which foreign engineering, with its bridges for road and rail, is fast checking the flow of the canals, destroying the fisheries, and turning the vast province of Bengal into a stagnant forcing-bed for malaria-germs. We should learn something of the opinions of the People themselves as to the difficulties under which they labour. We should inevitably see the organisation of small schools, the revival of spinning and weaving, and the growth of a new interest and joy in life. For nothing so struck me in the famine-villages, as the horror of watching death draw nearer and nearer, without anything to think of, save the degree of one's own hunger. And when I enquired, I found that already a village of Brahmins had petitioned for spinning-wheels and raw cotton, undertaking to *earn* all they required, if these were given. Such is the self-help of the People. I found, moreover, that there were a dozen minor arts,—such as the making of simple mats, and fish-traps, and the preparing of wild arrowroot,—which they were able to engage in, if materials were given them. But “it is useless,” says the proverb, “to begin to dig a well, in a house that is already on fire,” and a time of famine is not the moment for the initiation of a net-work of industries. This must be carried out before the scarcity has begun—and such a task could only be undertaken in some such way as I have indicated. If the Hindu race had been thoroughly commercialised, it is possible that these village-missions might be undertaken on a paying basis. Restored spinning ought to yield returns to an agent. There are fruit-trees to be grown. The date-palm, it is said, requires new treatment. The breed

of cows has deteriorated, since all the Siva's bulls were seized by the municipalities, and breeding calls for the attention of an educated class. But whether these things could be done with profit or not, one thing is sure. They need doing. They would constitute an essential extension of the *Swadeshi* movement itself. They are worth doing even at a great outlay. They open to the doers one of the noblest forms of sacrifice and help.

Yet, let there be no mistake in this matter. A small step here or a small step there, may or may not be taken. But no restoration of an old-time prosperity is possible, if the people themselves continue to pay taxes beyond their power.

The peasant-races of India are not wanting in common-sense. They have not failed to understand this obvious fact, and a day will assuredly come when the country will take this matter into its own hands, and offer terms at its own discretion. That those who pay the revenue have the right to control the expenditure, is a doctrine that no Englishman could venture to deny. It is not a theory which he regards as revolutionary, but rather as the self-evident basis of all national existence, an inalienable right of man. As long as India is contented to *sit and argue* the question, he is perhaps but worldly-wise to take what he can and refuse concession. Argument is never dangerous. But if a day should come when she ceased to argue? If she suddenly declared that she cared nothing about theory, for three hundred millions of human beings had *determined* on a new arrangement? “Not our right, but our *will*!” if this cry were heard throughout the land? What could be said by the tax-gatherers then? What then? What then?

March 1st, 1907.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

From the Persian.

§ 21.—Afzal Khan sent against Shivaji.

When the King of Bijapur heard of all these conquests of forts by Shivaji, he wrote to Shahji Rajah then in Karnatic,—“Your son Shiva has caused disorders and plundered our dominion and forts. We have not taken notice of it in view of your good services. But you should make him desist from such insolence.” Shahji replied, “I have renounced this bad son and his mother. Your Majesty may well devise some remedy.” The king then sent Afzal Khan* Bahawari, who had a command of 12,000 cavalry, to expel Shiva. He arrived and encamped near Wai. Shivaji, learning of it, left his wife and children in Pratapgarh and made himself ready with 60,000† Mawals. Afzal Khan sent friendly overtures to Shivaji through his *diwan* Panthji Gopinath, saying, “With absolute freedom from anxiety come and see me, and then go and interview the king along with me. You will receive unusual favours, and get a higher rank and command than Shahji.” Shivaji replied, “I have pitched a tent outside the fort of Pratapgarh. You should first come here and reassure me with promise and agreement. Then I shall do what is desired.” Giving to the *diwan* Gopinath presents and money beyond his desire, he held a secret consultation with him and inquired about Afzal Khan’s character. The *diwan* revealed everything that he had in his mind and promised, “I shall bring Afzal Khan to Jaoli; there whatever you may wish will be carried out.”

* Throughout the *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* he is called Abdullah Khan, and Shivaji’s agent Krishnaji Bhaskar is confounded with Gopinath Panthji, the agent of Afzal Khan. I have made the necessary corrections above.

† Is this a mistake for 20,000,—*Shast* for *bist*?

He was sent back with Krishnaji, an inhabitant of Hinwadi near Saswad, as his envoy. The two went to Afzal Khan and reported all the circumstances without reserve or modification.

After much discussion he decided to go to Pratapgarh, and Krishnaji wrote to his master about it. Shivaji ordered Nanu Gadhgadi, the *qiladar* of Pratapgarh and Anantaji Raghunath *chawkinavis* to erect a tent outside the fort opposite the gate of the highway and below its tower, to spread carpets and put up curtains and awnings of gold embroidery and velvet. Twelve thousand Mawals were appointed to remain on the watch in the jungle at all the passes of Jaoli. A wide road was made through the jungle [to the pavilion of conference.] Shivaji instructed his comrades thus, “If at the interview, affairs take a contrary turn, (which God forbid!) I shall slay him. The *qiladar* should be ready and fire a gun immediately. On hearing it the Mawals posted in the passes should attack and plunder the army of the Khan, but those who cry quarters should be spared. If any take to flight, they should not be hindered.”

Having made these arrangements he got ready.

Afzal Khan, leaving his camp at Wai started for Jaoli, taking with himself Khandoji* Ruhandkar, the leader of his rear Pioneers were appointed to cut the jungle [from his side], and so he made way. When he had gone a short distance, the elephant carrying his standard stood still. The drivers with all their

* According to Grant Duff (i. 174) the leading officer of Afzal was named Joojhar Rao Ghatgay, while Khandoji ~~Esra~~ was one of Shivaji’s officers.

efforts could not make it move on. People considered it an unlucky omen and urged the Khan to put off the journey for the day. But he cried out in anger, "Put out the eyes of the elephant!" Then removing the standard to another elephant, he advanced. Crossing at Ghat Zantwari, he halted at the village of Kavinatri, situated in a hollow of the hills. Thence he sent Krishnaji and Gopinath to Shivaji with the message, "I have reached this place. Come with perfect confidence and see me." Shivaji replied, "I am waiting for you with a tent pitched. Oblige me by coming. After that [you will find] me present, ready to do what may be considered advisable."

Next day, Afzal Khan, by way of precaution, left his son Fazal Khan, with his army, while he alone went in a *palki* towards Pratapgarrh. As Fate had decreed it, he neglected caution and ascended the hilly tract with 32 *Bhui* or porters, five servants, Krishnaji, and Gopinath, and after traversing the stages arrived at Pratapgarrh. Shivaji placed forty swordsmen in a hollow near the tent, with Sambhaji, Kaoji, Hiroji Farzand, Suzan Malhar, Jiv Malhar, and other captains, and said to them, "When affairs take a contrary turn, issue from the pit and exert yourself." He himself put on a cuirass, a coat of mail, and a helmet, prayed to God, and taking up a *shamsah*, *pattah*, *bichhua*, *baghnakh* and other weapons, sat in readiness. After issuing instructions to all his men, he went to his mother, bowed at her feet, and begged her blessing. She prayed for his victory, and calling the 16 captains,—Gujar Mahadak, Palkar, Nimbalkar, Nilaji Panth, Nilu Panth, and others,—placed Shivaji's hand in theirs, and entrusted him to them with entreaties. Jiv Mahani, a brave man of great trust, was posted at the door.

§ 22.—Afzal Khan killed in Defence.

Just then Krishnaji, the agent, came and reported that Afzal Khan with his *diwan* Gopinath had entered the tent. Shivaji,

taking up the aforesaid weapons, boldly came before him and made his *salam*. As the Khan did not know him personally, he repeatedly asked his *diwan* if that was Shivaji. Then he spoke [to him], "What do you mean by plundering the kingdom and capturing the king's forts?" Shivaji replied, "Before me the Mughals had seized these forts and the land. I have only taken possession by expelling them. By driving out the usurpers, I have swept away the thorn and briar of disorder and settled the cultivators [on the lands.]" Afzal Khan said, "Very well, what is done is done. Now, surrender all the forts to me and accompany me to the Court." Shivaji replied, "Give me a royal letter [of pardon], and I shall carry out His Majesty's orders with my life. Gopinath put in with "You have come under the Khan Sahib's protection. Beg his pardon for your offences." Shivaji replied, "My life and I are the servants of His Majesty. How can the Khan pardon my offences? But the Khan cannot but comply with your words. I lay my head in the bosom of the Khan." Saying this he [advanced and] was embraced by the Khan, who, at the moment of embrace, he seized Shivaji fast in his bosom and struck him with a dagger. As Shivaji had a coat of mail on, the blow did not hurt him; he wriggled out and struck the iron *bichhua* and *panjah* which he carried in his hand into the stomach of Afzal Khan and ripped it open. Thus he freed himself from the danger. The Khan bravely bandaged his stomach with the *shamsah* that he wore, and raising his sword fetched Shivaji a blow on the head that cleft the helmet in twain and caused a slight wound on the scalp. Shivaji with his *pattah* cut the Khan into two and felled him to the ground. The Afghan servant [Syed Bandu] who accompanied the Khan, now entered into the fray but Tanaji Malusray confronted him. Gopinath, on seeing this state of affairs, hit Shivaji but the latter replied, "I abstain from slaying Brahmans. Away from my sight!" At the

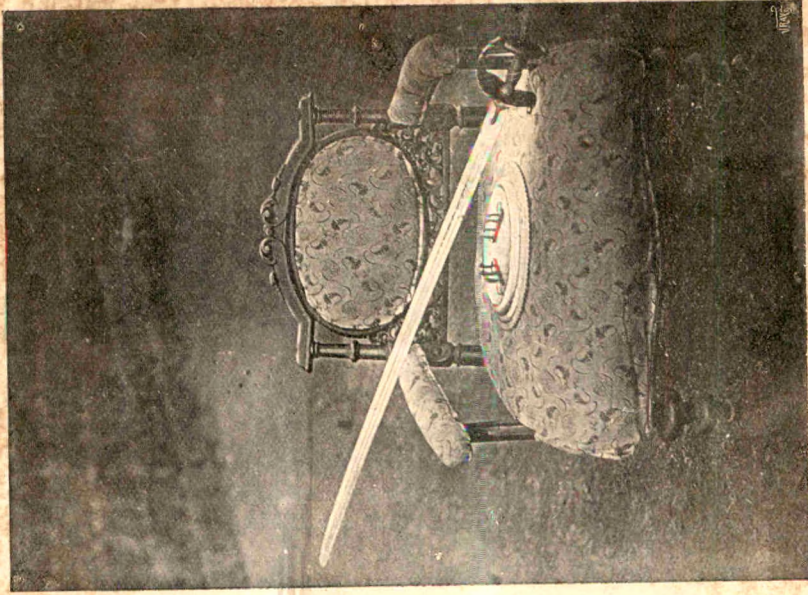


SHIVAJI.

From a painting in the Tanjore Palace.



SHIVAJI'S COAT OF MAIL, CUIRASS AND HELMET.



SHIVAJI'S SWORD Bhawani AND HIS bagh-nakh.

Jiv Mahala came in and killed him* with his sword. Isaji Kank entered and took his stand before Shivaji. The porters had taken up the corpse of Afzal Khan and were fleeing, but Isaji Kank gave chase, barred their path, and cutting off the head brought it with the mantlet (?tura) that he was wearing and hung them from the fort gate. Once the Khan had gone to the shrine of Tuljapuri Devi and done sacrilege†, in punishment of which this ignominy overtook him.

The forty men including Ikaji [= Venkaji] who lay in hiding in the hollow now came out and gave chase. In the confusion of the struggle they gave Krishnaji two or three blows without recognising him. Shivaji, seeing his plight, was grieved, advanced in person, and saved him. As pre-concerted, the Mawals charged and plundered the whole army of the Khan, and the entire booty was given to them. Twelve thousand‡ horses were captured and added to Shivaji's stable; the Khan's banner, kettle drums and elephant were among the prizes. The family and son of Afzal Khan fled after crossing the Kutna§ pass. The whole camp was looted. Khandoji, the leader of the [Bijapur] van was slain.

Shivaji returned in victory, laid his head at his mother's feet, and thanked the true Giver of Victories. Krishnaji Bhaskar|| was rewarded with 2 lacs of *hun* (8 lacs of rupees) and *jagir* in the village of Hunwada [?Hewda] a *taluk* of Kadipathal, in the Puna District, near Saswad. His descendants still hold it.

§ 23.—Mughal Accounts of the Same.

[The *Alamgirnāmā*, p. 577, says:—] When Ali Adil Khan came of age, and made ready

* Killed whom? Gopinath, according to the context. But G. Duff says that Gopinath lived to be rewarded by Shivaji (i. 175). I suppose the Afghan attendant is meant.

† He demolished the Gandaki image of Bhawani at Tuljapur.

‡ Four thousand according to G. Duff.

§ The banks of the Quyna river, according to Duff.

|| The *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* gives Krishnaji for Gopinath and *vice versa*. I have made the necessary correction. But in this passage the change does not seem to be justified, as Grant Duff says that Gopinath was rewarded by Shivaji (i. 175.).

to suppress Shiva, messages were exchanged. Shivaji deceitfully professed humility, begged pardon for his offences, and requested that Afzal Khan, a Bijapur grandee in command of a large contingent and retinue, famed for his valour and military capacity and greatly feared by Shivaji, should be sent to conciliate him. He wrote to Ali Adil Khan, "If Afzal Khan be sent here with promises for reassuring my frightened heart, I shall go to Bijapur and interview the Sultan through his mediation." Ali Adil Khan, in his greenness and ignorance of the world, sent Afzal with 2,000 brave soldiers to bring Shivaji. When he reached Kokan it was [mutually] agreed that both he and Shivaji, each with a few unarmed followers, would meet together at a place fixed by Shiva. The deceiver Shiva armed his followers and hid some of them near the place of interview and the rest in ambush around the troops of Afzal, while he himself secreted weapons in his sleeve. When Afzal, as agreed upon, met the deceiver, at the time of shaking hands and embracing, first Shiva struck him with his weapons, and then his followers rushing out of their lurking place despatched him. His two sons, who had accompanied him, were taken prisoner, &c.

[The *Dilkasha*, p. 19, gives the following version:—] The Sultan of Bijapur on hearing [of Shivaji's rebellion] sent a strong force under a high grandee of his court named Afzal Khan, to fight and put down Shiva. But Shiva very cunningly professed weakness and humility, and wrote to the Khan, begging pardon for his offences and the Khan's intercession, and requesting him to come towards Jaoli to compose his frightened heart, saying that he was not really refractory. The Khan, proud of his large force and careless of the enemy's deceit, came to the hilly region of Jaoli suspecting no tumult, and encamped there. It was mutually agreed that at some spot in Jaoli a tent should be set up, and the Khan with 10 men and Shiva with 5 or 6

should meet there. As promised [they] came to the tent. At the time of embracing, Shiva dealt some blows on the stomach of the Khan with the weapon called by the Deccanis *Baghnach* (=tiger's claws) and also *Bichhua** (=scorpion), which he had in his hand,—so that he was disembowelled. Of the Khan's followers some attended to the corpse, others fell upon Shiva; but he faced them with his comrades, slew some and put the others to flight. A large force at Shiva's signal came out of ambush and blocked the roads and passes of the hills, &c.

§24.—**Khafi Khan's coloured Narrative.**

[Khafi Khan, ii. pp. 116—118, gives the following highly embellished account, which has been followed by Grant Duff.] When Sikandar Adil Khan [king of Bijapur] reached years of discretion, he at first sent messages to Shiva, but in vain. Then he appointed Afzal Khan with a large force to chastise him. Afzal, a high grandee and brave warrior, after his arrival pressed Shiva hard. The latter, finding that fighting would not help him, employed cunning and fraud, sent trusty messengers, offered submission, and begged forgiveness for his offences. After deceitful Brahman [envoys] had come and gone between the two parties, it was agreed that at an appointed place under the fort [of Pratapgarrh] Shivaji with 3 or 4 unarmed[†] servants should come to interview the Khan, that Afzal Khan with 4 or 5 unarmed attendants should arrive there in his *palki*, meet Shiva, verbally exchange promises and assurances, and then send him back with a robe of honour, and that Shiva after hospitably entertaining the Khan would let him return to Bijapur with tribute and presents and himself go to Bijapur in the service and company of the Khan on receiving the assurances. By sending many kinds

* The *bichhua* was a crooked dagger, and a different weapon from the *baghnakk*.

† *Be-asliha o kamar wa*, i.e., unarmed and with ungirt waists. This directly contradicts Grant Duff's assertion that Shivaji's "follower carried two swords in his waistband." (i. 173.)

of presents and fruits of the country, and professing weakness and submission, he quieted the heart of Afzal Khan about himself, and so influenced him as to make him believe everything that he said. Afzal Khan took no proper precaution; he went unarmed in his *palki* to the foot of the fort, at the place appointed, and left all his companions with the army a bowshot behind.

Then the hypocrite descended from the fort on foot, and was seen afar making gesture of humility and distress. On arrival at the foot of the hill, he at every three or four steps cried out confessing his faults and begging pardon, trembled in pretended fear all over his limbs, and prayed that the armed men and servants who attended the *palki* should remain at a distance. He had on his finger under the sleeve the weapon called *bichhua* in the Deccani tongue, entirely hidden from view. He had placed groups of his own armed men in hiding in the pits and hollows of the hills, and stationed a trumpeter on flight of steps, ordering him, "At the interval I shall not spare my enemy with this weapon. As soon as you see me from afar applying this instrument of war, think not of my safety, but blow your trumpet to warn my soldiers." And he ordered his troops to move from all sides on hearing the trumpet fall on the army of Afzal Khan, and do their best. Afzal Khan, whom Death had dragged to the spot, in the pride of his own bravery and at the sight of Shiva coming unarmed trembling and sunk in despair, sent back to a distance from himself the few men who were around his *palki*.

As soon as the deceitful Shiva arrived near, he flung himself at the feet of Afzal Khan. When the Khan, after raising his head, wished to pat him on the back in mercy and embrace him, Shivaji very adroitly plunged the hidden weapon into his stomach, killing him without giving him even so much time as to groan 'Ah!' The trumpeter, &

ordered, conveyed the peal of victory to the ears of his troops. From every side, corner and hole of the hills countless infantry and cavalry issued, charged Afzal Khan's army in disregard of life, and took to slaying and plundering. Shivaji escaped unhurt, reached his own men, and ordered the lives of the fugitives to be spared. All the horses, elephants, treasure and other property [of Afzal] were seized by him, and the [Khan's] soldiers were gained over by promise of employment.

Reflections on the Affair of Afzal Khan.

The death of Afzal Khan must remain one of the puzzles of Indian history, so long as new contemporary evidence does not spring to light. It is difficult, often impossible to learn the real facts when an interview between two hostile leaders ends in a fatal fracas. Witness the death of Macnaughten at the hands of Akbar Khan. In the peculiar circumstances of such cases, no dispassionate recorder, no cool and accurate observer of all the incidents can be expected. I have placed before the reader full translations from all the source-histories of the incident.

Grant Duff calls it deliberate murder. He represents the Muhammadan view and follows its most advanced form as embodied in Khafi Khan's history. But the question of Shivaji's guilt or innocence cannot be so lightly decided as he imagined. There are serious differences between the three Mughal histories and Grant Duff, and again between the two earlier historians and Khafi Khan. Secondly, Duff's account has many points of inherent improbability.

The Persian writers all hold that Shivaji had a decided superiority of force over Afzal Khan,—20,000 against 12,000,—and it is undeniable that that province of hill and jungle was exactly suited to the peculiar martial qualities of the Mawalis, while regular troops (Bijapuris and Mughals alike) helplessly broke down in this kind of war. Shivaji, therefore, could not have been in "despair and terror" of Afzal Khan; his career had hitherto been one of unbroken victory; his forts were kept in excellent repair and well-supplied with provisions. Secondly, the contemporary Persian accounts say that Afzal was to be attended at the interview by more men than Shiva. Could this have favoured Shiva's plan of assassination, supposing he had formed any? Thirdly, Grant Duff has no authority for saying that the rival chiefs were accompanied by only one servant

each. This is not borne out by the Mughal histories, which assert that there was a *melee* between the followers immediately after the principals had grappled with each other. Then, again, Afzal Khan's army was within easy reach of the pavilion—a bowshot according to Khafi Khan, a few hundred yards according to Grant Duff. True, they could not have come in time to save their master, but their presence so near would certainly have had a deterrent effect upon his intended murderer, and they could have followed up Afzal's deed if he had stabbed Shivaji fatally. Grant Duff also makes Afzal Khan wear "a thin muslin garment" in October! and represents him and his and Shivaji's soldiers as carrying swords, though the Persian account is positive on the point of their being unarmed. Copinath Panth, the agent of Afzal, is described by Duff as a traitor in collusion with Shiva; but it has been seen that he did attack Shiva on the fall of his master.

The Maratha version, which Scott Waing accepts in his History, makes it out to have been a case of diamond cut diamond: Afzal first stabbed Shivaji in the hope of ending the Kokan trouble by this coup, and his treachery recoiled on his own head. Against this view it may be plausibly argued that the elaborate steps taken by Shiva before the interview do not betoken an innocent mind, but suggest a deliberate plan of assassination. No careful student of history, however, can hold that Shiva took other than legitimate precaution. For one thing, he was an exceptionally careful and fore-sighted man and the Bijapuris proportionately careless and puffed up. Secondly, Shiva must have known that murder and treachery were the usual weapons of a decadent State like Bijapur, verging on extinction. The blood-red page of Muslim history flames with a deeper crimson when we go to the Deccan. There the "noble queen" Chand Bibi, the marvellously gifted soldier-statesman Mahmud Gawan (the Todar Mal of the South), the devoted minister Madna Panch, the faithful vizir Changiz Khan, the old and active agent Morar Jagdeo, and even Shivaji's maternal grandfather, Lakhji Jadav Rao, had fallen victims to the violence of Muslim sovereigns or nobles. In view of the provocation he had given, and the character of the Bijapur court, Shivaji would have been wanting in common sense if he had not taken the precautions against a treacherous attack that he actually took. Above all the whole record of Shivaji's life is a standing evidence against the theory that he dabbled his hands in the blood of an invited guest.

JADUNATH BARKAR.

SOME CONSIDERATIONS ON THE BUDGET

IT is not merely conventional praise that we bestow on the Hon'ble Mr. Baker when we say how deeply we are indebted to him for the lucidity and ability of his Financial Statement laid before the Supreme Legislative Council on the 20th March. I am sure I speak the sense of many when I say that we have learnt to expect nothing less from him.

Our first duty in criticising the Budget is to express our deep appreciation of the further reduction of the salt-tax. While there has been much in the financial administration of the country during the last few years, as there was before, which cannot be contemplated with satisfaction by us, the people of India, the three successive reductions in the salt duty must have our warmest approbation. I am not far wrong when I take credit to the Indian National Congress for these reductions, as it is that body which has persistently urged the Government to do this act of financial justice. But while we welcome the concession already made, we cannot rest unless and until the salt duty is abolished altogether. As John Bright said, the salt tax is "one which is highly productive, but extremely oppressive, to the poor bitterly cruel." We cannot accept the view put forward by Mr. Baker, either that the rate of duty as reduced is "extremely moderate" or that the "salt tax is the only contribution towards the public expenditure that is made by a large number of the people." The vast bulk of the people contribute to the revenue of Government in many other forms. As Sir Pherozeshah Mehta said once in the course of a Budget debate in the Viceroy's Council itself,—

"In debt all his life, does he not pay in stamps and court-fees for every application he makes to a Revenue Officer, for every process that is issued by or against him in the endless resort to Courts of one sort or another, and does he not pay registration fees for his perpetual transactions of bonds and mortgages and transfers? Insufficiently fed all the year round, does he not pay the excise duty on liquor and opium, raising the Abkari revenue by leaps and bounds? * * If he does not pay the income-tax, does he not pay the road and other cesses? Has he not, since the new forest policy was introduced, contributed to the forest revenue by paying grazing and other fees and charges which he never had to pay before? As a matter of fact, the Indian ryot goes through life carrying a load of many burdens on his back."

Next, Mr. Baker says, that the salt tax at its reduced rate is very moderate. Let us see. The heaviness or lightness of taxation depends on the tax-payer's capacity to pay, and is it not a fact that the mass of tax-payers in India are very poor indeed? For a people whose average annual income is not more than Rs. 20 per head, payment of a duty of 2½ annas per head on salt is not so very easy as highly paid European officers unacquainted at first hand with the conditions of Indian life, may suppose. Nor is there much justification for imposing a duty which after the three reductions we have had, is still between 600 and 700 per cent. of the cost of manufacture, on a commodity which is a vital necessary of life and which, therefore, as John Bright said on another occasion, ought to be as free as the very air we breathe.

There are several strong reasons why the Government should give up its salt monopoly. The Government is pledged to the ultimate repeal of all duty on salt, and the latest official declaration in support of this contention was made by the present Secretary

of State. In his remarkable speech in the House of Commons in July last, Mr. John Morley said that we should have a further reduction in the duty with a view to its eventual abolition. Plague and other epidemic diseases seem almost to have made India their home, and medical opinion says that increased consumption of salt would be all the better for a people whose resisting power is very little indeed. Again, we were told last year in the Report of the Imperial Department of Agriculture that experiments have proved the immense value of saltpetre as a manure. This industry is on the decline at present. And the officer responsible for the Report has said that the people could not do much to develop it and use saltpetre extensively as a manure, as thereby the salt monopoly of Government would be infringed. For these several reasons the Government should take the earliest opportunity to totally abolish the salt duty.

Holding this view as I do, it is with some anxiety that I have read something in the nature of an implied threat in the Financial Statement that if the threatened loss of the opium revenue came to pass, the Government of India might be forced to increase taxation, and presumably to put back on salt the burden it has now taken away from it. Our countrymen would like to have an assurance—and they look up to Mr. Morley for it—that whatever the future may have in store for us in the matter of the opium revenue, the Government will not be tempted to get over its financial difficulties by re-imposing the excessive salt duty, that on the other hand it will steadily pursue the policy of reducing it till at last, and this I hope at no distant date, it will give up the salt monopoly altogether.

I have nothing to urge against the reduction that will be effected from October next in the postal rates, but I cannot help saying that this is not the best means that could

be thought of for disposing of a part of the surplus when there are many crying needs more directly affecting the people. Last year the Hon'ble Mr. Baker announced that gradually cesses on land were to be abolished except those levied by local authorities for expenditure on purely local objects. Even this would leave much room for adding to the burdens on the land, and the total abolition of all cesses on land, or at least of all those which do not directly benefit the land (these latter not to exceed an anna in the rupee at any time) would be preferable. It is discouraging that no further step has been taken this year in the direction of repealing cesses, although last year closed with a surplus of nearly two crores, and for the present year a surplus of considerably over a crore of rupees is budgeted. Everyone recognises that the Government must have a working surplus and that no prudent Government would distribute all it has or expects to have in remission of taxation. But the experience of years suggests that the estimates of the Finance Department err on the safe side—that revenue is under-estimated and expenditure over-estimated; and I confess I do not realise what danger would have been incurred if some further cesses on the land revenue had been remitted this year.

The income-tax taxable minimum, too, requires to be raised, say, to Rs. 1,500. I do not at all agree with those who advocate the abolition of this tax. But I do think that the poorer middle class feel some hardship on account of the present low level of exemption. For years the National Congress had prayed for enhancement of the taxable minimum from Rs. 500 to Rs. 1,000 before the Government listened to the prayer. We now know how strongly justified was the step taken in 1903. Still all people with incomes of less than Rs. 1,000 do not get the benefit of it as the Resolution issued by the Finance

Department in Sir Edward Law's time showed. This proves the need of introducing reforms in the administration which will have the effect of securing to people with low incomes the benefit of the exemption granted by the Act. Apart from this, I think a further enhancement of the taxable minimum to Rs. 1,500 is called for. While we hear a good deal that is true of the appalling destitution of the masses, it is no less true, though we hear less of it, that the condition of the lower middle classes is steadily and rapidly deteriorating. Rise in the cost of almost all the necessities of life, increase of rents, the increased cost of education, and the growing necessity to conform to new standards of life, have rendered it difficult, and are rapidly making it impossible, for these men to live decently and respectably as of old. And when Municipal rates and several indirect taxes are pressing hard on them, it will be an act of wise generosity to exempt them from this inconvenient direct impost of income-tax.

I must enter an emphatic protest against the continuance of the Excise duty on cotton goods even in years of financial prosperity. The yield of this duty has varied between a little less than 21 *lakhs* and 28 *lakhs* between the years 1903-4 and 1906-7, and is estimated at 29 *lakhs* for the current year. Any time during the last half a dozen years the Government was in a position to dispense with this comparatively small amount of revenue. But the truth is that it is not for revenue purposes that the duty was first imposed and is still kept up. It is for appeasing the cotton kings of Lancashire. It is only another act of fiscal injustice perpetrated on the voiceless tax-payers of India at the bidding of the powerful voters of Lancashire. It is bad enough that this country should be so largely dependent on Lancashire for the clothing of its population; it is worse that when at last strenuous endeavours are being made to build

up the cotton industry in India on Western lines, indigenous enterprise should be penalised by the unnecessary imposition of a countervailing excise. I decline to admit that the imposition of the countervailing excise duty was required by the canons of free trade. I have a very considerable faith in the blessings of freedom to trade, but there are occasions and circumstances when import duties are not only allowable but become essential. Eminent economists like Mr. Marshall and Liberal statesmen of the distinction of Messrs. Morley and Haldane—all convinced free traders, have more than once said that no given fiscal policy would suit all countries in all stages of industrial development. More than one free-trade economist has stated that some nascent industries require a measure of state protection, if only for a time. If educated Indians had a potent voice in the Government of the country, there is very little doubt that active measures would be adopted for protecting Indian industries. I make bold to think that a readjustment of fiscal burdens in India might profitably be made and the dead-weight of taxation raised from the land by the imposition of more import duties for revenue purposes. These import duties will incidentally give some protection to Indian industries, and no one need feel uneasy on this score. Meanwhile, it ought to be easy for the Government to do away with the countervailing excise duty. Its continuance is a blot on the fiscal system of India, and raises perpetual suspicion about the intentions of Government in regard to the new industrial movement. An ounce of performance is worth a ton of professions of sympathy, and it is to be hoped Lord Minto and Mr. Baker will earn the glory of doing away with the obnoxious impost levied by the pliant Lord Elgin at the bidding of Sir Henry Fowler.

We cannot pretend satisfaction at the growth exhibited by several Revenue heads

of the Budget. The enormous revenue from the sale of stamps is mostly an indication of the costliness of justice. Poor people become paupers whenever they have to go through contested litigation, while even the comparatively well-to-do find it a by no means easy task to bear the heavy expenses incident to it. So much so, that there is a saying among us that the winner in a suit weeps at home, while the loser weeps in public. If this is so in civil litigation, to be the accused, and not unoften even the complainant, in Criminal suits, means no end of worry and trouble and also money, thanks mainly to the combination of Magisterial with Revenue and Police duties in officers who are by no means the best fitted to sit as judges. There is great need for reforms in the administration of justice so as to make it purer, cheaper, more prompt, and, in a certain class of criminal cases, less oppressive and more efficient. Principal among these reforms is the separation of Judicial from Executive functions, the extension of Trial by Jury, the recruitment of District and Sessions Judges and of Magistrates of all grades from among the members of the legal profession in preference to members of the Indian Civil Service and higher ministerial officers, a reduction in Stamp duties as the late Sir Richard Garth urged more than once, and, last but not least, the reconstitution and extension of jurisdiction where they already exist, and the creation where they do not exist, of Panchayats and arbitration courts. All petty suits not exceeding, say, Rs. 50 in value, should go up before these Panchayats and not before District Munsiffs. I attach great importance to this last suggestion, as the demoralising and costly evil of excessive litigation is simply ruining the poor of the country.

drink evil. But I will not say much on this subject as the Report of the Excise Committee must now be engaging the attention of the Government. I will only express the hope that the Government will not take long to give effect to the more important recommendations of the Committee.

Most important of all the sources of Government revenue is the Land, and I will now say a few words on it. It is with considerable regret that I notice that Land Revenue goes on increasing year after year, and that without regard to the destitute condition of the bulk of the agricultural population enhancement of assessment takes place at almost every recurring settlement. The United Provinces have been hit hard both by famine and plague, and without these trials the people are poor enough in all conscience as the results of the economic inquiry instituted in Lord Dufferin's time made clear. That under such circumstances the Government should make direct increases in the Land Revenue and at the same time reap the fruits of its currency policy at the expense of the agricultural population, is neither fair nor wise. So long as the Government imposes no restriction on its own power of enhancing Land revenue at every recurring opportunity, the no-doubt-well-meant efforts of Government at regulating the relations between landlords and tenants, at restricting land alienation, and at dealing a heavy blow at money-lenders, and even the excellent movement of co-operative credit societies, are all bound to fail in effecting any improvement in the condition of the agricultural population. A permanent settlement of land revenue was more than once proposed, but it has not been carried out either in its integrity or in the modified form proposed by Lord Ripon. And the Government retains the right of increasing its land revenue on whatever grounds and by whatever amount it

We cannot be pleased either at the rapid and continuous growth of the Excise revenue, as it unmistakably means increase of the

pleases. This is not a state of affairs which conduces to the prosperity of an agricultural country like India. I do not say that the land revenue policy of the Government is the sole cause of agricultural impoverishment and indebtedness, I do not deny that the ryot sometimes spends on unproductive objects more than he should do. But this I do say, that the social causes of his poverty are merely contributory, that his so-called extravagance is much exaggerated, that it is taking hold of the wrong end of the stick to lay all the blame for his indebtedness at the door of the money-lender, and that the principal cause of his impoverishment and indebtedness is the Land Revenue policy of the Government. I am the more emboldened to affirm these opinions with some confidence as so great an authority as Mr. O'Connor, long the Director-General of Statistics to the Government of India, spoke in an identical sense a little less than three years ago before the Indian Section of the Society of Arts. Said Mr. O'Connor:—

“Divided up as the land is into minute holdings, averaging, perhaps, less than the five acres, dependent upon the season for a crop or no crop at all, the agriculturist is in a precarious position. It is imputed to him, as an indication of original sin, that he is always in debt to the money-lender, and that he is extravagant in out-lay over marriage feasts. But in truth the man is not so much to blame as the system for these offences, if they can be so regarded. He is in debt because he is very poor and cannot be otherwise on the small holding he cultivates even if it always were to give him a full crop, which unfortunately it does not. His poverty makes him borrow money for the purchase of seed or plough-bullocks when famine or pestilence has killed his beasts, and if he does make a show when his daughter is married, * * * the occasion does not come every day, and the effect of such extravagance has been greatly exaggerated by persons who find it easier to suggest such incidents as the cause of agricultural indebtedness than to go to the root of the matter and see whether administrative action or inaction has any share in the depression of the agriculturist.

Mr. O'Connor is not sure whether the agrarian policy of the Government is the best at the present day, and he rightly says that it is no complete defence of that policy to compare the assessment on the land to-day with the assessment in the days of previous Governments. Then follows a passage even more important than the one quoted, and lengthy though it is, I will transcribe it as it embodies a far-reaching proposal:—

“It is doubtful whether the efforts now being made to take the cultivator out of the hands of the money-lender will have much effect, or, even if they have the fullest effect, that they will materially improve the cultivator's position, until a larger share of the produce of the soil is left in his hands, and he is protected against enhanced assessment by Government officials and against enhanced rents by private landlords. This, I have said, is much the most important of Indian industries, more important than all the rest put together, and it should receive from the State more discerning attention than I am afraid, has as yet been given to it. We must appreciate to the full all that the State is doing, or proposing to do, in the provision of irrigation, in the provision of advances for improvements, in lessons on reformed methods of cultivation, in the introduction of new plants and improved implements, but—important as these are, especially the development of irrigation—I have little doubt that the reduction of the land revenue by 25 or 30 per cent., if the reduction is secured to the profit of the cultivators, would be of far more value in the improvement of the class who constitute the bulk of the population and who contribute most largely to the finances of the State.”

Yes; *this* is what will really go a long way towards a solution of the agrarian problem—reduce the present assessment by 25 or 30 per cent. and then protect the cultivator against enhanced assessment by Government officials and against enhanced rents by private landlords. Of late the Government has been doing a good deal for effecting agricultural improvements; but commendable as these efforts are, and fully as we appreciate them, we must point out that there is a closer connection between agricultural prosperity and land tenure, than Government seems to

gnise, and that without a radical alteration in the Government's land revenue policy, efforts I have alluded to are bound to be in mostly fruitless. Similarly, howsoever co-operative credit societies may be organised, I am firmly of opinion that the problem of agricultural indebtedness will remain unsolved and that the ryot will never be able to obtain cheap capital, which is admittedly the greatest need, unless, first, the Government introduces a large composition scheme and releases the ryot's present debts and then establishes at least a few agricultural banks, wholly financed by the State to start with, on the lines of the Egyptian National Bank.

I will refer only to one more point. I may be allowed to raise a humble protest against the increase of emoluments that seems to have been somewhat indiscriminately given

to the European officers of several departments during the last two or three years. Their salaries and allowances and pensions are not so inadequate that these fresh increases should be made at the expense of the tax-payer. Besides, they continue to get Exchange Compensation Allowance, on what principle I know not, although no Exchange difficulty has troubled them for the last several years. The men who are on the lowest rungs of the official ladder, poor Indians as they are, do not get even a bare subsistence allowance, and cannot make both ends meet when prices of food-grains rise; but they find it so hard to get even a small increase to their meagre wages. Evidently the Government's policy in this matter is regulated by the good old maxim—"To him that hath give more, and from him that hath not take away even the little he hath."

C. Y. CHINTAMAN.

THE PLAGUE—WHAT THE STATE CAN DO TO PREVENT IT

THE disease known as bubonic plague and which claims hundreds of thousands of victims every year in India committed crimes also in many other countries in times past. It has been most associated with poverty. Not to go to the very remote past, find it prevailing in Europe in the Middle Ages, when it was called "Black Death." It is worth while knowing the condition of Europe which favoured its existence. Mr. Benjamin Kidd, in his work on "Social Evolution," writes:—
"No glamor can hide the wretchedness of the masses of people throughout the early stages of the history of the European peoples. Their position was, at best, but one of slavery slightly modified. The conditions were more than animal conditions to which they were

subject, the unwholesome food on which they lived, and the state of general destitution in which they lived, must, in all probability, be held to be associated with the general prevalence in Europe late into the middle ages of widely prevalent diseases that have since become extinct. The terrible "plague" epidemics periodically devastated Europe on a scale and an extent which the modern world has no experience of, and which we can only very imperfectly realise. After the break up of military feudalism the condition of things was little better. The people were crushed under the weight of rents, services, taxation and exactions of all kinds. Trade, commerce, industry and agriculture were harassed, restricted and impoverished by the multitude of burthens imposed on them—burthens which only during the last hundred years have been lightened or removed in most Western countries."—P. 222.

Is not the material condition of the people of India similar to that of the people of Europe in the Middle Ages?

In the Middle Ages, the Christian nations of Europe were sunk in ignorance and superstition, and they were also poverty-stricken. There were no industries worth speaking in these Christian countries. As a consequence, plague was very prevalent in Europe. The Jews in Europe were better educated and more opulent than their Christian neighbours and hence they did not suffer from the disease to the same extent as the Christians. It was this fact which made the Christians believe that the Jews caused and propagated the disease by poisoning the wells and water-supply, and so the innocent Jews were tortured and burnt to death by Christians. In times of panic, there are always excesses and so no wonder that the panic-stricken Christians were guilty of oppressing and ill-treating their Jewish neighbours.

The Christian nations of Europe, as said above, were subject to plague in the Middle Ages. But why are they not so now? There is no racial or color immunity. The real explanation lies in the fact that within the last three centuries, European nations by the development of industries and the cultivation of art and science and by sending away its surplus poor population to other lands for the purpose of colonization, have grown rich, and so plague does not find a favourite soil in Christian countries now. Sanitary improvement can be fully carried out in wealthy communities only. Plague being a disease of filth, and consequently of poverty, the real remedial measure for its eradication lies in improving the material condition of a community. In his Treatise on Plague, Dr. Simpson, the late Health Officer of Calcutta, who is a well-known authority on the subject, writes:—

"Plague commits its greatest ravages on people subject to depressing influences.

"It is on this hypothesis that the varying degree of susceptibility of communities is explained, that the influence of race, age, sex, comes into play, and that social and political forces, so far as they affect the food, welfare and condition of the people, are important factors in the spread of plague. Plague has nearly always committed its greatest ravages on people whose vitality has been depressed by war, internecine conflicts, scarcity and famine.

"The ravages committed by the two great pandemics of plague in 543 and 1348, and the great prevalence of plague during the Mahomedan supremacy in the East and in Eastern Europe, have been attributed to social, economical, and political conditions which at the time caused a decline in the general prosperity of the people affected, and rendered them more susceptible to the disease." Simpson's Plague p. 172.

India has now become the home of the plague because the people are reduced to rank poverty by the economic causes which have been introduced since the establishment of British rule. All those industries which flourished in India about a century ago and which maintained millions of her population have been destroyed. Offices of the State to which by their birth-right, the children of the soil should be appointed, are reserved for those whom Burke described as "birds of prey and passage in India." To maintain this class of official bureaucracy in glory and dignity, there is, to quote the words of Mr. Herbert Spencer, "pitiless taxation which deprives a peasant of half his produce." But the official bureaucracy do not reside in India permanently, they do not make it their home. They come here for a time to shake the pagoda tree and take out of the country all their savings. Then India has to provide them with fat pensions. The resources of India are being thus drained away, which makes her poorer and poorer every day. The people are depressed, and famines have become of yearly occurrence. No wonder then that plague should find such a favourite soil to thrive in. The stamping out of plague then is more a socio-political and economical question than a medical one. Better

the economical condition of the people, and they will be able to resist the inroads of the disease. More than a quarter of a century ago, the late Sir William Hunter calculated that one-fourth of the population of India do not get more than one meal a day. Is it not probable that having regard to famines and other causes, that at present one-third if not more of the Indian population remain hungry and underfed every day?

Every civilised country in the world possesses what is called the Poor Law intended to take care of its poor population. But in India there is no such law. In times past there was no need for such a law, because the people could afford to take care of their poor population. The people of India are of a very generous disposition, and so the State was not required to look after the poor. The caste organization and joint-family system of the Hindoos and the setting apart of one tenth of one's income which a Muhammadan is required by his religion to spend in charity, provided the poor and indigent with food and shelter and maintained them in decency and respectability, which one looks for in vain in Christian countries. But times are now changed. The people have become so poor that they cannot afford to take care of the poor members of their community. Hence it is the bounden duty of the State to afford relief to the poor of the country, by instituting a measure like the Poor Law of England. This should be the first step which ought to be taken with the least possible delay, in order to save the poor people of India from diseases which poverty always brings in its train.

In India whenever the people ask the State to do something for them, they are taunted by the Anglo-Indians with want of self-help and self-respect. But these Anglo-Indians forget that the State exists for the people and not the people for the State. Why these good Christians should taunt Indians who ask for State-help in bettering their condition

with want of self-help, is not understood. Do we not find the State doing everything to improve the lot of the colonists? In his work on "National Life and Character," Mr. Pearson writes:—

"'If the Englishman,' said Fortescue, four hundred years ago, 'be poor, and see another man having riches, which may be taken from him by night, he will not spare to do so.' The Englishman is a little less disposed now to right himself by violence, but he has a power of righting himself by law which he did not possess in Fortescue's days and which may be used with very notable consequences. His tendency in Australia, where he is carrying out modern ideas with great freedom, is to adopt a very extensive system of State Socialism. He goes to the State for Railway and irrigation works; the State in Victoria provides him with costless schooling for his children; the State in New Zealand insures him; the State everywhere provides work for him, if times are bad * * *. In Victoria and more or less in all the colonies, though least of all at present in New South Wales, the State tries to protect its Citizens from foreign competition. These changes from English policy have been adopted gradually and are partially explained by the peculiar circumstances of a young country. What is noteworthy is that they entirely recommend themselves to public sentiment. It is difficult to suppose that if emigration from England suddenly received a great check, the mother-country confronted with the task of providing for its yearly surplus of population within its own boundaries, would not gradually and cautiously resort to a socialism like that of Australia." (p. 102).

So "the peculiar circumstances" of India demand that the State should at once take measures which are calculated to prevent the occurrence of plague. We have said above that the material condition of the people should be improved. How is it to be effected? That is a question which we leave to the economists to answer.

Regarding plague, the Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India writes in his Report for 1904, that "it is one thing to deal with epidemic disease among Europeans who are sufficiently educated to understand the object of measures taken for their own advantage, and live surrounded by all the aids to

such measures lent by modern sanitary appliances; it is quite another matter to deal with it among orientals whose terror of such measures leads them to oppose them in every way, and generally amid surroundings which could not be more favorable to the spread of the disease if they had been specially devised to that end. It is not easy to deal * * * * with the ignorance that is convinced that plague is introduced and fostered by Government in order to reduce a redundant population, with suspicion that sees the disseminating agents in every disinfecting party, or with timidity that may be turned by an ill-considered action to fanatical frenzy."

The Sanitary Commissioner has pleaded, though not in so many words, the great necessity that exists for the diffusion of education amongst the masses of the Indian population. But will the Christian Anglo-Indians with their policy of "enlightened selfishness" in governing India, help to spread education among the natives of India? Do they not cry without rhyme or reason that the spread of education is doing great harm to the proper administration of the country? And was it not with this object in view that that "Superior Person," Lord Curzon the truthful, and his satellites, conspired to check the spread of education in India?

There is political danger in the belief "that plague is introduced and fostered by Government in order to reduce a redundant population." We have said that in the Middle Ages the Christians believed that the Jews introduced the plague in Europe by poisoning the wells and water-supply, and it was this belief which led the Christians to persecute, torture and burn to death the innocent Jews. The people of India are mild and are not likely to take the step which the Christians did. But we should not close our eyes to the danger that exists in the aforesaid belief. Measures should be taken to eradicate this belief from their mind. How can this be done? We see again the importance and necessity of diffusing education among the masses of the Indian population to gain the

above object. Nothing short of widespread education in India will destroy the above belief. Sanitary measures, too, cannot succeed unless the people are educated.

When plague first broke out in the Bombay Presidency in 1896 and 1897, the agency employed in suppressing the disease consisted mainly of Englishmen, who were very highly paid for their services. The Indian papers of this Presidency began to ask the question "whom has the plague benefited?" They had no difficulty from what they saw before their eyes in coming to the conclusion that it had benefited the Englishmen and English women, because it provided them with situations to which large emoluments were attached.

Again, when about five years ago, plague broke out in the Punjab, Government brought out from England at great expense men whom they called Plague doctors. They were very highly paid, much more than they could have expected to gain from practising their profession in their own country. They were quite ignorant of the language, manners and customs of the people among whom they were required to work. The task which they had to perform could have been done as efficiently (we are inclined to believe *more efficiently*) by the employment of Indian medical men. It was a great political as well as economical blunder which the Government of India committed by importing these plague doctors. When the Mulkowal accident occurred, the ignorant people naturally concluded that plague was being introduced and fostered by Government in order to benefit men of their own race and creed. To destroy this belief it is necessary not only to diffuse education among the masses of the Indian population, but also to employ very largely Indians—both medical and lay men—in carrying out plague suppression work. Unless the Government acts through the leaders of the people, its efforts will always arouse suspicion and

ear, and therefore, end in failure, partial or complete, if not in disaster.

It has been contended by many eminent medical men that infectious diseases, including plague, are caused by not taking a proper amount of salt. The salt-tax should be done away with altogether. It is a prime necessity of life, and taxing it cannot be justified on moral or any other considerations. Of late, the tax on it has been again reduced, but nothing short of its total abolition will benefit all classes of the Indian people sufficiently. In the Middle Ages, salt was very heavily taxed in Europe and that also perhaps contributed to the propagation of the disease.

The Sanitary Commissioner with the Government of India in his Report for 1904 writes:—

"The mud huts of the people favor the spread of plague, but they are built of mud because that is generally the only material the builder can obtain. The thorough disinfection of such houses is often impossible, * *."

The Sanitary Commissioner could not as a Government servant say explicitly that the people were too poor to pay for better building material, and that, therefore, the problem of stamping out plague was an economical problem: though the implication is quite clear.

By building model houses for the poor in towns and villages where plague has become almost endemic, the State can do much towards eradication of the disease. In many colonies, houses are built by the State for the accommodation of the poor and the indigent. The same should be done in India also.

The Sanitary Commissioner to whose report we have referred above, says:—

"The administrators are necessarily few in number and the subordinates to whom much of the immediate dealing with the people must be entrusted are too often corrupt; venality is no monopoly of the Indian official underling, but in this country venality has the peculiarity of being sanctioned by custom and, therefore, of being unresisted. The difficulty of fathoming the motives of natives in abnormal circumstances of suspicion and terror is very great, and in the beginning of an outbreak of plague the people generally

dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease."

We wish to protest in the strongest manner possible against the use or abuse of language wantonly indulged in by the Sanitary Commissioner in the passage which we have italicised in the above extract. We wonder how the Government of India have allowed such a libel on the Indian people to be published in their official Report. The Sanitary Commissioner writes that "in this country venality has the peculiarity of being sanctioned by custom and, therefore, of being unresisted." Will the Sanitary Commissioner be good enough to furnish us with his authority for the above statement? Does he not know what his highly educated co-religionists and compatriots placed in charge of stores during the late Boer war did? They were not all underlings but officers and gentlemen. Is venality not widespread in English municipal institutions? Is there anywhere in India venality of such gigantic proportions as obtains in the United States of America?

But it is quite true that "the people generally dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease." Why this should be so, will be gathered from what we have already said before. We repeat that unless and until the agency employed in carrying out plague suppression work, is largely and, if possible, wholly Indian, the people must continue to "dread the preventive measures of Government far more than the disease."

We have indicated some of the measures which if adopted will do much in preventing the disease and mitigating its ravages. But all these are palliatives and do not reach the root of the evil. As long as India continues politically depressed and despondent, as long as she continues to be looked upon as the happy hunting ground of those who are failures in their own country, as long as the resources of India are drained as

mercilessly as they are at present, as long as India is made to exist for the services and not the services for India, and as long as the Industries of India are not encouraged by Bounties, Protection or other measures, we for our own part, do not see how the plague can be stamped out of the country by inoculation or destruction of rats. This wholesale destruction of rats may produce some other calamity worse than the Bubonic Plague. In France where birds have been destroyed wholesale, the peasants are the great sufferers. Their crops are destroyed by insects and worms on which birds used to feed. In the economy of nature, Providence has assigned every creature its definite and proper part. The rat has been in existence since the very

beginning of the world, and it is not meant to carry and propagate the germ of plague. Because we do not fully understand the part it plays in the economy of nature, that is no reason why we should destroy it wholesale.

We have said that the question of Plague prevention is more political, social and economical than medical. And we conclude by saying that unless and until India is granted the boon of *Swaraj*, we do not see how else the plague can be totally stamped out of the country. Its converse may not be true, *Swaraj* may not be, as in fact it is not, a panacea for all evils including the plague, but we do firmly believe and assert that *Swaraj* is an essential condition precedent to the total extermination of the plague in India.

BALWANT DAMODAR BIJAPURKAR.

WILLIAM KNOX JOHNSON

"What learning has perished with him!
How vain seems all toil to acquire!"

THE January number of "The Modern Review" opens with an article on "Western Literature and the Educated Public of India," which was the full text of the address delivered by the late Mr. William Knox Johnson after the convocation of the University of Allahabad held in November, 1905. It was not intended to be a magazine article. Those who have read it with care must have been struck with the fact that it was not an article in itself, but a compendium of a series of articles which could and should have been written if it were to be made intelligible to the general class of readers in India. Nothing short of the tragic and sudden death of the writer of it would have made it imperative or even possible to publish it in the form in which it was delivered as an

address. It would seem that while delivering the address, the speaker had, in many places, been communing with himself, making audible notes of his observations, and, although not oblivious of his surroundings, he certainly had not taken his audience into his full confidence. If he had done so, I should not have felt the painful necessity of writing this note on him. One thing more about the article itself: to appreciate it, one should not read it by himself but have it read to him by some one else, —and read slowly and sonorously. There is a vein of thought underlying the superficial extent of the article, which a mere reader of it as it is printed, and not acquainted with the personality of the writer, would not detect.

My first acquaintance with Knox Johnson was made in January, 1905, when he came to Jubbulpore as Principal of the Government College. The College was then closed on

account of Plague. I went to the College Library one morning and was standing there looking at some books when in walked a man with what Mrs. Humphrey Ward calls 'a literary stoop' and a halting gait. On entering the library he accosted me by asking who I was and what I was doing there. I replied in Scotch fashion, by asking him in return whether he was the newly appointed Principal. (He had arrived only the night before and had not taken charge then.) He replied, that from some previous correspondence he supposed he was to be the Principal, but that at present his orders were to report himself at Jubbulpore, which he had done by wiring his arrival to the Secretariat, and for all that he knew officially, he was not sure whether he would be the Principal in the College or a Tahsildar in the town! A conversation begun with so much frankness and humour could not help drawing us towards each other. He asked me to show him round; and I began by showing him the library in which we were standing at that moment. He enquired if that was *all* the Library: I did not realise the significance of the word '*all*' until a few weeks later, when he asked me to pass an evening with him. It was then that I saw the house,—at which I visited the former Principals,—one of them in his bachelor days as well as after his marriage,—and which was then regarded as quite cosy and comfortable,—literally walled with books, with Knox Johnson standing in the middle of a room, greeting me humorously by asking me to sit on a pile of books which were lying on the floor, as he said he did not know where to make me sit, since he did not know where to put away his books,—*the house was too small for his Library!* Then I understood the meaning of the word '*all*' which he used in connexion with the College Library when I first met him.

Knox Johnson was a voracious reader. He was thoroughly conversant with the four Modern Languages which he calls in his

memorable address, the four keys to Modern European Thought. All the master-pieces of European literature were to be found in his house: one would find English, French, German and Italian books, interspersed with Latin and Greek masters, shelved together according to the progressive nature of their subjects. Every book contained marginal notes indicating the manner in which it had been read. Almost all the current periodicals on general literature in the four countries were purchased by him: it was a sight to see his weekly foreign mail containing papers and books, brought in,—not by his peon who was driven out of his wits on the first occasion he was sent for it,—but by the postal van! A visitor coming to his house on that day would find it difficult to make his way through this mass of literature strewn on the floor and scattered on almost all the available seats, in order to find a seat for himself.

To Knox Johnson literature was a means to an end: the language and history of a country were to be studied, not merely for the sake of knowing the condition of it, but for understanding the development and the current of thought in it. With him the literature and the history of a country were the *vade mecum* of the philosophy of its people. One can easily understand what exalted views of humanity are to be found in a man who thus derives philosophy from every literature and history! I always agreed with him in thinking that philosophy has its rational characteristic, quite as much as language or history has. No two nations can have their philosophies exactly alike; nor can philosophy be isolated from the environments where it has had its growth. It is for this potent reason that he was averse to the teaching of European Philosophy to Indian Undergraduates, as a subject isolated from the philosophy of their own country. He could name only two persons amongst his acquaintances, viz., Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Venis, who could teach

European Philosophy to Indian students,—because they both knew and understood Indian Philosophy from the point of view of an Indian.

He had similar views regarding the suitability of English Political Economy for Indian Undergraduates. English Political Economy is the political economy of a mercantile people,—a people with whom art, and not nature, is the prime producer, while the political economy of an Indian should be principally that of an agricultural people,—of a people for whom nature is a factor of prime importance. It is necessary for a mercantile people on the one hand to sell all they can, and the more they sell the better for them,—even if by so doing they should be required to import their daily necessities from elsewhere. But, on the other hand, for an Indian, his produce is of daily necessity to him, and hence it is no politics or economy for him to sell all, nor to import as much as possible from outside, because the import will not cease, while his produce may fail and thus render him a bankrupt: an Indian has no control over his producing agency, viz., nature, and hence his existence in the field of Political Economy is a precarious one, to safeguard which he must develop his own Political Economy.

I first came to talk on philosophy with Knox Johnson over the two volumes of Merz's "History of European Thought in the Nineteenth Century"—the first volume of which I first saw in his own library. There are a few chapters in those volumes which a non-mathematical reader does not relish. Assuming that Merz was a mathematician, Knox Johnson used to taunt me by saying that mathematical men never considered that there could be any other thought but mathematical thought. Curiously enough, the only branch of Physical Science he had any liking for, was Astronomy, for which, he admitted, he had to depend largely on mathematical deductions, which he had perforce to take for granted.

Knox Johnson was a versatile speaker on many subjects: he was a very entertaining conversationalist,—I might have added,—a very entertaining host as well. I have heard from one of his Oxford friends that he was an extremely social man in his Oxford days and was regarded as a boon companion by everybody who met him at Oxford. But latterly he kept rather too much to himself, although I found that, when drawn out of his shell, he was very genial and entertaining. But it is not thus alone that Knox Johnson can be set up as an ideal before us: it was an atmosphere of Western Literature which he carried about with him which singled him out as a representative of a type of men of whom we have very few specimens in India. We have had several instances of European scholars in India, *e. g.* Dr. Thibaut and Mr. Venis, who have been very close students of our literature and philosophy. There have been some who, if it were only to shake off their inanity, have made their surroundings a subject of their study; and there have been others who by force of their genius, penetrated the intricacies of our literature and philosophy and lived in the atmosphere of them. There is also the instance of a man of genius like Mr. Cox* of Muir Central College, who has brought a European fame with him. But of a purely European scholar who, although not one of the makers of thought, but being a close student of European thought, brings all his European literary atmosphere with him and bodily transplants himself with leaf, root and soil, in our midst, Knox Johnson was a unique specimen: he while living in his Indian surroundings in which he was placed, created, as it were, a simultaneous environment of his own with which he was in daily contact and whose growth and development pulsed in him to the same degree as it did

* Perhaps there are not many people who come across Mr. Cox daily who are aware that he is an original thinker of very high reputation in Europe, and that he is one of those who laid the foundation of the Calculus of Extension or what is popularly known as the Geometry of the Fourth Dimension.

in one who was living in the actual literary atmosphere of Europe. It was a marvellous feat of literary activity to keep the integrity of such an artificially created atmosphere without overlapping it with the one in which he found himself, but keeping it markedly distinct. During the brief period of my acquaintance with him I found him as if living in a dual world; he was sympathetic and interested in his physical surroundings, but all the while it would be clearly manifest to one who had a glimpse of his inner self that he was enveloped in the atmosphere of European thought. His incessant touch with European literature was a feature of life which we seldom come across in this country. After his tragic death in June last, Mr. Corbett, a young civilian, who was deputed to prepare an inventory of his property, while looking through the house, remarked to me that, on entering the house, he felt as if he was in a moment transported to a Don's rooms at Oxford or Cambridge,—one can hardly expect to see a house in this country furnished with books in such a style!

At the time the address referred to in the beginning of this article, was written, Knox Johnson was engaged in writing on "The Influence of Italian Literature on European Thought." The readers of "The Modern Review" will now understand why the writer of the address which formed the opening article of the first issue of the Review had his mind in two places as it were, in Allahabad, just as much as in Europe!

Knox Johnson's philosophy of matrimony was no less idealistic than his philosophy of literature and history. He did not believe that two persons,—a man and a woman,—were ever created whose ideas and temperaments could

exactly coincide. There is, therefore, more speculation than harmony in marriage. In contriving to arrive at an approximation of harmony there must be a considerable amount of "giving and taking" on both sides, which constitute the aggregation of what is called 'Love.' Now, 'giving and taking' with facility is only possible as long as the mind is both volatile and receptive, and that only happens in the prime of youth, as, while the mind grows, it gets what may be called 'weather-beaten' to the habits and customs to which it is subjected in actual life, and thus loses its flexibility and acquires a certain amount of rigidity which makes it immune to volatility and receptivity. It was, therefore, his opinion that, although one should not advocate child-marriage, the proper period for marriage was the prime of youth, when the mind is most impressionable and elastic. The first time when I heard him speaking on the subject, I felt that he was giving out the philosophy of his soul in contra-distinction to the philosophy of his *mind*. I could not help wondering if it were not the same soul which once spoke out with crying emphasis in "Love's Jest-book"*

"O Heart—O Heart! is it thy heart or mine—

Thy heart or mine, not great enough for Love?"

—and again questioned further on—"Is self insuperable?" Alas! that one could jet in the same vein while crying "All is broken tune, a song forgot!" What ruthless hand can pluck a volatile and a receptive heart and replace it by what is a nondescript rigid concoction!

A. C. DATTA.

* "Terra Tenebrarum, Love's Jest-book and Other Verses", by William Knox Johnson, (Trubner & Co.,) 1893.

THE PROVINCIAL CONFERENCES AT ALLAHABAD

EASTER week was the season of Provincial Conferences; all the provinces except Madras and the Punjab having held their Conferences then. The Nineteenth Bengal Provincial Conference was held at Berhampore with Mr. Dip Narain Singh of Bhagalpore as President; the Fourteenth Bombay Provincial Conference was held at Surat under the presidency of Sir Bhulchandra Krishna; the Third Central Provinces and Berar Provincial Conference was held at Raipur under the presidency of Rao Bahadur R. N. Mudholkar. At Raipur an Industrial and a Social Conference were accompaniments of the Provincial Conference; at Surat there was an Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, an Industrial Conference, a Social Conference, a Temperance Conference, an Orphanage Conference, and a Swadeshi Sammilan, of which the Industrial Conference had Mr. R. C. Dutt and the Swadeshi Sammilan had Dewan Bahadur Ambalal S. Desai for Presidents. The Exhibition was opened by the Hon'ble Mr. J. W. P. Muir-Mackenzie. The Fifteenth Madras Provincial Conference will be held at Vizagapatam at the beginning of June, and there will be as usual an Industrial Exhibition and an Industrial and a Social Conference along with it. The Fifth Punjab Provincial Conference will be held at Rawalpindi in the month of October.

The Conferences held at Allahabad were the first of their kind. It was a matter of just reproach against these Provinces that they considerably lagged behind other provinces in public-spiritedness; that they had no Association and held no Conference. It must be a source of satisfaction to all, that

at last the reproach has been removed. And every individual who helped in any way and to any extent in the bringing into existence of the Conference, deserves credit for rendering what we consider to be an important public service. The Working Committee at Allahabad were confronted by one great and one small difficulty. The former was an act of God; perhaps the latter, too, could not be helped. The fell pestilence which has for so long been taking toll from among the people of these Provinces along with those of other parts of India was in its full swing, as it is still, at the time of the Conference, and the attendance of delegates from the mofussil was thereby considerably affected. Still 133 delegates were present, of whom 67 were from the districts. And the Conference being but the first Conference, we have every reason to be satisfied with this number. The second difficulty referred to above was created by some persons at Allahabad who wanted the Conference to pass certain propositions and conduct its proceedings in a particular manner. It was the question of boycott which again was the bone of contention as at the Calcutta Congress. The Committee solved the difficulty by taking full advantage of some defects in the meeting held by the pro-boycott people to elect delegates, and keeping out those delegates altogether. Whether it was technically right in so acting, perhaps admits of a doubt. That the decision was responsible for the smooth conduct of business, is certain. The future sessions of the Conference will be held under the auspices of the United Provinces Association, which has again been started, in such manner as it may

deem fit, and one may, therefore, expect that similar technical questions will not create difficulties in the future.

Pandit Motilal Nehru of the High Court Bar, who presided at the Conference, delivered what was on the whole an able Presidential address. Pandit Motilal though not absolutely new to public life, was a comparative novice in the handling of public questions. But the skill as an advocate which has come to him by long years of successful practice at the bar stood him in good stead in advocating the cause of his countrymen from the Presidential chair of the Provincial Conference. His whole speech was marked by vigour and cleverness, and the subjects in the discussion of which these were most conspicuous were the Swadeshi and boycott, and the Hindu-Mahomedan problem. The attitude which he urged his countrymen to adopt in their dealings with Government is essentially the right attitude. Perhaps the weakest part of the speech was where the President discussed some important provincial questions beginning with the financial settlement between the Supreme and Provincial Governments. But the speakers at the Conference who moved and seconded the various Resolutions did ample justice to these questions. One word remains to be said before we take leave of Pandit Motilal and his speech. His conduct of the business of the Conference as well as its Subjects Committee earned for him just admiration. He showed a combination of firmness and conciliatoriness, an amount of tact, but for which so much business could not have been transacted in so short a time to the satisfaction of all.

The Resolutions passed at the Conference covered a very wide range. Political questions like the need for a further expansion and reform of the Legislative Council; administrative questions like the larger employment of Indians in the public service, and the separation of judicial from executive functions; questions of finance like the financial settle-

ment between the Provincial and Supreme Governments and the condition of District Board and Municipal finances; questions bearing on the material condition of the people like the Land Revenue question; and the question of education in all its branches,—these and several others engaged the time and attention of the Conference and were debated with equal ability and knowledge. Homage was paid to the new feeling in the country by a resolution being passed on the Swadeshi movement. And in accordance with the Resolution of the last Congress to that effect, a Provincial Congress Committee has been formed. The Conference will meet next year at Lucknow.

Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath was the President of the Industrial Conference. Lala Baij Nath has always been noted for his capacity for taking pains, and his address adds to his reputation in this regard. He has for years devoted great attention to questions touching the social and economic well-being of his countrymen, and, therefore, it was in the fitness of things that he was called upon to preside at the first Industrial Conference of the United Provinces. His masterly survey of the industrial situation in these Provinces is reprinted in this number of the *Modern Review* along with the papers read at the Conference, and we will not take up space here again in placing before the readers the principal points made therein. Suffice it to say that the Presidential address as well as the other papers, will all amply repay perusal. The principal resolutions passed at the Conference had reference to the sugar and weaving industries. The Conference rejoiced at the growth of Swadeshi sentiment in regard to both these industries and urged practical measures for increasing the supply of the home products;—in the one case, by improving the methods of sugarcane cultivation and the processes of extracting juice and the adoption of the most economical and up-to-date methods of

refining; in the other, by erecting a large number of spinning and weaving mills as well as by introducing the use of improved hand-looms among the weavers. It is noteworthy that at no sitting of the Industrial Conference, has a resolution been passed recording approval of the Swadeshi movement, but measures have been recommended the adoption of which will have the effect of ensuring its success. This is as it should be, for what is gained by Industrial Conferences which will simply echo the market cry that the Swadeshi movement is good and deserves support? As if anybody, too, had ever denied it. The Lieutenant-Governor, Sir John Hewett, sent a message of sympathy to the Conference, and he seems to be anxious to do a good deal for the success of the industrial movement. We must not omit to mention, before leaving the Industrial Conference, the practical work done at it in the shape of the formation of the United Provinces Pioneer Sugar Mills Company, Limited, with a capital of a *lakh* of rupees, of which Rs. 53,600 were subscribed on the spot. An excellent example this, which other Industrial Conferences should follow. It must be made a rule that no Industrial Conference should be held without forming at least one company for taking up some remunerative industry or another.

There remains the Social Conference on which to say a few words. Munshi Ganga Prasad Varma delivered an excellent Presidential address. Mr. Ganga Prasad is a friend of progress and a supporter of all movements

making for progress. Still he is an orthodox Hindu, and when we remember this and consider the boldness of his utterance, we cannot but feel the progress which the reform movement is noiselessly making amongst us. We attach great importance to the fact that from among orthodox Hindus of high caste should come an advocate of the modification of the Civil Marriage Act so as to do away with the declaration that those who marry in accordance with its provisions are not Hindus, and to make it applicable to all Hindus who wish to take advantage of its provisions. The Act is so imperfect on one or two vital points that it is a wonder that it should have ever been accepted by Mr. Keshub Chunder Sen. But perhaps that was all that could be got at the time. There is no excuse, however, for its retention as it is, and a well organized agitation must be set on foot to get it amended in the manner the best Indian opinion—Brahmo as well as non-Brahmo—demands. The ideas of educated India are changing fast, and social legislation is called for to give effect to the new opinions cherished by them. But there is a large mass of opinion against such legislation by Government as well as any amount of reluctance to undertake it on the part of Government. The unwillingness on either side will have to be overcome and the necessary new laws obtained, and this means much organized work on the part of the more advanced among us. We hope the workers will not be wanting when there is need for them.

C. Y. CHINTAMANI.

AN APPEAL TO THEOSOPHISTS

THE *Modern Review* for March, 1907, under the heading 'Mrs. Besant's political dicta' criticized some of the political views of the present *de facto* President of the Theoso-

phical Society. Mrs. Besant is a gifted orator and is undoubtedly a remarkable individual of our time. But she has not studied Indian history, Indian politics and Indian economics.

As such, she should not express any opinion on Indian political questions. Of course, she is otherwise a well read person, and it seems to me that her political opinions are formed on a study of the writings of Voltaire and Rousseau, whose works she must have read with great eagerness in those days when she was a pronounced atheist. Regarding the politics of Voltaire, Lecky writes:—

“In general, however, Voltaire was quite indifferent to representative Government, provided the Sovereign regulated his conduct by fixed law, gave religious and intellectual liberty to his people, and favoured administrative reform. Democratic Government was equally repugnant to his judgment and to his tastes. All his leanings were towards rank and culture and refinement; and while sincerely desiring to improve the material condition of the masses of mankind, he had very little genuine sympathy with them, and utter disbelief in their capacities. He could not forgive Shakespeare for his close contact and sympathy with common types of life and character, and for his complete disregard of the conventional elegancies and stateliness of the French stage; and his ignoble sneers at the humble origin of the Maid of Orleans, and at the poor relations of Rousseau, disclose a feeling which was expressed in innumerable passages in his confidential letters. ‘We have never’, he once wrote, ‘pretended to enlighten shoe-makers and servants.’ ‘The true public is always a minority. The rest is the vulgar. Work for the little public.’ ‘What the populace requires is guidance and not instruction—it is not worthy of the latter.’ ‘It is not the lay-labourer, but the good bourgeois who needs instruction.’—Lecky’s History of England, Vol. VI, pp. 200-201).

Rousseau was also not in favour of democratic Government. In his *Contrat Social*, he writes:—

‘A democratic government is suitable for small, an aristocratic government for moderate, a monarchical government for great States.’ ‘A democratic or popular government is more subject than any other to civil

wars and internal agitations, for there is no other government which tends so strongly and so constantly to change its form, and which requires more vigilance and courage to maintain.’ ‘If there were a people of gods, they would govern themselves as a democracy. So perfect a form of government is not suited for men.’ * * ‘The best and most natural order is, that the wise should govern the multitude, provided one is sure that they govern it for the profit of the multitude, and not for their own.’ ‘Government belongs to the small number, the superintendence of government to the people at large.’

He considered aristocratic government the best.

Mrs. Besant is reported to have said that she was disappointed with Mr. Dadabhai Naoroji’s Presidential address, because it contained nothing new or original. But is there anything new or original in her own dicta? Are they not, in the theory underlying them, the reiteration of the views of Voltaire and Rousseau, and, in the concrete suggestions of a royal viceroy, &c., a repetition of what the *Civil and Military Gazette* had said long ago and the Aga Khan recently?

At present the political views of Voltaire and Rousseau are discredited all over the civilized world. As long as Mrs. Besant had no official position in the Theosophical Society, she was at liberty to say anything that pleased her on political and social subjects without in the least compromising the position of that Society. But now if she goes against the trend of public opinion in matters social and political, she will make the Theosophical Society very unpopular in this country. Hence I appeal to those Theosophists who carry influence with her to advise her not to open her lips again to express her views on Indian political and social questions.

AN INDIAN F. T. S.

DMITRI IVANOWITSCH MENDELEEF

WHEN a great man disappears from our midst, we popularly speak of it in Indian parlance as the fall of an Indra or the overthrow of a Chandra. Such a loss of an Indra of the chemical kingdom occurred in the death of Prof. Mendeleef, who passed away about two months ago in his seventy-fourth year.

Mendeleef's life was devoted to the pursuit of chemistry; yet we hesitate to call him a chemist, as this term has been usurped by analysts and pharmacists, patent medicine vendors and bronco and blanco manufacturers. It would be almost a sacrilege to place



Mendeleef amongst this class of chemists, and so it is a relief to see that "The Chemist and Druggist," reputed to be the accredited organ of this class of people, is the first to point out that the most appropriate name for a worker like Mendeleef is "Scientific Seer."

To most of our readers, an enumeration of the details of his work would be unintelligible. We shall try, therefore, to exemplify his speculative insight by an attempt at an explanation of his life's greatest work.

Chemistry as a science seeks to investigate the change in the composition of substances, and as a result of these investigations, it has been established that all the material things can be decomposed into about seventy elementary substances, which cannot be further

split up. These correspond to the five *Bhutas* of the ancient Hindu philosophy, earth, water, fire, air and ether, though of course their numerical strength has been greatly increased by modern research. Now, according to a theory first propounded by Dalton, the Kanada Muni of England, these elements are composed of minute indivisible particles, called atoms, the atoms of the same element having the same weight, and those of different elements having different weights.

To find out unity amongst diversity is the highest feat of a cultured intellect. In search of such a uniform law connecting the different isolated elements, Mendeleef first enunciated his famous generalisation known as the Periodic law in the following way:—

"The elements if arranged in groups of seven, according to the weights of their atoms, exhibit an evident similarity in properties."*

These words seem very simple, but lo! by a flourish of the magical wand of the chemical conjurer, heaps of jarring atoms of different elements

"In order to their stations leapt," and there was order and harmony in chemistry instead of the prevailing chaos and confusion.

This sort of arrangement of the elements may fitly be compared to a musical scale, containing the notes,

Do, Re, Mi, Fa, Sol, La, Si,
Do, etc.,

higher octaves being placed just beneath these notes. If any note be missing from the scale, we can tell at once from its position, its pitch and other properties.

* A similar law under the name of "Law of Octaves" was first advanced by the English chemist Newlands, who, however, failed to see the full importance and utility of such a law.

By such analogical considerations Mendeleef predicted the existence and properties of three different elements, and it was a signal triumph of his life to see his predictions verified to the letter by the discovery of the elements Gallium, Germanium and Scandium, named after the countries of their respective discoveries. Ages ago, the poets sang of the music of the spheres. It was reserved for a scientist to discover the music of the atoms. Carlyle says that a thinking man is the worst enemy the prince of darkness has; but for a scientist or a student of science, a thinking man is the best friend he ever can have. For the labour of the student is half lessened by the systematic generalisation achieved by right thinking, and if he cares for work, he will find ample food in the ever-full granary of a happy thought.

And though in the world of thought, Mendeleef's work was epoch-making, yet he never overrated the importance of his work. He knew that a higher step must be taken, a greater generalisation advanced, before chemistry could be made a perfect science. His work in this respect may aptly be compared to that of Kepler in Astronomy, though he did not, out of modesty, lay any claim to similar rank among workers in chemistry. He announced the nearer approach of a coming Newton in chemistry with as fervent a faith as that of John the Baptist who "bare witness of one, mightier than he, who was to come after him."

Mendeleef's great work entitled "Principles of Chemistry" is a classic in the domain of chemical literature.

"It is not easy," says Professor Thorpe, a very acute and sober critic, "to avoid speaking of this work in terms which savour of hyperbole. Most treatises on chemistry owe a great deal to their predecessors. Indeed there is probably no form of literature which so obviously proceeds on evolutionary principles. But Mendeleef's great work is a thing apart—something *sui generis*. The bare facts of chemistry in greater or less detail are common to all such works,

but most of them, we fear, would be classed by Lamb among the books which are no books. It is not so with Mendeleef's 'Principles.' In its insight, in its grasp of detail and principle, in its extraordinary power of co-ordination, in its suggestiveness and in its wealth of speculation, it is a book among books, and may be read with profit and pleasure occasionally tinged with amusement by every true student, no matter how old. To those who had the good fortune to know its author personally, it reflects the man in every page. Even the footnotes are instinct with character and originality."

Mendeleef was of wide liberal views and intensely national. A cursory glance at the book serves to confirm this impression. The work seems to be imbued with patriotic fervour from beginning to end. As primarily intended for the use of Russian students, though it has since its first publication been translated into English and German, the book is full of reference to the work of Russian chemists and deals with industrial chemistry from a Russian point of view. It must be mentioned in this connection that it is due to the initiative of Mendeleef that the monopoly in the Baku petroleum industry was abolished. Since then the history of this important industry has been one of uninterrupted prosperity. And thus one of the commonest necessities of life, cheap burning oil, has been supplied by central Russia to the four corners of the old hemisphere.

Another great service which Mendeleef rendered to his country and for which he may justly claim a place in the grateful memory of his countrymen is his patriotic attempt to enrich his mother-tongue with scientific literature. Before the sixties of the last century, German was the scientific language of Russia, while French was the diplomatic medium. Mendeleef discontinued the use of the former language, and began, to the dismay and despair of his brother chemists in the more Western part of Europe, to contribute his original articles in Russian to the then newly founded Russian chemical society. One of the writers of this article well remembers

how one of his class-friends at Edinburgh, now occupying a distinguished position in the chemical world, was compelled to learn Russian with enormous labour, so that he might not be deprived of the treasures locked up in the irregular orthography and still more irregular syntax of that Slavonic language.

The question of education on national lines has been brought prominently to the front in our country during the present year. Science is an important item in the curricula of the present system of education. But in this connection we are very apt to forget that if the principles of science are to be diffused amongst the majority of our countrymen, the vehicle of information should be the vernacular and not any foreign language, however rich it may be.* In this particular, as in many others, we may, if we like, borrow a leaf from the example of Japan. The scientists of that country realised very soon that in order to nationalise a science, to make it grow spontaneously on their own soil instead of rearing it up in the hot-house as an exotic plant, scientific education, at least the elementary portion of it, should be imparted in their own mother-tongue. With this object in view, they have recently begun lecturing, in the universities of Tokyo and Osaka, even on abstruse principles of science in Japanese.

In these days of Swadeshism, we might expect some of our readers to enquire why we are commemorating the services of a foreign scientist instead of those of national heroes like Sitaram or Pratapaditya or Sivaji. It

*Vide Preface to *Navya Rasayani Vidya* (in Bengali).

may be urged in extenuation of our guilt, the enormity of which, of course, we must admit, that science belongs to no particular locality or lineage, it respects no distinction of race or creed, nor does it recognise any national or geographical boundaries. However, if the patriotic cravings of our countrymen be still unsatisfied, we must acknowledge that we have a defence, which, we are sure, will be unreservedly accepted, ready in our sleeves. Mendeleef is, after all, an Asiatic,* also being born and brought up in his early years at Tobolsk in Siberia. The East is proverbial for exuberance of imagination. Who knows whether the periodic law would not have remained buried in the womb of futurity, had not the imagination of young Dmitri been fed by the wild ice-clad prairies of Siberia and nurtured in an Asiatic environment? And would our readers believe it, he knew to some extent Sanskrit literature and philosophy also, as we gather from his talk about the Sanskrit numerals, *eka*, *dvi*, etc., in his nomenclature and from his contemplations on the Buddhist Nirvana? So the East can claim Mendeleef equally with the West, as in him the imagination of an Oriental was happily wedded to the activity of an Occidental.

*It should be remembered that the first chemist of Indian blood was Lourenço; a fellow-student of Sir Henry Roscoe and a pupil of Bunsen at Heidelberg in the early fifties of the last century. He was a native of Goa, but as his own country had no need of him in those dark days, he went to Portugal to try his fortune and became Professor of chemistry at Lisbon.

P. C. RAY,
BIDHUBHUSHAN DATTA.

SAVITRI—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

I

WAS born in the year one thousand eight hundred and sixty-two, and to-day while

I take up my pen with a resolution to submit to paper the trials and experiences of a Brahman woman, I have attained my fifty-fifth year. I am an old woman. My hair is grey, my features are heavy; and my heart is full of feelings of joy and woe which, while I write, make my feeble hand quake.

I would never have done what I have now made up my mind to do—to write my biography. I have no achievements to chronicle. I have no adventures to recount. But it is very true that to the lot of a single human being are allotted sorrows so many and so great. It was my fate, in the last thirty years, to enjoy a position and a name envied by my friends. It was my fate, too, to suffer reverses which have procured me the sympathy of my deadliest enemies. And as my experience of life has been so vast and so varied, and as man always likes to know how his fellow-creatures loved and lived, I have thought it proper to write my own history.

II

As I began, and as every one begins, I was born in the year one-thousand eight hundred and sixty-two. I was the sixth child of a happy father. Our home was the richest in the village. As far as the eye could reach, all around the village extended vast fields of rice, waving with green and losing themselves in the distant horizon. All those fields and all those who worked and lived upon them acknowledged my father as their master. I remember very well the innumerable wagons of paddy incessantly pouring their heavy loads into the granaries during the harvest season. I

remember very well the tall majestic form of my father, conscious of his great power and wealth, standing out, nodding with a dignity all his own to his servants, and counting each wagon as it passed. I remember, too, my brothers, young noisy fellows, full of high spirit and audacity, enforcing their authority on those who conveyed the paddy to and fro. Children of the richest man in the village, born to an estate rich and extensive, they were the very pride of the village. And, as it is always the case, many mothers with daughters to marry cast eager eyes on them, but always shrank back, for was not my father the richest landed proprietor there and could any minor citizen have the audacity to claim their hands for his daughters? But well do I remember how occasionally some old man or woman would come with a bundle of palm-leaf leaves to consult the horoscope of some one of my brothers. On such occasions there used to be some bustle. The guest, who, if everything should go well, would soon claim a close relationship with the family, had to be properly entertained. My brothers were advised to behave themselves, while my mother, an old woman with a remarkable capacity for business, so managed things that all who once visited the house, went away with a great admiration for my father's house, my brothers' accomplishments, my mother's hospitality and the general excellence of everything that they saw there.

III

While quite young I was handed over to the tender mercies of an old heartless man who was the village school-master, to study Sanskrit and my vernacular. All that I remember of those early days is that I often used to hide in the

dark corners of my father's house to avoid going to his cursed presence, and to elude the search which would be made in all detail throughout the house and the compound by my master, but above all, by my brothers, who were my chief tyrants. The fact is, the village school-master made better and freer use of his cane than of his learned tongue. He would have us get ten or twelve lines by heart, or write a couplet twenty times, and at every slight mistake down came his cane with all its force. He was the terror of all the school-going children in the village. And daughter though I was of the richest man in the village upon whom depended his very living, the old fellow had neither any regard for my position nor any affection for my tender years.

But no doubt I made rapid progress under him. I could read any Sanskrit book, of course without understanding it. I could write my vernacular. I could add up any amounts of Rupees, annas and pies, and knew the arithmetical tables by heart. In Sanskrit I could repeat couplet after couplet written by authors like Valmiki and Kalidasa. Of all the girls of the village it was mine to win the prize. And the old school-master who was the terror of the boys and girls there, often spoke to me affectionately. He strongly recommended to my father that I should be taught music; and as my father had enough means at his disposal, he secured the services of a famous musician from a neighbouring village, under whose training I soon became an expert singer. I had a good voice, and, according to my Music Master, understood the meaning of what I sang, and was, consequently, able to sing with great effect. Thus, before I was ten years of age, I had many qualifications to recommend me to a good husband. I could read—I could write—I could sing. And a husband was soon forthcoming.

IV.

As a child I well remember to have always enjoyed the love of my parents. I was the

first daughter of my father. I was reported to be a good scholar, and often in his vacant hours he would invite his friends and entertain them with my songs. On these occasions I always felt shy, and would never sit before the audience without the support of my mother. Often, too, my father would ask me to copy a document or a letter for him, and his approbation of my work used to be a great source of pleasure to me. But while progressing rapidly with my Sanskrit and my singing my mother always took care that I did not neglect to learn the duties of a housewife. She taught me to make a curry. She made me light the fire in the stove and clean the vessels, and took every opportunity to teach me the responsibilities of the mistress of a house. Young as I was, I soon grew to be a source of help to my mother. I had four younger sisters. I took them to the village stream which ran limpidly along the northern extremity of the village; I attended to their toilette and dress; and relieved my mother of a good deal of trouble. So much so, that though I was only ten, my mother often used to look forward with the greatest concern to the time when I should have to go away to the house of him who was yet to marry me.

Even as a young girl I had the greatest faith in God. Standing waist-deep in the murmuring stream that flowed smiling and dimpling beneath me, I loved to look up and pray—pray in a silent, deep and wondering way to Him who made the sun shine gloriously—to Him who led the small stream beneath me in knotted confusion from yonder hill, where like a thread of silver I could see the waters fall perpendicularly. I loved to look around me and hold my breath in awe at the inexplicable grandeur of the scene. The fields running up to the hills to the north, the village standing on a slight eminence to the south, while towards the west and the east the fields ran, a smiling expanse of green, waving and whispering, beautifully interspersed with

a huge banyan and there a tall palmyra. away to the south, rose another mountain lly tall as the mountain to the north, and I would I ask my father about their height, t their distance from the village, about cause of the well-known forest fire which I almost every evening be seen lighting ie rocks and skies. Coming away from scene of grandeur, I would go straight to village temple, and there prostrating myself before the image, silently pray for the life and prosperity of my parents and hers—as yet the only people in the world hom my heart ran out.

V

was on one of these mornings when returning from the temple that I found our house bustle. Mr. Narayana had come from the village. Mr. Narayana was acknowledged a very rich man; he was unquestionably the most highly educated man in the surrounding country. For more than twenty years had been a District Judge in an important district. They said he was a very strict ; though many persons—whose cases he dismissed or passed therein, according to a sense of justice and morality, a wrong ment,—averred that he used to take large fees. Whatever the truth might be, he looked upon with great fear. He had retired from public service. He had purchased a large tract of land, and was himself educating his three sons. Now and then Deputy Collector or the District Munsiff used to visit him. It was he alone who had married. My father, more wealthy and mainly more respected, kept no carriage. In fact is, my father lived as his fathers had—simply. Mr. Narayana, on the other hand, had seen much of the world, and liked, therefore, to have little luxuries of his own. Though his village had a population of nearly a hundred people, and though there were Courts in the vicinity, none cared to pay the expenses of litigation and put

up with the law's delay. They applied to Mr. Narayana to settle their disputes—for, was he not a judge? And so he was a little lord in his village. He was very liberal, and so the poor loved him. He was proud and self-willed, and so the villagers feared him. He was rich and luxurious, and so others envied him. But Mr. Narayana was a very superior man, and great indeed must he have been when the most silent and the most retired man in all the world, my grave old father, acknowledged his superiority and especially enjoined my mother to personally superintend the feast prepared for him.

VI

And so Mr. Narayana came; and came in his palanquin, borne by eight of his servants. The whole village was gathered before our house. While my father was receiving him and acknowledging, in his few words, the honor done him by his visiting his house, Mr. Narayana had a look of pleasure and a nod of sympathy for all assembled there. He could make himself loved; and when he was taken into the parlour, he took out a couple of rupees and asked my elder brother to distribute it to the poor.

Why had Mr. Narayana come? The whole village had only one answer to make—to arrange for the marriage of his eldest son with me. Yes, I was to be allied to that great house, where, it was whispered, even the women knew English, where certainly, at any rate, there was coffee. "She deserves a prince," said an old woman, as I was hurrying past the village to my aunt, who lived a little out of the way, to bring her home, for a grand festival was being arranged in honor of the distinguished guest. "Look here, Baislmi," said another woman to her daughter, "if you study well and sing as sweet as Savitri, you too can wed a rich husband." I passed on. I felt buoyant. The temple lay between my aunt's house and the stream. Here I paused. On looking up to the scene which had so

often kept me entranced in its majestic grandeur it attracted me with an unusual splendour. The fields waved with a deeper green. The winds sang more sweetly among the leaves. The temple itself wore a very solemn aspect. I fell down and prayed—prayed to the god—prayed to the sun—prayed to the fields—prayed to the winds—prayed to all those grand, inexplicable and eternal objects—prayed—I do not know what.

VII

The feast was over. The guest was sitting in the parlour. My father, too, was sitting on the same mat. Many betel-leaves had been eaten. Tobacco had disappeared from the plate before them wholesale into their mouths. It was then that my father owned my presence before them. Yes, my father wanted me to sit and sing to him in his presence. Mr. Narayana had wished to see and hear his future daughter-in-law. He had expressed a desire that before he consulted the horoscopes of his son and mine, he would see me; so that, so he said, he might go away with his whole heart thrown, before God, into the arrangements for the marriage.

My mother came to call me. I did not know what I should do. I was shy. I was afraid. With a shriek half of confusion and half of triumph I jumped and ran away, away to the farthest end of the house. But there was my elder brother. He caught me up in his arms, kissed me and took me to my mother, who dressed and adorned me with great care. "No"—said my father, and that was the first time I remember to have seen him smile—"no, she needs no ornaments. Mr. Narayana can see her as she is—she needs no borrowed feathers."

With trembling steps, modest beyond my age, supported by my mother and accompanied by my sisters all tripping behind me, I approached, hesitatingly and my head bent full low. Mr. Narayana took me up in his arms, and most softly and affectionately placed a

sovereign in my hands. I looked up to thank him. He was so very good, kind and loving. Why should I be afraid of him? Why had I ever been afraid of him at all? And so, when I was asked to sing I sang full freely. I had no fear. I felt no trembling. But sweetly and softly flowed my songs. When I had finished, my father took me up in his arms and placing his hand upon my head blessed me. "The great God in Heaven, He knows how dearly I wish that this girl should be my daughter-in-law," said Mr. Narayana. "And if He wills it, and if the horoscopes agree, she shall be yours"—replied my father.

VIII

That same day another guest was entertained; he had come to get the horoscope of my elder brother. In giving the bundle of palmyra leaves in which was written the future of my brother, which was supposed, at any rate, to give an account of what he would be, my father made it distinctly understood that he cared more for the girl than for her money. "A rumour has got about," said my father, "that I will demand three thousand Rupees for my son. This"—continued he, "is a lie, utterly unfounded. I had never had the intention; nor had I by either word or deed given any ground to the people to build such conjectures upon." My father is not a man of many words. And what he says is said once for all. Everywhere it created a great deal of surprise. Persons, who before trembled to stand before him, now approached him not merely to claim friendship but an intimate relationship. But my father was always the stern grave old-fashioned man that he was and no one who could not tell a simple truth ever found it possible to stand up to him and give him word for word or glance for glance. He would entertain each man with the same stern gravity. He had nothing very much to tell them. "Allow my wife to see your daughter—Allow my wife to see your niece. What she wills is law." And there were not

ay girls who could win my mother's approval. My mother cared more for modesty, dience and meekness than beauty, wealth or position. As our family was rich, many families sought alliance with us. But my mother gave the strictest attention to the character of her future daughter-in-law, and many rich and reputed families were sur-
 ised that their daughters, beautiful beyond description, accomplished beyond doubt, were passed over. "I have lived with Savitri for years"—said my mother, with tears in her eyes—"and if I should ever have a daughter-in-law, it shall be one like her or—never."

A daughter-in-law like Savitri or never—"my mother's words still ring in my ears. Like me or never—"and what was I? What qualities had I other than those possessed by other girls of my own age? I knew how to sing that did it matter to my mother whether I sang so or not? She was always busy. From morning till late in the evening she had her hands full of work. Her hands were never idle. At four in the morning, when the sun is far adown in the East, could a small light be seen casting a pale shred of light from the inner portion of our house—the house of the best man in the village. The light is in my mother's hand. She has risen against the dawn to her work. She has left her husband sleeping peacefully on his bed, and standing in the kitchen, with that light in her hand, she prays her silent prayer to the Great God Almighty, allowing for her and for her children the best day in the world. Hers is a silent and fervent prayer. Then, the lamp finds its usual place, and getting near the heaps of vessels, one containing water, another the remnants of curry prepared the day before, she flings the contents of each to its proper place. And w—cree—cree—the bucketful of water is drawn up from the well. This is the sound that wakes the village. The cock itself, it would seem, waits for her to pull the bucket and thus proclaim that the day is dawning.

Before the village is half awake she has finished all the preliminaries of her morning duties. The vessels are cleaned. The inner portion of the house—and the house is not a small one—is all well swept and watered. In front of the house could be seen pictures and drawings by her own hand made with the white powder of a particular stone. The priest of the village temple, himself a very holy man, could see a dark form pass the shadow of the holy banyan tree that shades the temple as he entered the holy premises with flowers and water in hand. The dark form is my mother's. She has done her morning's work. And before the sun rises she has bathed in the limpid stream, offered prayers in the temple and made the customary rounds among the mages there. When we rise, it shall be to find the house a heaven, so pure—so clean—so bright, an angel would seem to inhabit the house. Everything silent but everything ready. The front of the house so bright that one might, as the fable goes, expect the Goddess Saraswati to enter and look in there. My father is always a late sleeper, and when he wakes up he would find everything in order, and his wife waiting upon him to do his bidings at the merest nod. Thus the morning advances. Father goes to the fields. Mother superintends the vegetable garden or the coolies engaged in the paddy room. Late in the afternoon return my father and my brothers and after attending to their comforts, my mother dines. Then the evening comes on apace. The same story is repeated. Flowers are gathered—cows are milked—food is prepared—everything attended to alone and personally by a woman, the wife of the richest man in the village, one who had it in her power to employ a hundred servants. This is a picture so simple and so holy that if ever I should be proud of my sex it would be because my mother was one of them.

Even this mother had said—"Like Savitri or never—". These words rang ever in my

ears. I am useful to my mother?—She finds something in me worthy to be wished for? Can it be that I could read? What matters it to her whether I could read or not. I thought, but alas! there was nothing that I could find in me worth wishing for. “Like Savitri or never—” those words of my mother averted a great danger from me—the danger of pride.

Yes—I had begun to feel something which, now that I recollect it, was pride. I began to look down upon my play-mates. I never desired to associate with them; and when once or twice I was specially sent for, I refused on the ground that I could not spare time. It slowly began to dawn upon me that I was immensely superior to all those whom I called friends. I was more wealthy. I was to be married in Mr. Narayana’s house. And Mr. Narayana himself had taken me up in his arms and said that he would have me and me alone to wed his son. All these thoughts made me proud. But all these were shattered. My mother valued me. Yes, but then it was for—not my songs—not my learning—not my beauty—but my goodness. If I was good I was all that she valued in a girl—if I was not good I was nothing. I learnt this truth out of this—“Like Savitri or never.”

IX

The horoscopes have been examined and they agree well.—Savitri is to be married to Mr. Narayana’s son—the marriage will be on a very grand scale—the marriage is to take place in the village. The news flew fast. It spread far and wide. Speculation was rife. A rich man’s daughter and a rich man’s son. The expenses will be lavish. The preparations will be magnificent. The people waited for the announcement of the day with impatience. Even in my own house my father showed a great deal of restlessness. He gave instructions to clean the rooms, to sweep the compounds, to cut the grass and to polish the vessels.

It would fall flat on the readers to give a detailed account of a Hindu marriage; it would be uninteresting to recount every little incident. It is impossible to present before the reader a continuous picture of all that takes place without taking considerable space. The number of relatives that arrive almost every hour with *their* relatives and children, the great pandal erected to give better accommodation, as well as to notify the importance of the marriage, the rush of people and things. Ten days before the marriage, begins a confusion which lasts twenty days after. One can see children lying fast asleep in almost every corner, with not even so much as a covering above or below. Their mothers would be busy elsewhere, either making a curry, preparing a sweetmeat, or, what is a more common employment, finding fault with either the dress, bearing or conduct of others. And throughout the house could be heard the cries of children—the clashing of vessels—the wagging of tongues—the rushing of people and everything that goes to make confusion worse confounded.

X

Savitri is to be married. And who was she? How does she look—how does she walk—how does she speak—her tone, is it high or low—her voice, is it sweet or shrill—her hair, is it long or short, abundant or scanty—what is her colour, the colour of her face, the colour of her lips—is she fat or lean—is she long or short—is she sane or insane—is she a woman or a devil? These are the questions in the village of Mr. Narayana. A new inhabitant is to settle amongst them for ever and a day. And curiosity, naturally, was tuned to the highest pitch as to who and what I was. My future father-in-law had given it out that I was an angel—knew how to sing—knew how to read—knew how to behave. But that would never satisfy them. Mr. Narayana’s mother and daughters, three in number, with three old women of the village, came to examine

—very much as you would go to inspect a horse you are about to purchase. They came up in their arms,—one stared like a hawk into my face, and poor trembling me, felt half-ashamed. So many eyes peering at me, and how could I stand it all? It was a very difficult operation, and as soon as my mother-in-law turned away, I gave a start—and disappeared. “That girl is active” my mother heard an old woman say. “She has not very long hair—” put in another woman. “I am afraid she has a little something wrong in her right eye”—was the passing observation of one of my future sisters-in-law. “The hole in her left ear is a little out of the line”—was the only fault another daughter of Mr. Narayana had to find. “Her feet are very tiny and charming—I should like to kiss them,” said the youngest of her children, enough to be heard by all. Even I heard it, once I felt half bold to rush and take her up in my arms and kiss her, smothered with kisses. “She is a very beautiful girl—” said my mother-in-law—“but what?” But what?—It was to be seen.

XI

The next day it was my mother's turn to take the son of Mr. Narayana. And, accordingly, accompanied by my brothers and sisters, two or three neighbouring people—those old women who have, at least pretence to have, a great knowledge of the world—went to his village. My mother came evidently well pleased. The village, she said, was a very secluded one. It had not many houses, and of all the houses my father-in-law's was the largest, highest and richest. There was no stream or river near, but there was a tank which had very pure water, while near the house, that is within the grounds belonging to the house, were two huge wells, one of which, my father-in-law had said, “never dry up,” and to which the whole village resort in summer.” The whole house showed that every hand was managing it. Everything

was in order; and there were several men all around “who had evidently instructions to obey us,” put in my mother, “to judge from the very obsequious way they attended upon us.” “As to my son-in-law—” she said at last, and then remained silent for a long time. She then gazed up as if to pray. My brothers had their opinions to give, but before my mother, would they have the courage to speak a word? Our training was very different. Before our parents, face to face, we could never utter a word of our own, nay, unless specially called, we never stood before them or sought them either. And when we had any requests to make or answers to give we did it with a respect which their high character and majestic faces unconsciously constrained us to feel and which we, in our affection, were proud to offer. Loose talk, as I have since had opportunities to observe, that often prevailed in rich families where the parents, idle and having nothing to do, took to talking to their children on irrelevant, personal or sometimes indecent topics, was unknown in our family. There was ever a grave atmosphere pervading the house. And should any loud laughter or shrieks ever reach either my father's or my mother's ears, they insisted that we should pray to God to pardon us. They considered it a sin to be merry. Life in our family was a very stern serious affair. My parents seemed to work as if they had a definite end to achieve, though, for aught we knew and for aught the villagers knew, they had no other than to strive for their own happiness as also the happiness of their children. Thus surrounded and educated, my brothers waited for my mother to retire before they could give vent to their thoughts. And my mother suddenly stopped after saying, “As to my son-in-law—” After many minutes, starting as from a dream, she took hold of my hand—“God be praised, you have a good husband; but your mother—”. But what? It was to be seen.

S. PARUKUTTY,

(To be continued.)

THE ENGLISH CONNECTION WITH SCOTLAND

THE English connection has not benefited any country or any nation on the face of the earth so much, as it has done Scotland and the Scotch nation. Three centuries ago Scotland was inhabited by a race of people who were hardly removed from fierce savagery and hardly any traces of civilization were perceptible in "Caledonia, stern and wild." The natives—whether of the Highlands or of the Lowlands—were cutting one another's throats. Regarding the Highlands, Lecky writes:—

"In the beginning of the eighteenth century the Highlands were almost wholly inaccessible to the traveller. They were inhabited by a population speaking a language different from that of England, scarcely ever intermarrying with Lowlanders, living habitually with arms in their hands, sunk in the lowest depths of barbarism, and divided into a number of kingdoms that were practicably as distinct and independent as those of the Heptarchy."

The Highlanders owed allegiance to different chiefs. These chiefs were little better than robbers and dacoits. According to an English traveller

"Almost every chief had in some remote valley, in the depths of woods and rocks, whole tribes of thieves in readiness to let loose against his neighbours when for some public or private reason, he did not judge it expedient to resent openly some real or imaginary affront."

Another English traveller wrote:—

"Many gentlemen in the Highlands shun one another's company, lest they should revive a quarrel that happened between their forefathers, perhaps three hundred years ago."

The Highlanders were in the habit of setting out in expeditions against the Lowlands for the purpose of 'cattle-lifting', and when undertaking them, they 'prayed as earnestly to Heaven for success as if they were engaged

in the most laudable design.' "At one time," says Lecky, "every young chief, on coming of age, was expected in this manner to prove his manhood."

Regarding the abject poverty and shocking immorality of the Scotch people, one Scotchman named Fletcher of Saltoun wrote:—

"Many thousands of our people are at this day dying for want of bread * * *. There are at this day [i. e. 1698] in Scotland 200,000 people begging from door to door. These are not only in no way advantageous, but a very grievous burden to so poor a country; and though the number of them be perhaps double to what it was formerly by reason of this present great distress, yet in all times there have been about 100,000 of those vagabonds, who have lived without any regard or subjection either to the laws of the land or even to those of God and nature—fathers incestuously accompanying with their own daughters, the son with the mother, and the brother with the sister."

The natives of Scotland were by no means a law-abiding people. Buckle in his *History of Civilization* says:—

"There have been more rebellions in Scotland than in any other country, and the rebellions have been very sanguinary as well as very numerous. The Scotch have made war upon most of their Kings and put to death many. To mention their treatment of a single dynasty, they murdered James I. and James III. They rebelled against James II. and James VII. They laid hold of James V. and placed him in confinement. Mary they immured in a castle and afterwards deposed. Her successor, James VI., they imprisoned; they led him captive about the country, and on one occasion attempted his life. Towards Charles I. they showed the greatest animosity, and they were the first to restrain his mad career."

There were two measures which raised Scotland from barbarism to civilization, viz. (1) education and (2) development of industrial life. An act was passed in 1696 establishing

ools in every parish. Regarding the beneficial effects resulting from the system of parochial schools, Lecky writes:—

Though the material well-being of the people, even in the most prosperous parts of Scotland, was during the greater part of the eighteenth century considerably below the average standard in England, though Scotch poor in the Lowlands remained rather consciously deficient in the graces and the courtesies of life, the level of intelligence among them was soon distinctly higher, the proportion of national faculties put into active exercise was distinctly greater, than in any other part of the Empire. The impulse which was created in primary education was soon followed by a corresponding improvement in higher culture. The zeal of the Scotch student became notorious, and in the Lowlands at least the standard of general knowledge among the gentry was perceptibly higher than in England.

Another important measure which helped to civilize these Scotch barbarians was the substitution of the English tongue for their Celtic dialects. The parochial schools were intended to root out those dialects and spread the knowledge of English. The famous Dr. Johnson in his *Tour in the Hebrides*, wrote:—“Their language is attacked on every side. Schools were erected in which English alone is taught, and there were lately some who thought it reasonable to use them a version of the Holy Scriptures, that they might have no monument of their native tongue.”

In the Highlands there were no roads but mere foot tracks. The construction of roads helped greatly in civilising the savage hordes of Scotland. Lecky says that—

“The place which this enterprise [i. e., construction of roads] occupies in history is not a great one, but a few measures have contributed so largely to the moral, material, and political civilisation of Scotland.” But it was the development of industrial life to which should be mainly attributed the advancement of the natives of Scotland in civilisation. The English are a nation of shop-keepers; while they have destroyed the industries of other nations and countries, they are forced to help the Scotch in the development of their industrial life. We will quote Lecky and see how the English were obliged

to give the helping hand to the Scotch in developing their industrial life. This well-known Irish author says that—

“The national poverty and the unhappy position of Scotland could not save it from the commercial jealousy of its neighbour. Though part of the same empire, it was excluded from all trade with the English colonies; no goods could be landed in Scotland from the plantations unless they had been first landed in England, and paid duty there, and even then they might not be brought in a Scotch vessel. The trade with England itself was at the same time severely hampered.”

The natives of Scotland were not the people to submit tamely—as the Irish and Indians have done—to these unjust and unfair measures and trade proceedings of England.

“Though members of the British Empire,” writes Lecky, “though they bore their part of the burdens and the dangers of the British wars, the Scotch were excluded by their neighbours from all trade with the colonies; and they now resolved to consult exclusively their own interests and dignity. An Act was passed declaring that after the death of the reigning Queen, the Sovereign of Scotland should have no right of declaring war without the consent of the Parliament. Another and still more startling measure, called the Bill of Security, provided that, on the death of the Queen without issue, the Estates should meet to name a Protestant successor; but that this should not be the same person who would succeed to the crown of England unless a treaty had been first made securing ‘the honor and Sovereignty of the Scotch crown and kingdom, the freedom, frequency, and power of parliaments, the religion, freedom, and trade of the nation, from English or any foreign influence.’ * * *

“These were bold measures, and they showed plainly that the spirit of the nation could no longer be trifled with. Scotland could not directly compel England to grant her free trade, but she could proclaim herself a separate kingdom, and by the assistance of France she might have maintained her position . . . ‘The whole nation,’ said an observer, ‘was strangely inflamed, and a national humor of being independent of England fermented strongly among all sorts of people without doors.’”

England had to yield and the Union with Scotland was effected in 1707.

“England, at the expense of commercial concessions, at which her manufacturers were deeply indignant,

obtained a strength in every contest with her enemies such as she had never before enjoyed. Scotland, at the price of the partial sacrifice of a nationality to which she was most passionately and legitimately attached, acquired the possibility of industrial life, and raised her people from a condition of the most abject wretchedness." (Lecky).

Mr. Stead has described how the Union of England with Ireland was effected by "Free Rape." But the Union of England with Scotland was brought about by "corruption."

Writes Lecky:—

"The sacrifice of a nationality is a measure which naturally produces such intense and enduring discontent that it never should be exacted unless it can be accompanied by some political or material advantages to the lesser country that are so great and at the same time so evident as to prove a corrective. Such a corrective in the case of Scotland was furnished by the commercial clauses. *The Scotch Parliament was very arbitrary and corrupt, and by no means a faithful representation of the people. The majority of the nation were certainly opposed to the Union, and, directly or indirectly, it is probable that much corruption was employed to effect it.*"

The lines put in italics will show the nature not of Oriental but Occidental diplomacy. The natives of England had no love for their Scotch neighbours. Lecky says that—

"Hume wrote in 1765 that the English rage against the Scotch was daily increasing, and he added that it was such that he had frequently resolved never to set his foot on English soil. At a time when the passion for representing plays of Shakespeare with dresses that were historically correct was at its height, it was suggested that Macbeth should wear tartan instead of the modern military dress; but Garrick rejected the proposal, not because it was historically incorrect, but because the appearance of the Scotch national dress would infallibly damn the piece. . . . As late as 1771, when Smollett published "Humphry Clinker," the last and perhaps the greatest of his novels, it was assailed with a storm of obloquy on the ground that it was written to defend the Scotch."

It would seem the English considered the Scotch to be a nation of liars.

"Like the generality of Scotch, Lord Mansfield had no regard to truth whatever." (Fitzmaurice's *Life of Shelburne*, I. 89).

The Union greatly benefited Scotland; for perfect free trade was established between England and Scotland, and all the markets of the English plantations were thrown open to Scotland as freely as to her neighbour.

"The commercial clauses of the Union laid the foundation of the material prosperity of Scotland, and they alone reconciled the intelligent Scotchmen to the partial sacrifice of their nationality." (Lecky).

The reasons for the Scotch getting the better of the English are due to two facts, *viz.*, (1) their strong and stubborn character and (2) their making common cause against their enemy. Our countrymen who delude themselves with the belief that they will be able to secure some political concessions from their Christian rulers by flattering their national vanity by appealing to "the English sense of justice" or by the policy of mendicancy, or mere constitutional agitation, should take note of the above. No, it will not be from mere petitioning, or reposing confidence in the benevolent intentions of the Christian natives of England who are entrusted with the Government of the Indian Empire, that any benefit will accrue; but the attempt to force the hands of the Government should be made as was done by the people of Scotland, which proved of such advantage to them. No people have been granted political concessions by mere begging for them in the abject tone in which the memorials to the powers that be are usually addressed by the public bodies of this country. It may be that we are weak and the Scotch were strong. If so, let us wait till we can make ourselves strong. Let humble prayers cease the while.

The natives of Scotland have always presented a united front to their common enemy and in that lies the secret of their getting the better of the English. The historian Froude, comparing the Scotch and Irish characters says, that Ireland has been the maker of her own woes, her chiefs and leaders had no real patriotism. In Scotland, though the nobles might quarrel among themselves,

they buried their feuds and stood side by side, when there was danger from the hereditary foe. There was never a time when there was not an abundance of Irish who would make common cause with the English, when there was a chance of revenge upon a domestic enemy or a chance merely of spoil to be distributed.

How the above remark of Froude regarding Ireland applies to India also! In this respect the people of India have to learn a lesson from the natives of Scotland. The spirit of sturdy patriotism which inspired the two great poets of Scotland to write some of their immortal poems which are the common heritage of their countrymen should be imbibed by Indians if they are in earnest in their demand for *Swaraj* and if they wish to make the *Swadeshi* movement a success.

But the two measures, *viz.*, spread of education and development of industrial life which emancipated Scotland from savagery and led her into the path of civilization, are the ones exactly necessary in the present state of our country. Writes the historian whose works have supplied material for this paper and who has been so often referred to before:—

"There are very few instances on record in which a nation passed in so short a time from a state of barbarism to a state of civilisation, in which the tendencies and leading features of the national character were so profoundly modified, and in which the separate causes of the change are so clearly discernible. *Invectives against nations and classes are usually very shallow. The original basis of national character differs much less than is supposed. The character of*

large bodies of men depends in the main upon the circumstances in which they have been placed, the laws by which they have been governed, the principles they have been taught."

The passages italicised are meant for those who look upon the natives of India as incapable of any change for the better and who see nothing but depravity and servility in their character. They should remember that the measures which proved so successful in raising the barbarous Scotch to civilisation, if applied to India, will also raise Indians, in the scale of nations.

"The results of great movements of moral or intellectual advancement would often have been transient had they not been consolidated by laws which arrested in some degree the reflux of the wave, kept the higher standard continually before the people, and prevented the tide of opinion from sinking altogether to its former level. * * * * A skilfully framed system of national education has often contributed largely to settle the unfixed opinions of a nation, and has always done very much to establish the character and the grade of national civilisation." (Lecky).

India then requires a skilfully framed system of national education and just and humane laws in place of those which are disfiguring at present her statute books and which are relics of the days of barbarism. Then only would real progress be possible for India. Both these should be attended to by those to whom has been entrusted the administration of this country. But Indians should make a demand for these—their birth-rights—continuously and constantly till they secure them.

WAMANRAO DATTATREYA WAGLE.

MIRACLES

WE ought not to say:—"There are no miracles because none has ever been proved." The orthodox would then always be able to appeal to a more complete

investigation. The truth is, that the occurrence of a miracle cannot be verified either to-day or to-morrow, because to verify the occurrence of a miracle will always mean

forming a premature conclusion. Man will never be able to say—"Such a fact is beyond the bounds of nature." Our explorations will never extend so far.

The miraculous is an infantile conception which cannot endure when the mind begins to form for itself a systematic representation of nature. Greek wisdom could not support the idea. Hippocrates said when speaking of epilepsy "This illness is named divine; but all maladies are divine and come equally from the gods." He spoke as a naturalist philosopher. Human reason is less firm today. What annoys me above all is that people say "We do not believe in miracles because none has ever been proved."

Happening to be at Lourdes in the month of August I visited the grotto. Innumerable crutches were suspended there as a sign of healing. My companion pointed with his finger to these trophies of the sick-room and murmured in my ear—"A single wooden leg would say much more."

This was the utterance of good sense, but philosophically the wooden leg would have had no more value than a crutch. If an observer of a truly scientific spirit was summoned to attest that the lost leg of a man had been re-formed suddenly in a spring of water or elsewhere, he would not say "This is a miracle." He would say "An observation, which is unique up to the present time, tends to make us believe that under circumstances as yet not determined, the tissues of a human leg have the property of forming themselves again, like the claws of lobsters and crayfish, but much more rapidly. This is a natural fact in apparent contradiction with several other natural facts. The contradiction is a result of our ignorance, and we see clearly that the physiology of animals has to be reconstructed or rather that it has never been constructed. It is scarcely more than two hundred years since we have an idea of the circulation of the blood. It is

hardly a century since we know what breathing is."

I admit that in order to speak in this way some firmness would be required. But the scientific man ought not to be astonished at anything. Let us add that not one of them has ever been put to such a trial, and that there is no reason to expect a prodigy of this kind. The miraculous cures that physicians have been able to verify, all agree very well with physiology. Hitherto, the tombs of saints, the fountains and the sacred grottoes have only had an effect on patients whose maladies were curable or susceptible of temporary remission. But if we were to see a dead man come to life, a miracle would only be proved if we knew what is life and what is death, and that we shall never know.

A miracle is defined for us as a deviation from the laws of nature. We do not know them; how shall we know that a fact deviates from them?

But we know some of these laws?

Yes, we have found some relations between things. But since we have not mastered all these laws we have not mastered any, since they are mutually connected.

Still we might be able to verify the miracle in these series of relations that we have found.

We could not do so with philosophical certainty. Moreover it is precisely the series which seem to us the best determined that the miraculous interrupts the least. The miraculous, for example, never ventures to oppose the planetary theory. It has no influence on the course of the stars and never hastens or retards a predicted eclipse. On the other hand, it amuses itself in the darkness of internal pathology, and is above all pleased with nervous maladies. But do not let us mix up a question of fact with a question of principle. In principle, the scientific man is incapable of verifying the supernatural. Such a verification presupposes a total and

absolute knowledge of nature which he neither has, nor ever will have, and which no one in the world has had. Because I should not believe our most skilful oculists with reference to the miraculous healing of a blind man, I do not believe any better Saint Matthew and Saint Mark, who were not oculists. The miraculous is by its definition unrecognizable and unknowable.

Science can, on the contrary, reduce to law facts which seemed inconsistent with it. Instances of healing of diseases of the spinal cord have been observed on the tomb of saints. These cures do not astonish us any longer since we know that hysteria often simulates diseases of the spinal cord.

For a new star* to appear to those mysterious persons that the gospel calls the Magi (supposing the fact historically established) was certainly a miracle for the astrologers of the middle ages, who believed that the firmament with the stars nailed on it, was not subject to any vicissitudes. But, real or fictitious, the star of the Magi is no longer miraculous for us who know that the sky is

*It need hardly be said that M. France does not really believe in the story of the star in the east. This story is one of a group of legends relating to the birth of Jesus, given only in the first gospel. A different and inconsistent group, not containing the story of the star, is given in the third gospel. A similar legend was associated with the birth of the emperor Alexander Severus. (See article Nativity in *Encyclopædia Biblica*). The point of M. France is that even if there were satisfactory historical evidence for the appearance of the star we should not consider the event miraculous. (Translator's Note).

incessantly agitated by the birth and death of universes, and who have seen in 1366 a star suddenly kindled in the Corona Borealis, shine for a month and then become extinct.

This star did not announce the Messiah; it only shewed that at a vast distance from us, a terrible conflagration was devouring a world in a few days, or to speak more correctly, had formerly devoured it, for the ray which brought us the news of this disaster, had been on its journey for five centuries or more perhaps.

The miracle of Bolsena, immortalised by Raphael, is well known. An incredulous priest was celebrating mass; as he broke the host for communion it appeared covered with blood. The Academies, only ten years ago, would have been embarrassed to explain so strange a fact. We are not ever tempted to deny it since the discovery of a microscopic fungus whose colonies, when they are formed in flour or paste, have the aspect of coagulated blood. The scientific man who discovered this fungus gave it the name of *micrococcus prodigiosus*, thinking with reason that these were the red spots of the host of Bolsena.

There will always be a fungus, a star or a malady that human science does not know, and for this reason science ought always to deny every miracle and to say of the greatest marvels as of the host of Bolsena, as of the star of the Magi, as of the healed paralytic; either this is a fact or it is not, and if it is a fact, it is on that very account natural.

From the French of Anatole France.

THE STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

IV

An esteemed friend points out two omissions in my third paper on the Study of Natural Science in the Indian Universities. The first is that in the Bangabasi College, Calcutta, Mr. G. C. Bose, M. A., the Principal, teaches Botany and Physiology; he is an M. A. in Botany, and further, received training in the Cirencester Agricultural College in England. The second is that in the Presidency College, Calcutta, Prof. S. C. Mahalanabis, B.Sc., who did original work in physiology in England, teaches the Biology Courses. These are real omissions, through sheer inadvertence, which I much regret and very gladly supply; thanks to the kindness of the Editor for his having drawn my attention thereto.

I now propose to examine the Curriculum in Natural Science and the teaching resources in the University of Madras, for the various degrees from the lowest to the highest. In Bombay we are accustomed to hear the Madras Presidency being spoken of as "*benighted*." I do not know whether it is because the sun sets over Madras half an hour earlier than over Bombay, that the term "*benighted*" is wittily used by the Bombayites with reference to Madras, or whether it is humorously used on account of the swarthy skin and jet-black, raven-black crisp curly hair of some of the Madrasites. The University student of Madras at any rate is allowed more light of Science at the very threshold of his University career. At the "First Examination in Arts," for instance, one of the optional subjects is (a) Physiology or (b) Physiography. No such subjects are set in the Bombay and

Calcutta Universities for Examinations prior to the B. A. Degree in Arts. Moreover, in the B. A. Degree Examination, in the Optional Subject of Botany, there is a much higher standard fixed for the study of Cryptogamic Botany than is required for the Examination in Botany in either the Bombay or the Calcutta University.

For the Degree of Master of Arts in Natural Science, only one of the following subjects has to be selected:—(A) *Botany*; (B) *Physiology*; (C) *Zoology*; (D) *Geology*. Six Question-papers, each of three hours, are set in each of the selected subjects demanding a thorough knowledge. There is, besides, a searching Practical Examination lasting over two days. Nay more. Each candidate, when he applies to be permitted to appear at the M. A. Examination, must forward a dissertation written in English, on a subject selected by himself, connected with the selected subject. The rule is that

"The dissertation should not exceed in length a review article of twenty pages octavo. For the purpose of verification, precise references must be given to any authorities that may be quoted or relied on. No marks will be awarded to any dissertation which does not give satisfactory evidence of *original research and independent thought*." (The *ITALICS* are ours).

Be it noted that out of the total number of 1,400 marks assigned for each of the four selected groups,—one at a time,—200 marks are for the Dissertation as above required.

In Botany Branch IIIA, apart from a knowledge of General Principles of Botany, and of Morphological and Systematic Botany, a thorough knowledge of Economic Botany

and Palæo-botany is required. In Physiology, Branch IIIB, besides a knowledge of the General Principles, Histology and Embryology (Bird and Mammal) are necessary. In Zoology, Branch IIIC, Palæontology and Embryology are required. In Geology, Branch IVD, Petrology or Palæozoology, Mineralogy and Crystallography or Palæobotany are required. There is besides a Practical examination in Mineralogy and Palæontology. Well may the Bombay University follow this course for its M. A. Degree in Natural Science. It is better to study one science thoroughly than to study indifferently three together out of the four *Branches* as cited above.

In the Medical Faculty the Madras University grants a degree of Licentiate in Medicine and Surgery. A candidate has to pass three examinations, namely: (1) First L. M. and S. Examination; (2) Second L. M. and S. Examination; (3) Final L. M. and S. Examination. Be it noted that in all these Examinations the candidate is not required to study Botany at all. How then is he to understand Bacteriology and Materia Medica prescribed for the Second L. M. and S. Examination? How is he to understand anything about Toxicology which is an important Branch of Medical Jurisprudence? A candidate for this 2nd examination has to attend one course of Lectures in Medical Jurisprudence. It is, in my humble opinion, hardly sufficient. I am firmly of opinion that no student of medicine, in India at least, if not in Great Britain and Ireland, should study Materia Medica, or ever will be able to master that subject without a preliminary study of Botany. I think the Bombay University and also the Calcutta University, if I mistake not, are wise in this respect. The Practice of Medicine even for a Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery of Madras is full of difficulties when he has to select his drugs from the Indian herbalist or a street-hawker of Indian drugs. The same difficulties arise in every town and city in the

Bombay and Calcutta Presidencies, as also in the North-West Provinces, Central India and in the Berars,—in fact all over India, speaking generally. In large towns and cities all over India, there are European shops of Pharmaceutical Chemists where vegetable and chemical pharmaceutical preparations used as medicines are sold in abundance. For medical practitioners of European Medicine and Surgery, in such large towns and cities there are opportunities to have their prescriptions dispensed, but it will be readily allowed when I say that there are innumerable places where there are neither Chemists to dispense prescriptions, nor herbalists to select even indigenous plants used for their medical value or worth for the alleviation of human sufferings of the ached body. The healing herbs may be at our very feet, but if a Licentiate of Medicine is not able to recognize them, to identify them, or to select them for the purposes of medicinal use, of what use would his University qualification as a physician be in alleviating human physical suffering? It is absolutely necessary that a physician of any description whatsoever should be able to use with advantage the medicinal herbs lying at his very door. Says Dr. Royle:—

"An Indian Sage, after giving a prescription of precious stones, for curing the disease of kings and rich men, very judiciously adds another for people in general, composed of vegetables, because these are procurable by all."

Very sensible and pregnant words these! They fully bear out my foregoing remarks. Dr. Royle wisely remarks that as medical men

"We are interested in the laws of Vegetable Physiology, that we may be able to weigh the various stimulants of light, heat, air, and moisture; the effects of soils and aspects; that we may understand something of their operation in modifying the products of plants and be able to select our barks, woods, and roots, bulbs, leaves, flowers, and fruits, at the age and season when they contain the principles which render

them useful as medicines in their most abundant and efficient states; whether these be gums, fœcula, or saccharine principle; milky juice or resin; fixed or volatile oil; or any of those numerous alkaloids which are so completely altering the forms of medicines, since the subtleties of modern chemistry discovered them to be secreted in nature's nicer laboratory."

These important words were uttered full seventy years ago by Dr. Royle as Professor of *Materia Medica* and Therapeutics, before the Students of King's College, London. Dr. Royle's words stand true to this day, to the very letter. To the Indian Student of Medicine Botany is not a "science of names" in Latin and Greek phraseology of the most doggerel kind, with appalling combinations of plant-names, or plant-classification. It is a science and an art, the perfect knowledge of which every student of medicine, every medical practitioner, should have at his fingers' ends. I don't say this because I love Botany as a pastime, but because I deem it essential, I deem it useful to serve us as a valuable aid for relieving, however partially, the sufferings which human "flesh is heir to." Grievous mistakes are made in the selection of plants for medical purposes. Says my late friend, Dr. Sakharam Arjun:—

"The identification of ordinary bazaar specimens of plants is often a matter of great difficulty, owing to dessication, decay, and partial destruction of the more tender examples." (See Preface, p. I. *Catalogue of the Bombay Drugs*. Bombay, 1879.)

In the foregoing remarks I have styled myself a "Lover of Botany." Some of my readers may, therefore, think that I have been carried away by my fondness for Botany, and that, therefore, I consider that every medical student should study Botany. But let my reader pause and consider the following passage which I have had before my mind while making the foregoing observations. The passage runs thus:—

"A man who looks no further than the narrow bounds of his own profession or science is sometimes inclined to depreciate those of other people, especially if any worldly advantage is concerned. Some studies

seem to contract the mind; but such is not the character of natural science, which enlarges the understanding by a perpetual display of the power and wisdom of God, and encourages our best hopes by sure testimonies of His goodness." (P. xxxii, Preface; Sir James E. Smith's *British Flora*).

In the Universities of Great Britain and Ireland the chair of Botany is filled with accomplished, well-trained and enthusiastic Professor and teachers.

"Botany," says Thistleton-Dyer, "is everywhere conceded its due position as the twin branch with Zoology—of biological science." "It was not so very long ago," says Thistleton-Dyer, "that at English Universities, at least, the pursuit of Botany was regarded rather as an elegant accomplishment than as a serious occupation." (Presidential Address; Biological Section: British Association, A. S., at Bath, September, 1888; *Vide* Report of the British Association, Vol. LVIII, pp. 686-701.)

In this address Sir William Thistleton-Dyer, then Director of the Kew Gardens of London, makes the following cogent remarks:—

"As the head of one of the great national establishments of the country devoted to the cultivation of systematic botany, I need hardly apologize for devoting a few words to the present position of that branch of the Science. Of its importance I have myself no manner of doubt. But as my judgment may seem in such a matter not wholly free from bias, I may fortify myself with an opinion which can hardly be minimized in that way. The distinguished chemist, Professor Lothar Meyer, perhaps the most brilliant worker in the field of Theoretical Chemistry, finds himself, like the systematic botanist, obliged to defend the position of descriptive science. And he draws his strongest argument from biology. 'The physiology of plants and animals,' he tells us, 'requires systematic botany and zoology, together with the anatomy of the two kingdoms; each speculative science requires a rich and well-ordered material, if it is not to lose itself in empty and fruitless fantasies.' No one of course supposes that the accumulation of plant specimens in herbaria is the outcome of a passion for accumulating. But to do good systematic work requires high qualities of exactitude, patience and judgment. As I attempted to show on another occasion, the world is hardly sensible of the influence which the study has had on its affairs."

Let me now examine the Madras University curriculum for the Degree of Bachelor of Medicine and Master in Surgery, (M. B. and C. M.).

The first M. B. and C. M. Examination, among other subjects, requires one course only in "General Biology, theoretical and practical." The subjects mentioned in the calendar for 1905-1906, (pp. 131-132), are elaborate enough, but I am doubtful if they can be studied in one course only. It is my humble opinion that at least two courses are required for a bare knowledge of the subject set. Moreover, I have to say this, that for the students going up for the 1st M. B. and C. M., Physics and Chemistry have to be studied simultaneously with "General Biology," including plants and animals. I do not think that this arrangement is either fair or profitable to the student; or even fair to the teacher. I say so on the authority of R. J. Harvey Gibson, M.A., Lecturer on Botany in Victoria University, University College, Liverpool. In his Preface to a Text Book of Elementary Biology (London, 1889), Mr. Harvey-Gibson says:—

"A not inconsiderable experience as a University teacher of Biology has convinced me that in order to properly appreciate and benefit by a study of that science, *a student must first*—(the italics are mine, K. R. K.)—*undergo a preliminary training in the facts and conclusions of Physics and chemistry*, and in addition must devote not a little time and labour to studying the application of the more general laws of these sciences to the special phenomena of plant and animal life."

It is, however, by no means an easy matter, I join with Mr. Harvey-Gibson in saying, for a beginner in the subject to select from the vast domain of the physical and chemical sciences those generalisations which have an immediate bearing on the problems of Biology.

The Madras University has a Degree entitled the Licentiate in Sanitary Science (L. S. Sc.) In Bombay there is no such Degree.

Let us now see what provisions there be in the various teaching Institutions affiliated to the Madras University.

(I). Among the Second Grade Colleges, there are the following, teaching Science.

(a). In the AURANGABAD COLLEGE, Mr. K. G. Kale is a Science Lecturer. This institution was originally started as a Zilla School. In July, 1886, it was raised to the grade of a High School, and placed in charge of Mr. Govind Ramchandra Kale, a graduate of the Bombay University. What branch of science Mr. K. G. Kale teaches in this College I do not know.

(b). COIMBATORE, ST. MICHAEL'S COLLEGE.—The Rev. A. Panet Baches Letters is Professor of Science and Physiology.

(c). MADRAS, PRESENTATION CONVENT COLLEGE, VEPERY.—Here Physiology is taught by N. Panchapagesa Aiyar, B. A., L. T.

(d). MADRAS, SAN THOME COLLEGE.—Here Rev. Fr. Susai S. J., is Professor of Physiology.

(e). NAGERCOIL, SCOTT CHRISTIAN COLLEGE.—Among the teachers in the F. A. Classes, Paul Daniel, M. A., L. T., is the Instructor in Physiology.

(f). ONGOLE, AMERICAN BAPTIST MISSION COLLEGE.—Here A. T. Palmer, B. A., is Instructor in Science. But what branch of Science he teaches I have no idea.

(g). TINNEVELLY HINDU COLLEGE.—Here C. S. Sundaram Shashtri, B. A., L. T., and P. S. Kiliansundra Mudliar, B. A., teach Science. I do not know what particular branch or branches they teach.

(h). TRIVANDRUM, HOLY ANGEL'S CONVENT COLLEGE AND HIGH SCHOOL.—Here Mr. P. I. Chandy, B. A., teaches Physiology.

(i). TRIVANDRUM, MAHARAJAH'S COLLEGE for GIRLS.—Here Mr. P. Tampirantolan Pillai, B. A., teaches Physiography and Physiology.

(j). VELLORE, THE ELIZABETH VOORETS COLLEGE.—Here Mr. Aiyadurai Aiyangar, B. A., is Lecturer in Physiology.

(II). We next come to the FIRST GRADE COLLEGES.

(a). BANGALORE, CENTRAL COLLEGE.—This is the oldest of the first grade Colleges of the Mysore Government. Special encouragement is given by the Mysore Government to the teaching of Physical Science, to illustrate which an excellent collection of physical and chemical apparatus has been provided. For the B. A. degree examination the optional branches taught at present are Physics, Mathematics, and Geology. A special Prize of Rs. 100 is awarded annually to the student who takes the highest place in

the B.A. list, provided he takes Physical Science as his Optional Branch. There are four Science Assistants, three of whom are B. A.s, and one a Master of Arts. The Lecturer on Biology is a very learned man, named Mr. Srinivasa Rau; M. A., M. D., C. M., B. Sc. The Lecturer on Geology is V. S. Sambasiva, B. Sc., I. C. E.

(b). HYDERABAD NIZAM COLLEGE.—This was originally founded by Sir Salar Jung under the name of "The Madrasa-i-Aliya". It is attended by the sons of the nobles and chief officials of Hyderabad and is worked on the principles of an English public school. Here Dr. Aghornath Chattopadhyay, D. Sc. is Lecturer in Natural Science, and Sadhu Ganpati Pantalu, B. A., B. L., is Science Demonstrator.

(c). KUMBAKONAM COLLEGE.—This is a Government institution. Science is taught here, but by whom or how many, and what branch of it, I am not able to say exactly.

(d). MADRAS CHRISTIAN COLLEGE AND FREE CHURCH INSTITUTION.—This is noted for having several scholarships, endowed prizes, and studentships, which latter carry with them money awards of tempting worth. For Science students there is a scholarship of Rs. 40, and another of Rs. 30 per annum, tenable for two years, decided by a competition in physiology at the commencement of the third year of the College course. The Buckie prize is awarded annually to the most deserving student in the Biology Branch of the senior B. A. Class. The Aberdeen Prize is awarded annually to the most deserving student in the Physical Science Branch of the senior B. A. Class. Among the "Studentships" there is the Buckie Studentship consisting for each of four terms for the assistance of a student proceeding to his M. A. in Biology, and a further sum of Rs. 120 on his passing his M. A. The Aberdeen Studentship is similarly awarded to the M. A. candidate in Physical Science or Philosophy. Dr. John R. Henderson, F. L. S., M. B., C. M. is Professor of Biology and Zoology in this College. The Natural Science Demonstrator is Mr. V. Narsimhan, B. A.

(e). MADRAS, THE PRESIDENCY COLLEGE.—This institution was first established in 1841 under the name of the High School of the Madras University. In this College Mr. P. F. Fyson, B. A., is Professor of Biology.

(f). MANGALORE, ST ALOYSIUS COLLEGE.—The Principal, Rev. Father P. Perini, S. J., D. D., teaches Physiology here.

(g). MYSORE, MAHARAJAH'S COLLEGE.—This institution "has a library, a reading room supplied with the best English and Indian papers and periodicals, a

debating club, a historical society, a lawn-tennis club, a cricket club, a foot-ball club, and a gymnasium". The italics are mine (K. R. K.), because I may well exclaim:—"and why not any class for teaching Natural Science?"

(h). RAJAHMUNDRY COLLEGE.—Here there is provision for candidates preparing for the B. A. degree in Mathematics, Physics and Chemistry and Mental and Moral Philosophy. Who teaches Physics and Chemistry here, I cannot say.

(i). TANJORE ST. PETER'S COLLEGE.—Physiology is taught here by Mr. S. A. Israel Pillai, B. A., L. T.

(j). TRICHINOPOLY.—(1) The S. P. G. College, has Mr. S. S. Pasupathi Aiyar, B. A., L. T. as Lecturer in Physiology. (2) St. Joseph's College, has Rev. Father J. M. Arulnader, S. J., as Assistant Professor of Physiology. Chemistry and Physics are taught in this College by Professor Rev. J. Cairns, S. J., and Rev. D. Honore, S. J., respectively.

(k). TRIVANDRUM, MAHARAJAH'S COLLEGE.—Here Dr. A. W. Bishop, Ph. D., is Professor of Chemistry and Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyar, B. A., is Assistant Professor in the same subject.

(l). VIZIANAGARAM, MAHARAJAH'S COLLEGE.—In this institution, there is "*The Quinn Gold Medal*" awarded every year to the student in the senior F. A. class, who gets the highest number of marks in Physiology at the Final College Examination of that class. There is also "*The Kasmanda Gold Medal*" for the best student of his year in Chemistry.

In the Faculty of Medicine there is only one Institution, namely, the Madras Medical College. The Professional staff is well-manned out of the most distinguished members of the Indian Medical Service. There is a Professor of Bacteriology; a separate Professor for Biology and a good number of Assistants and Demonstrators of local distinction.

Among the ENDOWMENTS in the Madras University (a) there is the Maharajah of Travancore's CURZON PRIZE to encourage post-graduate studies in scientific subjects bearing on the material prosperity of India. This is glorious, as the prize is worth Rs. 500, to be awarded by the Syndicate for the best essay or thesis by a graduate on any matter comprised in Physics, Chemistry, Biology, Geology, Hygiene, Bacteriology &c. The essay requires the result of the personal investigations of the author and must contain clear evidence of independent and original research. A very wise provision in the award of this is made in the following terms:—"Essays or theses which consist only of criticisms, compilations, or the history of a

subject, unaccompanied by the results of personal, independent, original research, will be ineligible for the prize." No wiser rule has been ever made in connection with a prize awarded by the Indian universities I have hitherto dealt with.

(b). THE NORTON PRIZE has the following conditions or the award of it. It is only a "by Prize," if I may so coin the term, for Physical Science. Because by terms of the deed of endowment, the prize is first to be awarded to the graduate who in passing the M. A. examination obtains the highest number of marks in Political Economy. Failing such a winner, the prize is to go down to the student who passes the B. A. examination with the highest number of marks in Physical Science. This prize has been unfailingly awarded from 1876 to 1905. I am not able to say to how many studying Physical Science this prize has been awarded.

(c). THE JAGIRDAR OF ARNI GOLD MEDALS.—This medal was founded in 1876 and used to be awarded to the student who in passing the B.A. Examination obtained the highest number of marks in Physical Science. In 1886, in view of the revised Arts curriculum, the Senate ruled that in lieu of the original medal two medals should be awarded, each of Rs. 50, one to the B.A. candidate who passes with the highest number of marks in Physics, and the other to the first candidate in Chemistry.

(d). THE V. RAMA AYYANGAR SCHOLARSHIP.—This is of the value of Rs. 10, per mensem. It is awarded to the pupil of Pachaiyappa College who passes highest in F. E. A. and joins the Presidency College to prosecute his studies for the B. A. Degree, taking Natural or Physical Science as his optional subject for the B. Sc. Degree. The scholarship is tenable for two years or for such further period as may be required.

(e). THE CAITHNESS PRIZE.—This consists of the present of a microscope to the candidate who passes with the highest number of marks in Zoology at the B. A. Degree, in the First Class. But in the event of Geological study being so developed that the number of candidates who take Geology along with Biology in their Science Division for B. A., should exceed those who take Zoology, the Senate is empowered, if it see fit, to connect it with that section.

(f). THE RAO BAHADUR M. A. SINGARACHARIYAR PRIZE.—This Endowment is of Rs. 2,000 at $2\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Securities, the interest of which is given as a money-prize, 1st to the M. A., who passes first in the first-class or second class in English; 2ndly, failing such a candidate, the prize is available for award to the M. A. who passes first in the first class or in the second class in Mathematics; 3rdly, failing such a candidate, the prize is to be awarded to the M. A. in Botany or Zoology under similar conditions.

(g). THE PULNEY ANDY MEDAL.—This is for the encouragement of the Study of Botany. The endowment is of Rs. 2,000 invested in $3\frac{1}{2}$ per cent. Government Securities. It is awarded to the M. A. who obtains the highest number of marks in Botany. Failing an M. A. candidate, the medal is available for award to a B. A., passing with the highest number of marks in Botany for that year.

(h). THE SIR MUTTUSWAMI AIYAR SCHOLARSHIP.—It is tenable for two years, and is of the monthly value of Rs. 30. The scholarship is awarded in the first instance to a Law Student; failing him, it is available for award to a B. A. graduate who wishes to prosecute his studies for the M. A. in Physical or Natural Science. I observe with much pleasure the following rule in connection with this endowment:—"Should the Senate at any time after the 'TATA SCHEME' becomes an accomplished fact, consider it expedient and feasible to utilize the income from the endowment in granting a scholarship for the encouragement of research in any of the above or other branches of learning, it shall be competent for them to do so."

The "Tata Scheme" is now an accomplished fact. It has a very able scholar at its head. The result, nay, even the progress of his earnest labours, is being eagerly looked forward to by every student interested in the advance of the "Physical" and "Natural" Sciences in Western and Southern India.

Here ends my review of the Madras University. In my next paper I hope to conclude my observations after reviewing the course of Science Studies in the Allahabad and Punjab Universities.

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

FREE TRADE AND ECONOMIC BOYCOTT IN ENGLAND

AT present England is the only country in the world which adheres to the policy of Free Trade. It is necessary to know the circumstances which have led England to adopt this policy. Looked at from the historical point of view, England was not a free-trading country more than a century ago. Although from the beginning of the eighteenth century, the principle of free trade was recognised by some of the statesmen of England, still it was not till the close of that century, that it was given effect to. We will follow the eminent historian Lecky as to what he says regarding the growth of the Free Trade Policy of England. He writes:—

"The free trade policy which the Tories upheld in the reign of Anne has never been distinctively Whig, and in promoting its triumph the party which counts Hume and Tucker among its writers, and Pitt and Huskisson among its statesmen, deserves a credit at least equal to its opponents. The attacks which the whigs directed in 1713 against the free trade clauses of the Tory commercial treaty with France, were scarcely more vehement than those which Fox and Grey directed on the same ground against the commercial treaty negotiated by Pitt in 1786."

But to Walpole is due the credit of adopting the policy of Free trade. Lecky says that

"he laid the foundation of the free trade policy of the present nineteenth century, by abolishing in a single year the duties on 106 articles of export, and on 38 articles of import."

But the Free Trade policy now in vogue in England was adopted only when England became a great manufacturing country. To quote Lecky again:—

"It was only when England had taken her gigantic strides in the direction of manufacturing ascendancy, that the pressure of population on subsistence became seriously felt, and the manufacturers gradually assumed the attitude of free trade. No transformation could have been more astonishing or more complete.

*Scarcely a form of manufacturing industry had ever been practised in England that had not been fortified by restrictions or subsidised by bounties. The extreme narrowness and selfishness of that manufacturing influence which became dominant at the Revolution had alienated America, had ruined the rising industries of Ireland, had crushed the Calico manufactures of India, had imposed on the consumer at home monopoly prices for almost every article he required. As Adam Smith conclusively shows, the merchants and manufacturers of England had for generations steadily and successfully aimed at two great objects—to secure for themselves by restrictive laws an absolute monopoly of the home market, and to stimulate their foreign trade by bounties paid by the whole community. The language of the great founder of English political economy illustrates with curious vividness how entirely modern is the notion that the manufacturing interest has a natural bias towards free trade. 'Country gentlemen and farmers,' he wrote, 'are, to their honor, of all people the least subject to the wretched spirit of monopoly. The undertaker of a great manufactory is sometimes alarmed if another work of the same kind is established within twenty miles of him. * * Farmers and country gentlemen, on the contrary, are generally disposed rather to promote than to obstruct, the cultivation and improvement of their neighbours' farms and estates. * * * Merchants and manufacturers being collected into towns, and accustomed to that exclusive corporation spirit which prevails in them, naturally endeavour to obtain against all their countrymen the same exclusive privileges which they generally possess against the inhabitants of their respective towns. They accordingly seem to have been the original inventors of those restraints upon the importation of foreign goods which secure to them the monopoly of the home market. It was probably in imitation of them, and to put themselves upon a level with those who, they found, were disposed to oppress them, that the country gentlemen and farmers of Great Britain so far forgot the generosity which is natural to their station as to demand the exclusive privilege of supplying their countrymen with corn and butcher's meat. They did not perhaps take time to consider*

how much less their interest could be affected by the freedom of trade than that of the people whose example they followed.'

"Such was the relative attitude of the two classes towards the close of the century. But during the French war a great change took place. On the one hand, the necessity of supplying England with food when almost all Europe was combined against her, brought into costly cultivation vast portions of land, both in England and Ireland, which were little adapted for corn culture, and on which it could only subsist under the encouragement of extravagant prices. On the other hand, the growth of the manufacturing towns produced an extreme pressure of population on subsistence, and a great reduction of the corn duties became absolutely inevitable. Under these circumstances the manufacturing leaders strenuously supported the agitation for their total repeal. As great employers of labor, it was to them a class interest of the most direct and important character; and, by a singular felicity, while they were certain to obtain an enormous share of the benefits of the change, the whole risk and loss would fall upon others. *The movement was easily turned into a war of classes; and the great, wealthy and intelligent class which directed and paid for it, conducted it so skilfully, that multitudes of Englishmen even now look on it as a brilliant exhibition of disinterested patriotism, and applaud the orators who delight in contrasting the enlightened and liberal spirit of English manufacturers with the besotted selfishness of English landlords.*"

The passages italicised in the above extract clearly demonstrate that it was not from any motive of philanthropy that Christian England adopted the policy of free trade. The word 'boycott' is of recent origin, it being hardly 30 years old. But the spirit which it expresses is as old as when man appeared on the face of this planet. Hindu society with its 'caste' organisation knows its significance full well. But England—a land of shop-keepers—has practised it whenever it suited her purpose. The means which she has adopted to give affect to this policy have been sometimes fair, but very often just the reverse of this.

Three hundred years ago it was India which to a great extent used to clothe the native

men and women of the Christian countries of Europe. England also had to depend on India for her supply of cotton materials. We read in English history that Queen Mary who came to England with her husband after the English Revolution of 1688 brought "a passion for coloured East Indian calicoes, which speedily spread through all classes of the community."* India then was not under the political control of Christian England, and so at that time it was impossible to destroy the cotton industry of India. But what did England do to put a stop to the importation of Indian cotton goods into that country? Why, she did exactly what the advocates of the Boycott movement in this country are trying to do. England boycotted Indian goods. Lecky writes:

"At the end of the seventeenth century great quantities of cheap and graceful Indian calicoes, muslins, and chintzes were imported into England, and they found such favour that the woollen and silk manufacturers were seriously alarmed. Acts of Parliament were accordingly passed in 1700 and in 1721 absolutely prohibiting, with a very few specified exceptions, the employment of printed or dyed calicoes in England, either in dress or in furniture, and the use of any printed or dyed goods of which cotton formed any part."†

In Christian England, it was "penal for any woman to wear a dress made of Indian calico. In 1766 a lady was fined £200 at the Guild Hall because it was proved that her handkerchief was of French cambric."‡

Then the Christian philanthropists of England did not advocate the principle of Free Trade. But have the natives of England, even now, given up boycotting foreign manufactures? Why, the following question and its answer will illustrate how the spirit of the boycott movement still reigns supreme in that Christian country.

* Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. II. p. 158.

† Lecky's History of England in the Eighteenth Century, Vol. VII. pp. 255-266.

‡ Do. Do. pp. 320,

"*Foreign-made goods.* In the House of Commons, on August 11, 1896.

"*Mr. McClure* asked the First Commissioner of Works whether the chairs in the Reporters' Gallery and furniture in other parts of the House were of foreign manufacture, and why preference was given to foreign over British and Irish trade.

"*Mr. Akers-Douglas.* The only furniture of foreign manufacture in the House of Commons is limited to a number of chairs supplied to the Press Gallery and this was done some years ago. With this exception, all the articles in use are of British manufacture."

Then again, is not Her Majesty Queen Alexandra at the head of a sort of league to encourage the exclusive use of British silks?

The Christian colonists of Africa, Australia and America are boycotting not only foreign goods but foreign human beings as well—Asiatics whom they are ashamed to own as their fellow-men. How they are carrying into practice the doctrine of "the brotherhood of man!" The Japanese are receiving somewhat better treatment, evidently on the principle—he alone is a brother who can thrash you.

The great Italian writer Machiavelli was a gifted politician and statesman. Never did he utter a greater truth than when he said "Vengeance sleeps long but it never dies." He knew human nature very well and so his saying expresses a truth founded on the experience of man. Why, it is this truth which explains the blood-feuds of many tribes and races of man. We are told by a Christian traveller that,

"Revenge for blood is with an Afghan, a duty which is rendered sacred by long custom, and sanctioned by his religion. If immediate opportunity of retaliation should not present itself a man will dodge his foe for years, with the cruel purpose ever uppermost in his thoughts, using every cunning and treacherous artifice to entrap or lull him in confidence and thinking it no shame to attack him in a defenceless state."

The Christian Highlanders of Scotland were also given to blood-feuds. An English traveller wrote:—

"Many gentlemen in the Highlands shun one another's company, lest they should revive a quarrel that happened between their forefathers, perhaps three hundred years ago."

We are God-fearing and peace-loving men. We do not want to see the sight of blood and do not, therefore, advocate bloodshed or blood-feuds. And bloodshed in the case of India is out of the question, as she is disarmed and emasculated. But if Indians have any sense of self-respect they should by an economic boycott try and right the wrongs that have been inflicted on their motherland by the white Christian merchants and traders. Are they ignorant of these wrongs? Need they be told how Indian industries have been crushed? Why, this is what an English historian wrote:—

"The history of the trade of cotton cloth with India affords a singular exemplification of the inapplicability to all times and circumstances of that principle of free trade which advocates the unrestricted admission of a cheap article, in place of protecting by heavy duties a dearer one of home manufacture. It is also a melancholy instance of the wrong done to India by the country on which she had become dependent. It was stated in evidence, that the cotton and silk goods of India up to this period [1813] could be sold for a profit in the British market, at a price from fifty to sixty per cent. lower than those fabricated in England. It consequently became necessary to protect the latter by duties of seventy and eighty per cent. on their value or by positive prohibition. Had this not been the case, had not such prohibitory duties and decrees existed, the mills of Paisley and of Manchester would have been stopped in their outset, and could scarcely have been again set in motion even by the powers of steam. They were created by the sacrifice of the Indian Manufacturer. Had India been independent, she would have retaliated; would have imposed preventive duties upon British goods, and would thus have preserved her own productive industry from annihilation. This act of self-defence was not permitted her; she was at the mercy of the stranger. British goods were forced upon her without paying any duty: and the foreign manufacturer employed the arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle a competitor with whom he could not have contended on equal terms." *The*

History of British India, by Horace Hayman Wilson, Vol. I, p. 385.

Another English officer wrote :—

"Every one knows how jealously trade secrets are guarded. If you went over Messrs. Doulton's pottery works, you would be politely overlooked. Yet under the force of compulsion the Indian workman had to divulge the manner of his bleaching and other trade secrets to Manchester. A costly work was prepared by the India House Department to enable Manchester to take 20 millions a year from the poor of India: copies were gratuitously presented to Chambers of Commerce, and the Indian ryot had to pay for them. This may be political economy, but it is marvellously like something else." Major J. B. Keith in the *Pioneer*, September 7, 1898.

Do we not see even in our own day the existence of the excise duty which is meant to hamper Indian Industry and favor Manchester? Do not the Christian philanthropists of England in their tender regard for the laborers of Indian Mills and Factories shed crocodile tears and try to better their lot by compulsory legislation, the real object of which even a child can understand?

Politically India is helpless. But are not the implements of peace often more effective than weapons of war? This boycott movement is meant to save India, if Indians of all classes and creeds, of all provinces and races freely and largely adopt it. On it lies the salvation of India. In theory there may not be such a thing as a graduated boycott, but in practice there is. If the Bengalis have failed to a great extent to make the movement a success,—and all Bengal districts have not failed—that is no reason why a more strenuous and better organised attempt should not again be made by them and all other Indians. Try, try and try again. *But it is not true that the Bengal boycott has failed altogether.* Take the case of salt. Mr. Barrow, Comptroller and Auditor-General to the Government of India, says :—

"As compared with the Budget, the improvement occurred chiefly under excise on Local Manufacture (Rs. 18,74,000) and was the result of increased con-

sumption of locally manufactured salt." (*Gazette of India*, March 9, 1907, p. 275.)

The same number of the *Gazette* contains the further statement of Mr. Barrow's :—

"Under duty on Imported salt the falling-off in Bengal was due to country-made salt having replaced, to some extent, the foreign manufacture."

In the summary of the Financial Statement published in a *Gazette of India Extraordinary* on March 20, 1907, we read regarding the accounts of 1905-1906 :—

"Decrease *** under customs [due] to diminution of imports of spirits and cotton manufactures and of exports of rice."

Then again Mr. Baker, Finance Member to the Government of India, says (*Gazette of India*, March 23, p. 627) :

"Cotton goods have not maintained the exceptionally high figure of 1905-1906 and have yielded £29,200 less than in that year."

The cause of this decrease is explained on p. 668 of the *Gazette* by Mr. Weston, the Finance Secretary. He says that in 1905-1906 the duty on cotton goods amounted to Rs. 1,32,88,991, but in 1906-1907 only to Rs. 1,28,50,000. He explains the decrease by saying :

"The imports of manufactured cotton have presumably been checked by the movement in favour of indigenous articles."

It is true that the imports of foreign sugar have increased. But that is because the traders are deceiving the people by palming off foreign sugar as indigenous, and it is difficult to detect their fraud. As to cotton goods again, in reply to a question put by Mr. Rees in the House of Commons, Mr. Morley has stated that in 1904, 1905, and 1906, respectively, 1,216, 1,280 and 1,209 million yards of cotton cloth were exported to Bengal. So in 1906 there was a decrease of 71 million yards in the exports to Bengal. Mr. Morley was not sure what the cause might be.

Those who are afraid of retaliatory measures on the part of the Government in the shape of excise duties on machinery, &c.,

require to be reminded that the duty on cotton goods was imposed when neither swadeshi nor boycott was in the air.

In fact whether we speak of and adopt boycott or not, as often as India promises to be a successful rival of England in some branch of manufacture or other, so often will England use the strong "arm of political injustice to keep down and ultimately strangle" her competitor. Some persons have asked, if the Bombay mill-owners succeeded in rearing a profitable industry without the help of boycott, why should not the rest of India be able to do so? The question misses the real point; and, therefore, we ask in reply, before the days of the Bengal Boycott how

many *Indians* did the Bombay Mill-owner clothe? Our object is not simply to make money, but to be industrially independent as well,—to clothe ourselves. Bombay grew wealthy mainly by her China trade. When China learns to clothe herself, as she probably will at no distant date, or is clothed by Japan, we shall see whether Bombay can do without the help of the boycotter in capturing and keeping the home market. Of course boycott alone cannot produce industrial regeneration; but some kind of protection is absolutely needed for our nascent industries. And under the peculiar political circumstances of India, it must be boycott,—call it by a less repugnant name if you will.

VISHNU DAYAL VARMA

MALABAR NOTES

THE British district of Malabar is situated on the south-west coast of India, in the Madras Presidency. Its area in square miles is 5,773 and population (1901) 2,713,310. Of these over two-thirds are Hindu and one-fourth Mohammedan. The surface is occupied in the east by the Western Ghats, which send down numerous rivers to the coast, many of them navigable for some distance. There are large forests. Rice is the staple crop; cocoanuts are largely grown, and also coffee and pepper. The name of this district is applied to the whole south-western coast of Southern India, including the Native States of Cochin and Travancore.

The coast of Malabar does not consist of unhealthy low-lying jungle land like the Sundarbans in Bengal, nor does the mainland everywhere run down to the sea, as in Madras. There is in many places in Malabar

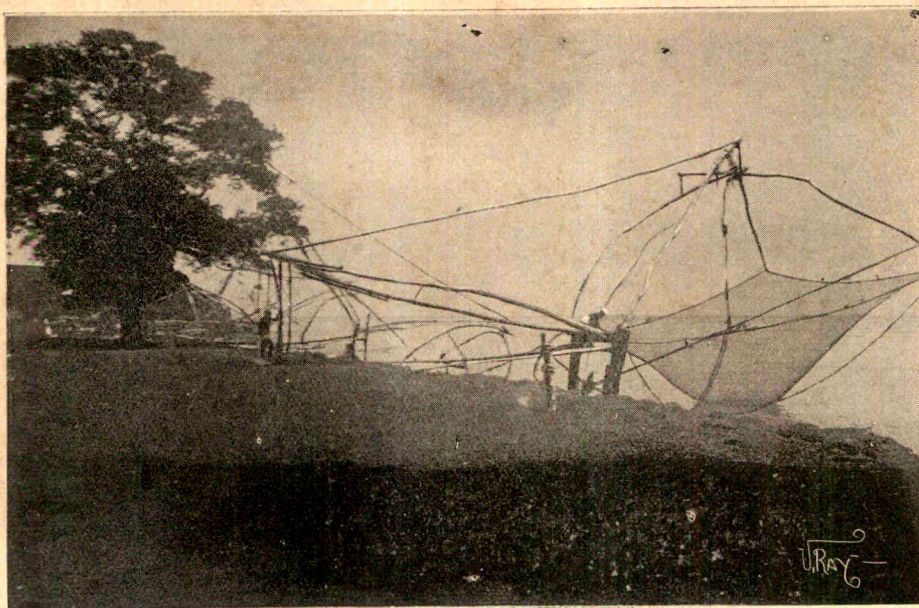
a narrow strip of land, like an island, just adjoining the sea. This strip of land is at places connected with the main-land, but cannot be said to form a part of it. Between the main-land and this narrow strip stretch what are called the back waters, which are brackish. These back waters are found in most places from Tirur in the north to Trivandrum in the south. The strip of land between the sea and the back waters being at places connected with the main-land, formerly navigation from one back water to another was impracticable. But now canals and tunnels connect many back waters. For fishing and other purposes, the rafts called catamarans are much in use. A different kind of boats in use is called the serpent-boat. When the Maharaja or Dewan or some other great man travels by boat, two serpent-boats escort or accompany him on



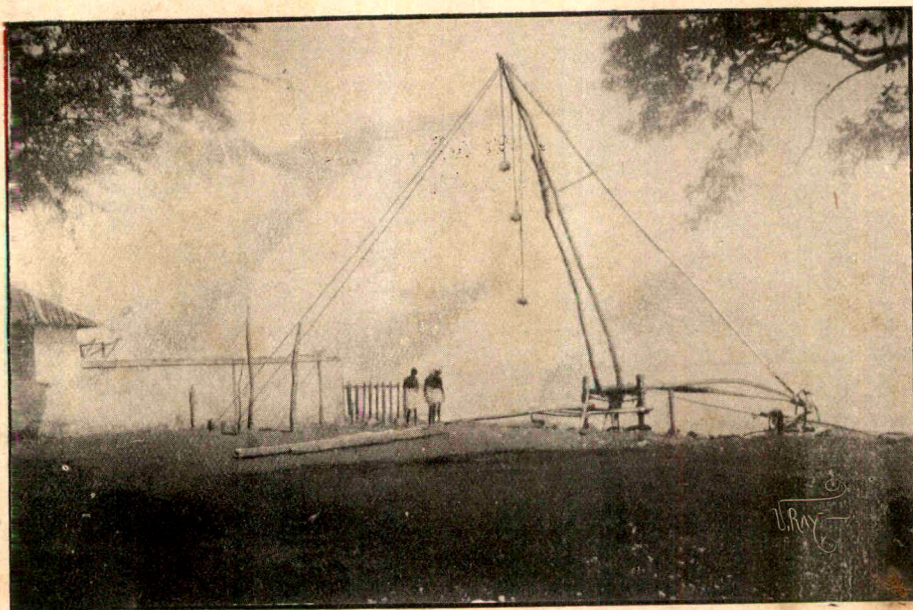
A TRAVANCORE CANAL RUNNING THROUGH A TUNNEL.



CANAL SCENERY IN TRAVANCORE.



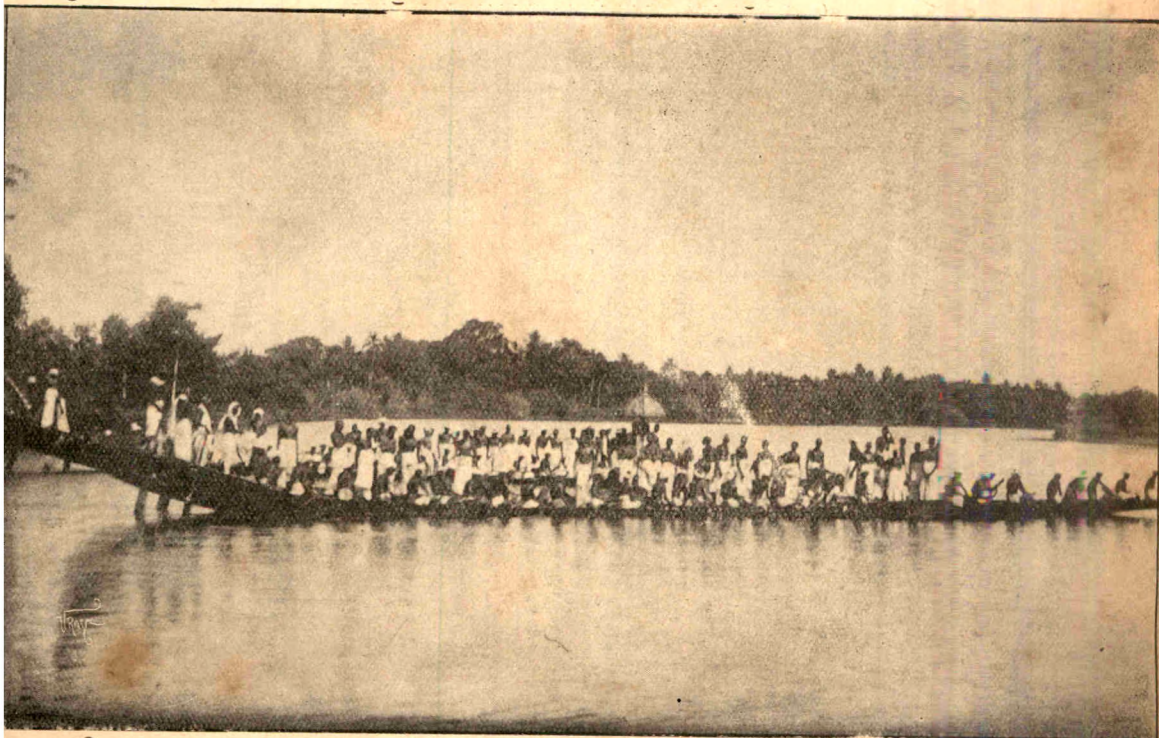
FISHING NET (RAISED) IN COCHIN BACK-WATER.



FISHING NET (CAST) IN COCHIN BACK-WATER.



A CATAMARAN.



A SERPENT BOAT.



CHRISTIAN COOLIS AT THE WATER-WHEEL.



SHANAR CHRISTIAN WOMEN MAKING LACE.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

two sides. The back-waters are generally two to three miles broad. Some are even seven or eight miles broad. The strips of land between the sea and the back waters are at places 2 or 3 miles wide, but in most places their width does not exceed two or three hundred yards. In some places they are so narrow that the waves of the ocean leap over the intervening land and tumble into the back waters.

These narrow strips of land are generally inhabited by fisher folk, who for the most part are Christians. These Christians are also peasants and day-labourers. By social usage Brahmans and other "higher" castes are not permitted to live here. They become outcasts if they do so. In former times none but fishermen and other "low" castes would even traverse these regions. Brahmans and other higher castes live in the comparatively high lands lying between the back-waters and the Western Ghats. Formerly low caste people were not allowed to use the public roads in these places; and this state of things still exists to some extent. Even now if some person belonging to a low caste meets some Brahman or Nayar in the roads, he is obliged to scamper to the fields or the jungles. The Western Ghats are inhabited by various aboriginal tribes.

The legendary account of the origin of the Malabar coast connects it with Parasurama, one of the avatars of Vishnu. It is said that in order to atone for the guilt of matricide and of the extermination of the Kshatriya race, he wanted to make a gift of land to Brahmans. But land he could nowhere get. So he turned as a last resource to Varuna, the sea-god, with a prayer for some land. Varuna asked Parasurama to throw his battle-axe towards the offing, and at the same time ordered the ocean to recede from where the axe might fall. The battle-axe was thrown with might and main, the ocean receded, and the country of Malabar rose to view. It is

said that Parasurama created a separate class of Brahmans called the Namburis and gave away the country to them.

The Namburis, Nambudris or Namputiris form the socio-spiritual aristocracy of Malabar and as the traditional landlords of Parasurama's land, they are everywhere held in great reverence. Tradition traces the Nampuris to Ahikshetra, whence Parasurama invited Brahmans to settle in his newly reclaimed territory. In order to prevent them from relinquishing it, he is said to have introduced certain striking and distinctive changes in their personal, domestic and communal institutions. Sir William Hunter is disposed to call them Brahminized fishermen and would refer to their polygamy, their post-nubile marriage, the prohibition of lawful and holy matrimony among all but the eldest son in a household and to the ceremonial fishing as part of the marriage-ritual among the Yajurvedic branch of the caste, as relics of a pre-Brahmanic stage. But this view has been disputed. And if anthropometry may be trusted to enlighten us on the subject, the researches of Mr. Fawcett go to show that "they (the Nampuris) are the truest Aryans in Southern India." (*Fawcett's Bulletin on the people of Malabar.*)

The Nampuris are a fair-skinned race with fine features. They have their tuft of hair on the top of their head more to the front than behind. They are passionate growers of finger-nails, which are in some cases more than a foot long and serve several useful purposes. In connection with the general appearance of the Namputiri, it should be observed that there is about his good old person and his quaint-looking dress and jewellery, a mild beauty which the eye delights to dwell on. As in everything else, he is orthodox even in the matter of dress. Locally manufactured cloths alone are purchased, and *Swadeshists* who deplore the destruction of indigenous industries by the

importation of foreign goods may congratulate the Kerala Brahmans on their protectionist habits, and recognize them as practical economists of a high order. Silk and coloured cloths are not worn by either sex. Among Nampuri women there are two styles of dressing. The half-jacket known as *Ravukka* (bodice) is a recent introduction into the toilette of South Indian women, and has, as may be expected, not yet found acceptance among the Namputiris. The Nampuri uses wooden shoes, but never of leather. Undyed cloths form the daily wear of the Namputiri women, and it is interesting to note that all Brahman women wear undyed cloths during a sacrifice, when, as on other ceremonial occasions, all recent innovations in matters of dress are given up in favour of the old style of dress, however seemingly crude they may be. This may perhaps be taken to show that white was the colour of the early Aryan woman's dress.

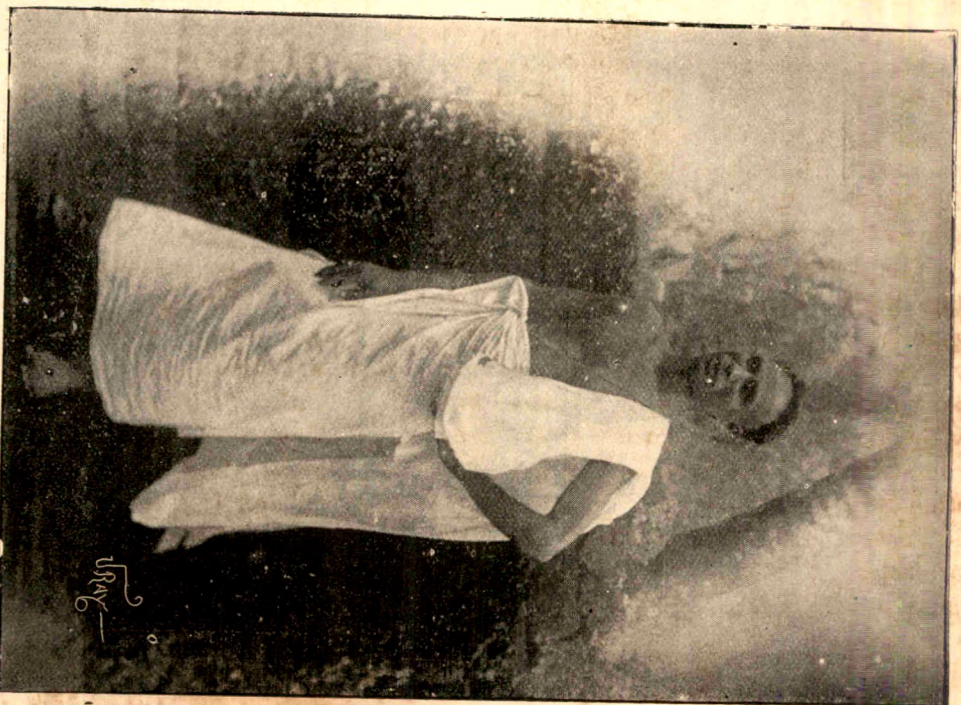
Beyond plain finger-rings, and a golden amulet attached to the waist-string, the Nampuri wears no ornaments. His ears are bored, but no ear-rings are worn unless he is an Agnihotri, when ear-pendants of an elongated pattern are used. The ornaments of the Namputiri women have several peculiarities. Gold-bracelets are, as it were, proscribed even for the most wealthy. Hollow bangles of brass or bell-metal for the ordinary Namputiris and of solid silver for the *Adhya* Namputiris are the ones in use. The Nampuris do not bore their noses, or wear any nose-ring, and in this respect present a striking contrast to the Nayar women. But the Nayar woman in her turn differs from her East Coast sister in keeping at least the septum of the nose undrilled. Unlike in the East Coast, no restriction is placed on the use of ornaments by Nampuri widows beyond the removal of the *Tali* or locket, which will be found in some of our illustrations. Tattooing is prohibited to her.

A Namputiri's house, as is the house of every other native of Malabar, stands within a large compound of its own, where trees, such as the tamarind, the mango, the jack and laurel, grow in shady luxuriance. Plantains of all varieties are cultivated, and yams of various kinds and peas, in their respective seasons. A tank is an inseparable accompaniment, and, in most Namputiri houses, there are three or four of them, the largest being used for bathing and the others for general and kitchen lavatory purposes. Whenever there is a temple of any importance anywhere near at hand, the Namputiri may prefer to bathe in the tank attached to it, but his favourite ghat is always the tank near his home and owned by him. Wells are never used for bathing and hot-water bath is also avoided, as far as possible, as plunging in a natural reservoir would alone confer the requisite ceremonial purity. Towards the north-western corner of the house is located the *sarpakkavu* or the snake-abode one of the indispensable adjuncts of a Malabar house. This *Kavu* is either an artificial jungle grown on purpose in a part of each compound or a relic recording the un-reclaimed primeval jungle which every part of Malabar once was. Right in the centre of the *Kavu* is the carved image in granite of the cobra; and several living representatives of this species of reptiles haunt the house as if in recognition of the memorial raised.

The eldest male member inherits the property and administers all affairs. The eldest son alone marries and marries in his own caste and enters into the scheme of family perpetuation. The other sons consort with non-Brahman women. In certain respects the Namputiri system, where the management of family property descends in the male line in the order of age, no matter whether a person is married or not, is ever superior to the English law of primogeniture to which it is the nearest Indian approach. Here is avoided the devolution of family cares



MALAYALI GIRLS,



A NAMPUERI BRAHMAN.



A DAUGHTER OF MALABAR.

and responsibilities on immature heirs leading to impaired efficiency, even when senior male members who are to be life-bachelors and have no less a natural right than the minor son of a deceased brother, are available to manage the household. In default of male issue, the last surviving girl is made over in marriage with all her patrimony by a ceremony called "Sarvasvadanam" or giving away of everything, after which the son-in-law takes the place of the son and assumes and transmits to his descendants the name of his wife's family.

The Nampuri is a strict vegetarian. He rarely takes cold drinks. His drinking water boiled and flavoured with coriander, cummin seeds, &c., is a great delicacy. At home his wife serves him his meals if he is absolutely alone, and by way of taking charge of the leaf on which he has eaten, holds it by the right hand, the husband touching it by the left, before he rises from his seat.

Bathing is one of the most important religious duties of all Namputiris. A Namputiri only wants an excuse for bathing. Every Namputiri bathes twice a day at least, sometimes oftener. But it is prohibited before sunrise, after which a bath ceases to be a religious rite on the other coast. The use of a covering waist-cloth, the *langoti* excepted, during bath, is also prohibited.

Chastity is jealously guarded by the imposition of severe ostracism on adulterers. Formal salutation and even prostration before and blessing by seniors are prohibited. This is a striking point of difference between Malabar and the rest of India and is probably based on the esoteric teaching of universal oneness.

The impartibility of family property is emphasized and rendered secure by the injunction that only the eldest son should marry. Should, however, this marriage be barren of male issue through death or sterility, the next younger son may marry. Sometimes if one wife fails to bear a male child, another is

taken. Only three wives are permitted to be taken under this condition. Among the Namputiris infant marriage is unknown. They strictly follow the 89th verse of the 5th chapter of Manu, which is as follows: 'But the maiden, though marriageable, should rather stop in the father's house until death than he should ever give her to a man destitute of good qualities.' This, added to the rule that only the eldest son should marry, accounts for the large number of old maids among Namputiris.

It is impossible to give within the compass of a single article even brief descriptions of all the castes inhabiting Malabar. We shall, therefore, mention only a few more.

The Nayars form the bulk of the Sudra population of Malabar and hold a position in respect of caste next only to the Brahmans, Kshatriyas, and the higher classes of the Ampalavasis, *i. e.*, the castes whose occupation is temple service. The appearance of the well-nourished Nayar is perhaps one of the finest in all India. The climate and the nature of their occupation, added to the situation of their houses, which nestle as it were under a canopy of trees, are such as ought ordinarily to improve the complexion and general appearance. Scrupulous attention to personal cleanliness is a conspicuous feature of the Nayars of both sexes. The growth of the hair is very profuse, especially on the head, and both sexes take great pains to preserve its fineness and length. Their various styles of dressing the hair form in fact one of the attractions of Nayar women.

The Nayars are not strict vegetarians. Fish in many houses is an article of daily consumption, and even though the upper classes generally shun it, the partiality in its favour is so strong with some that it is very often smuggled in. The *Kanji* or rice-gruel is a favourite food of the Malabar Hindus, and of the Nayars of the working classes in particular. According to a well-known writer at the commencement of the 16th century,

drinking was unknown in Travancore. But that virtue seems to have declined in course of time, so that in 1787 A. D. the then Maharaja had to formally prohibit the use of palm brandy under pain of forfeiture of property.

The chief festival of the Nayers in which all the naturalised Malayalis, including the East Coast Brahmans, join, is the *Onam*. It occurs in the last week of August or in the first week of September. It is a season of joy and merriment. The presentation of cloths to relations and dependents is special to the *Onam* day. On this occasion even the poorest man tries to dine like a prince. As a Malabar proverb goes, the *Onam* must be enjoyed even by selling one's *Kanam* (estate). Various field-sports of the indigenous type, of which foot-ball is the chief, are lustily engaged in. In more martial times, the recreation was of a more dangerous description. Fr. Bartolomeo wrote at the end of the 18th century :

"The men, particularly those who are young, form themselves into two parties and shoot at each other with arrows. These arrows are blunted but exceedingly strong, and are discharged with such force that a considerable number are generally wounded on both sides. These games have a great likeness to the *Cerialia* and *Juvenalia* of the ancient Greeks and Romans."

So says Forbes also in his *Oriental Memoirs*. Says Mr. Fawcett,

"Even to-day in British Malabar each player is armed with a little bow made of bamboo about 18 inches in length, and arrows or what answers for arrows, being no more than pieces of the mid-rib of the cocoanut palm-leaf roughly broken off, leaving a little leaf at one end to take the place of the feather. In the centre of the spot, but on the ground, is placed the target—a piece of the heart of the plaintain tree about three inches in diameter pointed at the top in which is stocked a small *cheppu* as the mark, which is the immediate object in view of the players so called. They shoot indiscriminately at the mark and he who lifts it (the little arrows shoot straight and stick in readily) carries off all the arrows lying on the ground."

There are many other popular festive occasions in Malabar, characterised by pantomimic

shows, and representations of the Kuru kshetra war, &c.

Marriage among this caste may mean either the formal ceremony of tying a *tali* or locket around the neck of a girl accompanied by festive celebrations for four days, called *kettukalyanam*, or the ceremony of actual alliance as husband and wife extending for a few hours in the night, conducted quietly in the midst of a comparatively small gathering and with instrumental music religiously eschewed, known as *Sambandham*. The former is a public family ceremony, while the latter is more a private and personal transaction but solemn though unostentatious. The husband by *Sambandham* need not be the *tali*-tier and most often is not so. In the generality of cases, the Nayar wife does not live in her husband's house but in the house of her birth, which alone she looks upon as hers, at all stages of her life.

The details of the *kettukalyanam* ceremony vary widely in different parts of Malabar. But the essential parts of the ceremony appear to be the same everywhere. As a marriage rite it has no significance. The *tali* (locket)-tier is in no sense a husband. *Sambandham* constitutes the real marriage *de facto* as well as *de jure*. The word means alliance or connection. In different parts it is differently known as *Gunadosham*, meaning (a union for) good and evil, or *Vastradanam* or *Putavakota*, meaning the giving of a cloth. It may be performed without any formal ceremony, and in several ancient families, including the most aristocratic, as a private transaction confidentially gone through. In some cases the bride-groom and some of his select friends assemble in the house of the bride, and the bride-groom presents into her hands a few unbleached cloths. Presents are made to *Vaidikas* and to the relations and servants of the bride. After supper and *pan-supari* the party disperse. Just before the acceptance of the cloth, the girl makes du-



MALABAR-COIFFURES AND JEWELLERY.



A MALAYALI LADY.



TIYA WOMEN.



A MILITARY PANTOMIME.



A REPRESENTATION OF THE KURUKSHETRA WAR.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.



VETTUPULAYA WOMEN.



PULAYA WIFE AND HUSBAND.

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



ABANINDRO NATH TAGORE.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD

obedience to uncles, mother, aunts and other elders, as if by way of seeking and obtaining their formal assent to the transaction she is going to enter into. Perpetual widowhood is not an institution among Nayars. Divorce is theoretically unrestricted but practically not very frequent.

That fraternal polyandry once prevailed in Malabar on a noticeable scale and still prevails to a very small extent in certain parts of the country is not improbable. The political conditions of a people have a great deal to do with their marriage customs and forms of inheritance and all possible present-day abuses. What Montesquieu says with reference to the circumstances under which Nayar women began to be polyandrous or at least ceased to conform to the conventional rules of marital life, deserves to be noted and will account even more directly for the prevailing system of property inheritance. He says:—

"In this tribe the men can have only one wife; while a woman on the contrary is allowed many husbands. The origin of this custom is not difficult to discover. The Nayars are the tribe of people who are the soldiers of the nation. In Europe, soldiers are not encouraged to marry. In Malabar where the climate requires greater indulgence, they are satisfied with rendering marriage as little burdensome as possible; they give one wife amongst many men, which consequently diminishes the attachment of family and the cares of house-keeping; and leaves them in the free possession of a military spirit."

But all this is now fast changing. Polyandry is not heard of except perhaps in certain remote country parts, and in these peaceful times and altered conditions of society, the continuation of such strange customs is rightly regarded as devoid of all justification. The practice at least among all decent sections of the Nayar people is one of strict monogamy with all the constancy of such marriages elsewhere and the right to divorce at will is sparingly exercised. Even the remarriage of widows except at tender ages is considered not quite the proper thing, if it

can at all be helped. The locket-tying, which at present is a mere ceremony, is beginning to be recognised as a relic and record of a different past and the trend of public opinion is in the direction of restoring it to its original binding value. The responsibility for the due care and proper maintenance of one's children is not only felt by the parents in a greater measure than formerly, but is beginning to be enforced by society and to some extent by the State. The need for legislation with a view to sanction, render stable and even stimulate this tendency towards reform, has been felt; and it is more than likely that when the actual change in conviction and sentiment spreads wider and sinks deeper, legislation will stand clear of all charges of meddling or of being revolutionary and merely be a formal declaration of a well-established public opinion intended only to serve as a recorded authority for judicial tribunals.

The Nayars, like the rest of the practically indigenous population of Malabar, inherit in the female line. That is to say, a man inherits the property of his mother's brother, not that of his father.

Pulaya is supposed to be derived from *Pula*, a word meaning pollution, because of all the indigenous castes and tribes of Malabar, they cause the greatest impurity from the standpoint of Hindu medieval conventionalism. In British Malabar, they are more generally known as Cherumar or Cherumakkal, meaning a short-sized people. The peculiarity about the clothing of Pulayas is that among the Vettupulayas who live in the Chelallay Taluk the women wear but a leafy garment. All over India there are numerous tribes like these in a more or less savage condition, who are our brothers and have to be raised on the scale of civilisation.

Among the Pulayas, an unmarried girl allowed to attain puberty passes from the hands of the parents to the hands of the Valluvan or priest, who may marry her to one

of his sons or send her beyond Cochin as an outcast. If a particular match is disapproved of by the astrologer, the difficulty is got over by the brother of the intended husband marrying the girl by proxy and handing her over to his possession after the performance of the ceremonial rite. With the Pulayas the locket-tier is the real husband. Widows may take a second husband by receiving a cloth present. Polygamy is permitted but polyandry is prohibited.

The Shanars are a Tamil-speaking caste in Tinnevely and South Travancore. The Tiyas, who are allied to them, inhabit British

Malabar. Dr. Caldwell in his *Essay on the Tinneveli Shanars* says:—

"It is tolerably certain that the Izhavas and Tiyas who cultivate the cocoanut palm of Travancore are descendants of Shanar colonies from Ceylon."

The Izhavas are akin to them. The Tiya women of British Malabar are well-favoured, those of the other allied castes being not so. The Tiya women are often scantily dressed, the upper part of the body being left unclothed. Many Shanars have become Christians. Their women are expert in making lace.

These notes have been compiled for the most part from the Travancore Census Report for 1901.

THE PASSING OF SHAH JEHAN

IT was said of Abanindro Nath Tagore the other day, by one whose name is likely to be much heard in the future, as that of a great Indian art-critic, that "not only is he what could not have been expected in India at present, but also probably of first rank in Europe". And Dr. A. K. Coomaraswamy's praise is understood by even the most unlearned who sees the superb original of the drawing reproduced in this number, "The Passing of Shah Jehan." It happens to a few lives that they are filled with a certain quality of dramatic fitness. They appear to reap the harvest of many births. The jewel and its setting have, in every case that concerns them, a strange harmony. Pre-eminently was this the case with Shah Jehan. The turbulent young soldier becomes the Emperor of Delhi, and nothing is wanting to the glory of his reign. Successful general, unrivalled administrator, wealthiest of monarchs, he does not fail, either, of more subtle and finer joys more often granted to men of lower

station. Shah Jehan, Emperor of all India, is also hero nevertheless of one of the supreme marriage-idylls of the world. All that he can give, has not prevented a woman from yielding to him her disinterested devotion. And as if even this were too little, there is given to him the still rarer gift of immortal song in honour of the beloved. For are the buildings and cities that his genius has left,—dedicated to Arzmand Banu, his wife, and to India, Goddess and Mother,—not a poem sung in marble by the lips of a sovereign? Never verily in the history of the world, did any single monarch build like this. And never one who was not enamoured and enrapt of a passion for the land he ruled.

Yet, that the great life may indeed be perfect, we have no monotony of splendour and success. The sad minor mingles with the music. To joyous courtship succeeds long widowhood. On brilliant empire supervenes the seven-years' imprisonment. He, before whom the whole world bowed, is thankful and

proud to win at last the long sweet faith and service of a single daughter of his own. From the throne of the world to a prison-cell! What were the memories and what the hopes, that thronged the shadows in which Shah Jehan spent those last long years?

Here is the end.

At his own earnest entreaty as they tell to this day in Agra Fort, the bed of the dying man has been carried to the balcony beyond the Jasmine Tower, that overhangs the river. Jehanara weeps at her father's feet. All others have withdrawn; for no service remains to be rendered to the august captive. On the edge of the carpet lie only the shoes and regal helmet, put off for the last time. For Shah Jehan, the uses of the world are ended. Silence and night and the mourning moon, half-veiled in her scarf of drifting cloud, envelop the sad soul of the gentle princess.

But Shah Jehan himself?—To him the moment is glad with expectation. The sucking

sound of the river below the bastions fills him with the sense of that other river beside which stands his soul. Yonder, beyond the bend, like some ethereal white-veiled presence, stands the Taj,—*her* taj, *her* crown, the crown he wrought for her. But to-night it is more than her crown. To-night, it is herself. To-night she is there, in all her old-time majesty and sweetness, yet with an added holiness withal. To-night, beyond the gentle lapping of the waters, every line of the stately form speaks tenderness and peace and all-enfolding holiness, waiting for that pilgrim—with weary feet, bent back, and head so bowed, alas!--who comes, leaving behind alike palace and prison, battlefield and cell of prayer, to land on the quiet shore on the yonder side of death.

Truly a royal passing—this of Shah Jehan! King in nothing so truly as in his place in a woman's heart—crowned in this, the supreme moment, of her to whom he gave the Crown of all the world.

N.

NOTES

The factors of national prosperity.

There are a few fundamental occupations in human society, such as those of the peasant, the herdsman, the miner, and the fisher. And it has been well said that only by returning upon and re-enforcing these, can a country be developed and its prosperity furthered.

In India, the civilisation is built upon the peasant. In Mohammedan districts and provinces, it is built somewhat more predominantly on the herdsman. The tools and machines that are wanted for these occupations and their associated industrialisms and civilisations, should be furnished by the Indian

miner. The commerce that leaves our shores ought to be carried by our own maritime people. In re-enforcing these, in giving extended irrigation and better methods to the peasant, with more freedom for his savings: in ensuring pastures and forests to the herdsman, with added science as to breeding and cleaning; in developing the native manufactures for the miner; in bettering silk, cotton and wool; in extending and improving drainage and the fisheries:—in these and such as these would lie the prosperity of India. These are the heads under which the great Judge of the Dead will examine those who have meddled in the direction of her affairs, and how will they

answer? We must remember that in that dread inquisition, it will not be enough for a man to reply "I made myself rich—I was a famous organiser—my clerks were punctual, my workshops were clean, my servants never disobeyed me!" It will not even be enough to say, "I pensioned off men who had given me themselves and their labour for thirty years." We can imagine the face of Yama, god as he is of *Dharma*, when he listens to innocent pleadings of this description. And what astonishment will be the lot of some who say in all good faith "Not guilty!" Cities full of lawyers would never make up for an old-time prosperity of farmer and *gowala* (milkman). The comfort of wife and weans in distant England will not, in the eyes of God, be any compensation for one of these, His little ones, who died in despair and hunger in the adjacent village.

It was an English poet, himself one of the workers, who cried, out of the depths,

"When wilt Thou save the People,
 Oh Lord of Mercy, when?
 The People, Lord! the People!
 Not thrones and crowns, but Men?
 Flowers of Thy heart, Oh God, are they—
 Let them not pass like weeds away,
 Their heritage a sunless day!
 God save the "People!"

And "God save the People!" say we Indians, with him, with all our hearts.

The Education of Girls and Women.

In Council Chambers, official reports, and our own conferences, the question of the education of girls and women has fortunately of late been somewhat to the fore. But the paramount importance of the question and its exact bearings do not always seem to be properly understood. The vast majority of Indian girls and women are illiterate, though we do not admit that our women are, on that account, without any education. In the domestic virtues, and in some social virtues, too, they are

unsurpassed in all the world. This certainly implies education. They have education of a certain type, therefore, but it is not of a form adapted to modern exigencies. We have to change its form and make it wider. The change of form must, however, preserve the old altruism, or we shall have deterioration in character, the most precious objective of all educational processes. Yet men also must seek the education of woman altruistically, for the sake of woman herself or the country, not because it is convenient to have a wife who can read the clinical thermometer or keep accounts or write a letter, or delightful to have one who can sing or even discuss archaeology!

We seem to hear the ideal womanhood of India that must co-operate more and more with her manhood for the upbuilding of the nation, say: "You men, who have hitherto had this exquisite reverence for women, as for one too holy to be looked upon, have now to become her developers, the sculptors of new types, the *mothers* as it were, being men, of a new greatness and masculinity in woman. In order to do this, you will have to look her firmly and squarely in the face, estimating her real virtues and also her faults without false sentimentality. Woman is sometimes, but by no means always, a veritable goddess. In future you cannot be only our worshipper. You will also sometimes have to become the surgeon, and yet with all this, you will need the old reverence and ideality more than ever. Like the mediæval sculptor who held that the angelic form already existed within the marble block, his task being only to set it free, you also will believe in the Ideal which mind and soul are already struggling to reach, your task being only to set them free for the flight upwards.

"More and more you will need and seek clear thought as to what is strong and what weak in woman, and having reached it, you will worship the strong,—not necessarily the

attractive or the winsome, or the beautiful, but always the strong. Men, with regard to women, may be divided into well-marked classes and only the greatest and strongest seek for strength."

"Rikhvan."

Mr. A. C. Sen, M. A., M. R. A. C., has sent us the following note on the word "Rikhvan":—

"Mr. B. C. Mazumdar, in his interesting article on the 'Bhuiyas', published in the second number of the *Modern Review*, writes in the last paragraph but one:—

'In the district of Sambalpur there is a sect of priestly Bhuiyas who call themselves Rikhman or Rikhvan Bhuiyas. What the term signifies they do not know.'

"I beg to suggest that probably Rikhman or Rikhvan is the same as the Vedic word *Rikvan*. The term originally meant the composer or the reciter of *riks* and then a priest. In the *Rigveda* we hardly find the *Rikvans* as a class of priests living on earth. Before the hymns contained in the *Rigveda Samhita* were composed, the *Rikvans* with Brihaspati at their head, had been deified and translated to the world of Yama. This is not the first instance of a Vedic word being found among people living far away from the original seat of the *Rishis*. Consider the following:—

Words.	Meanings.	Where found.
स्थूणा	... pillar	... Malda and Rajshahi.
नना	.. daughter	... Tipperah.
निरय, निन्	... sinking	... E. Bengal.
रशना, रशि	... rope	... Do.
उखा, आखा	... oven	... Do.
अझर, अझुर, अजर	a spirit	... Do.
ताका, ढोका	... a boy	... Orissa.
ग्रामणी	... village head-man	... Among the Santals."

Food for the People.

Sister Nivedita's "Glimpses of Famine and Flood in East Bengal in 1906" are concluded in this number. From the point of view of the economist, "The Commonwealth based on Rice" and "The Progress of Poverty," must be considered the two most important papers

of the series. And we may add that to the British statesman the last paragraph of all conveys a warning of which he should take note if he be wise. It is but the poorest statesmanship to disregard all dangers except those that are imminent or immediate. But we digress. It has not yet been recognised in our Indian Universities and not universally even by our publicists that Indian political economy is and ought to be somewhat different from Western political economy. It is, therefore, interesting to note, as recorded in p. 454 of this number, that the late Mr. W. K. Johnson entertained this opinion. It may seem a trite observation, but it is necessary to repeat that *it is true that money is no substitute for rice*. If this were deeply understood, it would have many consequences. Bhishma and Yudhisthira would have called the selling of rice or other staple food of a province out of the 3 years' store, *a-dharma*, and they would have been right. To have a granary containing rice sufficient for 3 years ahead is *dharma*. To barter this for coin is *a-dharma*. This is the truth that must be taught and enforced in all possible ways. The Indian people are in the extraordinary position of having a religious and moral system of their own, which has grown up on their own soil, in expression of their proper needs. They are not islanders, indebted for their morality to the distant edge of Africa and Asiatic deserts. English people cannot imagine the strength and clearness of conviction that this fact gives. They have no conception of what it means, when something ails the body economic and politic, to be able to turn to your own past, for illumination and guidance. Yet it is pathetic enough to see even from the Christian Bible, that the problems of Oriental peoples grappling with Western empires must be ever the same. It was the same process, as hurried on by Roman power, that made Paul exclaim "The love of money is the root of all evil!"

Fortunately for our people, however, this love of money has not yet demoralised them. It is the rulers who suffer from it in India, not so much the ruled. The re-establishment of prosperity amongst the People, then, by the restoration of rice must be the aim of all our politics, for years to come. This can be done. It is not hopeless. Only it will require the co-operation of landlord and peasant, of educated and rustic. It will require also the birth of an idea amongst all these that they, and they alone, are the people to judge how much they can contribute to general interests of Government and local organisation, and the concentration of all their strength round this question. Personally, we believe that we are, as a people, sufficiently saturated with habits of self-direction and self-control to be capable of arriving at united decisions regarding taxation, which should do justice to all concerned, and capable further of carrying out such decisions, when arrived at, without coercion. Something like this is our next problem. We cannot urge any action which would end in dispossessing our own landlords, and accelerate the process by which Englishmen are trying to get into their own hands the great estates of Bengal. This is a contingency which must be penalised to the utmost. And yet it is equally clear that more and more for the next ten or twenty years, our conferences and congresses must become bodies for the consideration of positive action. In proportion as we leave the platform of theory and criticism, and place ourselves in the arena of action and conduct, do we make the attainment of our ideal possible. 'Food for the People!' is the first and most important of those ideals, and it is for this reason chiefly that we are determined on political efficiency. But if political efficiency is not to be *granted* to us, we have only to go a few steps further, and create it for ourselves. And the first movement towards this is a gradual and quiet shifting

of the whole centre of discussion to the question, What terms should we be prepared to offer? To the bureaucrat this will read like the merest bluff. Our reply is, let him use his political telescope. He may also rest assured that we will not neglect to take the immediate and intermediate steps. To go on merely criticising and reproaching a foreign bureaucracy, because it does not understand, or does not sympathise in our needs and aspirations, is unmanly. To go on begging and appealing to them to do so, is only making gods of them and seating them on the throne of Indra. We have now, setting aside all hope or thought of others, to evolve our own method and principles of action. We know that the race is to the strong, and our reply is 'Let us ourselves, then, be the strong!'

In each district and village a fair rate of taxation should be fixed upon, with the distinct understanding that for years to come, in consequence of the over-taxation, which has now lasted so long, this must be exceptionally low. The farmers must be given the chance of recuperation, and recuperation means progressive saving. The question what in each place is the fair rate is the immediate consideration, and for this, we require the union of all our heads. For the actual enforcing of our decision, when arrived at, passive resistance offers weapon sufficient. Where numbers are so overwhelming as with us, passive resistance is a final argument. And we are glad to note that thousands of the sturdy peasants of the Punjab have already of their own accord begun the movement of passive resistance.

In the awakening India which we see about us, then, 'Food for the People!' is the cry which is beginning to take precedence of political and educational rights, as the immediate object of our energies. And this cry is not intended for the ears of others. It is to be uttered amongst ourselves. Nor is it

merely a vague aspiration. It is the statement of a problem which we do not rest till we have solved in action. "Salutation to the mother!" were mere hypocritic words without meaning, unless we boldly face the duties which that salutation entails upon us.

We of the India which is to-day arising, have no fear of sacrifice. We know well that nothing worth doing was ever done without *tapasya*. We know that a man's life-work is the measure, drop by drop, of the man's blood. We know that more souls have been lost to comfort than to the love of life itself. Many a man who would have had abundance of courage for the battlefield has committed suicide, rather than face shame and privation. We say boldly, then, that for ourselves and our children, we do not fear poverty. We do not fear hard work. We do not fear struggle. What we fear is luxury, inefficiency, want of knowledge, want of energy, want of character. And the ends for which we strive shall be national, not individual. This is no credit to us. Unless we turn the word 'India' into the very texture of our hearts, our own children die, our own blood goes to the wall. A sufficient income and a fair standard of comfort in his own home is small joy to a father, if he knows that his son's children will beg their bread by the roadside. We, the Indian people, at this crisis, stand or fall together. And we have all the wit necessary to understand that fact.

Zemindars and their tenants, city and country, Hindu and Mohammedan, together we stand, together we fall. The lot of one is the lot of the other. An Oriental is not a fool, that he should be unable to see this.

One of the pressing problems is the formation of Zemindars' Associations for the purpose of rural banks. The money-lender, instead of being decried, must be eliminated from our system. And this must be done by our own people. Here, it is not so much

sacrifice that we need, as *tapasya*—earnestness, intensity. Amongst the cities and small towns, a schoolmaster or a student may be found here and there, to take up the study of such questions as these, and to give his life to preaching and making the idea possible. Many a zemindar's private charities are sufficient to pay his share of such a concern, and merely by combination and organisation, his goodwill could be put at the service of his province. The agricultural banks of the Government, we must remember, are only an echo of this idea, long ago apprehended and formulated by ourselves. And the expenditure of the Government is pitifully small.

Our Conferences.

Easter was the name of a goddess of light or spring in honour of whom a festival was celebrated in April. Christians have adapted it to the celebration of the resurrection of Jesus Christ. In India Easter is being used by all of us, including Christians, for putting new life into all our activities, religious, social, political and industrial. That a unity runs through matter and spirit is said to be highest hypothesis of the scientist at the moment. That is perhaps why nature-symbolism always lends itself so readily for the purposes of symbolism of all other descriptions. And so Easter, the festival of Nature's new life in spring, Easter, the symbol of a new spiritual life among Christians, is coming to mark the revival of life in all our movements. And how multifarious and numerous they are! It is impossible for us to notice all the wise and weighty things said in so many places by so many of our leaders, who will no doubt understand our perplexity: particularly as the Imperial and Provincial Budgets must also claim notice. We are able to make room only for some observations on the Imperial Budget and our own Provincial Conferences. We may, however, be permitted to observe

in passing that it is much to be regretted that in Bengal, the birthplace of the present-day Swadeshi cry, there has been no provincial industrial conference held. Surely Bengal has her industrial problems to solve. And what shall we think of her not holding a provincial social conference? Is there no social evil in Bengal? True, Bengal is still in the throes of a political conflict. But it only serves the enemy's purpose to forget our non-political duties in the long protracted hour of affliction.

A Comilla Lesson.

What lessons do the Comilla incidents teach? One is that under certain circumstances, *Pax Britannica* is a delusion, and a fool's paradise. Even under ordinary circumstances *Pax Britannica* really does not stand for what it ought to. In plain English a state of peace means security of life and property. Yet during times of peace in the 19th century thirty-two and a half millions of Indians died of famine. How many more millions have died of malarious fever, we do not know. More than four millions have already died of plague during the last decade or so; and to-day more than seventy-five thousand persons are dying of the same fell disease every week. These are the victims of peace. When did war demand a heavier sacrifice? And we must remember that as causes of death, famine, malarious fevers and plague are all preventible. As to security of property, never did Nadir Shah, Timur the Lame, and other plunderers take away so much wealth from India, as, year after year, quietly, bloodlessly and legally, is drained away to foreign shores to enrich the foreigner, and indirectly to bring about the death of India's children by famine and plague. In former days plunder and killing were deliberate; now killing is not intentional and as to plunder we are willing to give the foreigner the benefit of the doubt; but we grow poor and die all the same. The

other difference is that in times of war men die like men, in times of peace they die like flies. But it is not of this that we wished to speak. What we wish to point out is that though our Government has deprived us of arms, yet sometimes its officers cannot or do not protect us in days of trouble. The remedy is for every one, man, woman and child, to learn to use the *lathi*, the only weapon left to us, for self-defence,—until at any rate the benign goddess *Pax Britannica* orders us to lay down the *lathi* also and take every beating lying down. Then we shall have to think of other means of self-defence. Sufficient unto the day is the evil thereof.

The Kingston Incident—an Explanation.

The note on the Kingston Incident in our last number was not written as an expression of political sympathy one way or the other. Least of all was it intended to hurt any American. It was intended as an allusion to certain faults—which we consider to be serious—of our own people, and is so understood, clearly enough, amongst them. "Eye-shame" is not English. It is a literal translation of a Bengali word.

The Budget "Debate."

There were many noticeable features about the present year's Budget "Debate". This has been well called "The Indian Member's Field-day," and when we see a company of seven men stand in the breach and deliver notable attacks where formerly one stood alone, we cannot but feel deeply gratified at the growth of political conscience and sagacity in our community. Nor need we be too sensitive about the self-abasement and want of political character shown by one of the Indian members of council. In all countries there are some black sheep. The most significant thing about the Nawab hailing from Dacca—with his willingness to sell not only his country, but also more irremediably his personal dignity, for what

nour declares to be a loan that will pay the debts incurred in questionable pursuits—, to our minds the fact that he is the man amongst us all whom the Civil Service has elected to honour.

In the utterances of the present Viceroy, there is always a kindly and courteous note, which falls most gratefully upon the ears of those accustomed to the arrogance and insolence of his predecessor. Whatever Lord Minto may succeed or fail in doing,—and in truth we regard it as quite possible that he may fail, we have long seen that in conflicts between Viceroys and permanent officials, it is the latter who are set to win—we would have to thank him in advance, for the intentions of an honest and high-minded Christian gentleman, in the sincerity of which, however vile they may ultimately prove, we are only too glad to believe. Truly the Viceroy in his country should be with the People. It is right that the heads of Governments should be democratic in their sympathies. And if Lord Minto should prove himself as strong and friendly in fact, as his words would lead us to anticipate, he need not fear of losing his due meed of love and gratitude from the Indian People.

The exposition of Indian interests by self-titled Englishmen who know little and care less about the realities of Indian life, always yields its crop of small absurdities. One in the present year was funnier than the remark of Sir Harvey Adamson "that the Indian Civil Service is the custodian of the interests of the three hundred millions who inhabit India and not merely of the small party of a few millions of whom the Hon'ble Member (meaning Mr. Gokhale) is the spokesman." This was consumingly droll, and yet we may be pardoned, if, considering the serious nature of the interests concerned, we feel that the words are as meet to move ears as laughter. "The growing spread of prosperity among the masses" was another

allusion by the Hon'ble Mr. Baker which, to us who belong to the said "masses" sounds somewhat satiric. Perhaps, however it was seriously meant. In that case, would that the Hon'ble Mr. Baker would lend us his eyes!

Mr. Gokhale's utterance has its usual ring of manliness and heart-felt sincerity. We cannot be sufficiently glad that the first point in his speech was the need of a large expenditure on sanitation, and that he boldly held out the fact that malaria was amongst the diseases which we have a right to stamp out. The following extract from a recent number of the *Indian Trade Journal* supports this view:—

A Rome correspondent states that **Signor Angelo Celli**, professor at the University, director of the Institute of Hygiene, and organiser of the war on **malaria**, has just published most interesting and hopeful figures concerning this campaign, coming to the conclusion that **a few more years' perseverance will rid Italy of the scourge**. He says that before the war against malaria was begun with modern methods—namely, protection against mosquitoes and the administering of quinine—those suffering from malaria in Italy were about 2,000,000 a year, in 4,848 out of the 8,259 communes, with an average of 15,000 deaths a year of pure malaria, without taking into account those who died of other diseases from which they might have recovered had their organisms not been infected with malaria. Among the malaria population those rejected for military service at the age of conscription went as high as 85 per cent. while 4,942,000 acres of land were uncultivated because infected with malaria. In 1902 the State sale of quinine, almost at cost price, came into effect, while the drug was distributed free in the regions infected with malaria. The following figures are eloquent:—

Year.	Pounds of State quinine sold.	Total of deaths.	Net profit of the State quinine.
1900 . . .	...	15,861	£
1901 . . .	...	13,352	...
1902 . . .	4,932	9,903	1,360
1903 . . .	15,914	8,512	7,321
1904 . . .	30,956	8,501	7,335
1905 . . .	41,166	7,833	11,731

One of Mr. Gokhale's most important paragraphs dealt with the Gold Standard Reserve. It is well known that under this title the Government is accumulating a vast treasure which already amounts, to fifteen millions sterling, with the object of putting down what is darkly referred to as "trouble" in this country at some future time. That is to say, this is understood to be the real object of the fund. Its ostensible purpose is indicated in its name. It has perhaps never occurred to many people that there is anything morally wrong in over-taxing a people, and accumulating money that they needed for food and clothing, for the purpose some day of putting them down in their own land, or of making their opinions with regard to their own country and affairs permanently ineffective. We are sure that this is so. Finance and taxation, to highly accomplished finance members, are probably mere matters of interesting mathematical pursuit only. Honourable gentlemen could hardly display their present glib suavity, if they realised the concrete human facts of hunger and despair, behind these figures. But we can assure the Government that if their intentions with regard to the Gold Standard Reserve be as they are understood by the country at large to be, they are showing a strange inability to grasp the situation. If the Government should be so foolish as by its own want of sympathy and straightforwardness to drive the Indian People upon the measures that they refer to as "trouble", then that trouble would be of an order with which no armies could cope. With fifteen millions or fifty millions they might as well hope to drive back the ocean, as in that case to subdue the People. And, therefore, we hope that they will understand this before it is too late, and set themselves to disarm any such movement in advance by generous concession and honest adherence to their word.

We are glad of the honest and manly words of Mr. Gokhale on the subject of opium. We approve of Lord Minto's cordial and dignified acceptance of the situation. At the same time, we would draw the attention of our readers to the fact that after all, the Indian Government has not been asked to withdraw its opium from China. The Chinese Government has itself announced its intention of stamping out the import in ten years, and has given notice to outsiders that they may adjust their affairs accordingly. The nefarious traffic was forced on that country by a White Man's War. China never welcomed the import, never ceased to protest. To-day, however, she drops protestation, and puts her foot down with a quiet statement of what she herself will do for herself. And the whole world accepts and is eager to claim the credit. Which things are a parable.

A Globe-Walker.

A man named Mr. F. Lorimer arrived here the other day, who is "walking round the world" for a wager. Mr. Lorimer is said to be an Anglo-American journalist and it is by journalism that he gains his livelihood. During his travels Mr. Lorimer lately passed through India and Burma.

"Mr. F. W. Arnold, a gentleman of some means and position," says Mr. Lorimer, "is my competitor, who has laid the wager with me. I have met Mr. Arnold at several points in my journey and it seems that he himself is travelling round the world for two purposes, first probably for pleasure and secondly to see if I act according to our conditions. The conditions are that I have to start without money and that I am not to beg, borrow or steal, and that I must earn my living by honest means and finish the tour round the world in four years; and also that I am to go unarmed. The betting is altogether for £16,000. I received very good treatment in most parts of India, but

in certain places I was refused even some water or food, owing probably to the orthodox restrictions of caste or religion, or



perhaps to my ignorance of their languages. My detailed opinion of the country and its people will be published in a book. My most exciting adventure up to date was the bridge affair in which I was almost run down by a Railway engine."

Below is given an account of the affair from a printed copy of Mr. Lorimer's notes.

"I was accompanied on my way as far as Landi by some artillery men. My first adventure was on my second day. I had gone about 38 miles that day when I came to a bridge; of course being very tired, I did not trouble to see if there were two lines or one, so struck right out on the first one and as there was a small sandstorm blowing, I could not hear anything behind me. When I had got about fifty yards or so on the bridge, I felt it vibrate and on looking round, to my horror, I saw the lights of an engine approaching. Imagine my state of mind when I looked and saw no footpath on

either side of the line and it was too dark to distinguish the distance to the other line, and as there was a jump of some distance, I did not care to take the chance, so I commenced to run, and ran as no man ever ran before. I could feel the engine gaining on me but still I kept on at a break-neck speed, every now and again encouraging my dog who was running by my side. At last when I was about to give up, I saw a white object to the left, and taking it to be a white stone at the end of the bridge, I threw myself full length off the line and as I did so the train rushed past. If I had another two or three yards to go I should have been run down."

Mr. Lorimer had great fun, he says, with the Burmans, "the Irish men of the east," with his conjuring tricks, at which he is said to be quite an adept. His favourite trick is, when he is paying for any thing, to make money vanish and then produce it again from some unlikely spot, such as a man's beard or inside his turban, etc. Another of his tricks, which, he says, created consternation among the Burmans, was, when he sat down with any of them round a fire, as he had to do on occasions, to take a cigar out of his pocket, light it and smoke slowly for a minute or so and then to every one's surprise commence to blow volumes of smoke out of his mouth and continue doing this until sparks and then flames came forth. At this point, Lorimer says, he generally had the fire to himself, as the Burmans took fright and ran away.

"My way of earning my livelihood is to give a short account of my experiences and a short conjuring performance. I am going through China to Japan, Australia, America, Europe and Africa, whence I intend to return to Karachi."

Mr. Lorimer believes that he is the only man who has ever attempted to walk round the world without arms and money: though I believe that an American named George Schilling walked round the world without

money and arms in six years, and a French Journalist named Mr. Gilbert travelled round the world in five years. Up to date 14 persons have started to walk round the world, some of whom either died in the way, some were killed or drowned and a very few reached back their points of starting.

Lorimer had to wait for his passport to travel through China, which he has got lately and he left Tengyueh yesterday escorted by two Chinese soldiers, himself carrying his bedding, &c. on his back, a scene that has amused every Chinaman, who never saw before a European carrying his bedding, &c., on his back. The writer has specially photographed the traveller for the *Modern Review* and other papers.

And now that I have finished what little I had to say, many will wonder why I have written about this man at all. He is not a great man in any sense of the word; not a remarkable man, not even a monster or a curiosity. He may be the merest foam or froth on the surface, but do not such as he show how the surging national life of the West is beating on the shores of the world? Old and decrepit nations, like old and decrepit men, become very quiet, sedate and calculating. But youth is everywhere full of animal spirits, fond of hobbies and frolic, and loves daring for the sake of daring itself. Nations possessed of youthful vigour throw off such men as if out of the mere exuberance of life. They show what vitality, energy and daring the nation possesses. Turn these qualities to the serious affairs of life and you have heroes and great men. A time there was when India sent out her civilisers, like the Buddhist monks, beyond her borders all over Asia and across the wide waters of the ocean. We hope the old race is not extinct yet.

RAMLAL SIRCAR.

Tengyueh, February 21st, 1907.

A Conversation.

'No!' said the paving-stone.

'Please!' pleaded the fungus roots.

'I can't be disturbed,' said the paving-stone.

'Sorry!' said the fungus roots.

'Be quiet,' said the paving-stone.

'But we're alive!' said the fungus roots.

'What's that?' growled the paving-stone.

'We *must* grow, make way, please,' cried the fungus roots.

'Nonsense,' said the paving-stone, 'What can you do?—weak, soft things like you! Here I am at the top and here I stay. It is an excellent arrangement. Be content and don't push. You make me very uncomfortable,' said the paving-stone.

'We are in the great plan of things as well as you, and we *must* push,' said the fungus roots.

And it is on record that they moved the paving-stone. E. G. in *The Coming Day*.

The Picture of Beatrice Cenci.

The picture which we print in this number as that of Beatrice Cenci was said to have been painted by Guido Reni. The traditional story of Beatrice need not be repeated here in detail. She was implicated in the murder of her father, who had according to tradition treated her most horribly. She was condemned and beheaded, though she persisted in the declaration that she was innocent. It is said that Guido Reni has in this picture reproduced her mournful looks of despair at the spectators when she was being led to the place of execution. But the results "of Bertolotti's investigations" "go far to deprive the story of the Cenci tragedy of the romantic elements on which Shelley's powerful tragedy mainly turns." "And Bertolotti further shows that the sweet and mournful countenance which forms one of the treasures of the Barberini Palace in Rome cannot possibly be a portrait of Beatrice by Guido who never painted in Rome till some nine



BEATRICE CENCI.
From the painting by Guido Reni.

years after Beatrice's death." But whoever the subject and the painter of the picture might have been, its beauty is unquestioned. It has sometimes been spoken of as the saddest picture in the world.

Dickens describes it as follows:—"The portrait of Beatrice Cenci is a picture almost impossible to be forgotten. Through the transcendent sweetness and beauty of the face there is something shining out that haunts me. The head is loosely draped in

white, the light hair falling down below the linen folds. Some stories say that Guido painted it the night before her execution, others that he painted it from memory, after having seen her on the way to the scaffold. I am willing to believe that, as you see her on his canvas so she turned toward him, in the crowd, from the first sight of the axe, and stamped upon his mind a look which he has stamped on mine as though I had stood beside him in the concourse."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Full text of papers read at and submitted to the Industrial Conference, held at Calcutta, in December, 1906. Published by G. A. Natesan and Co., Madras. Price annas eight only. Pp. 271.

This is a handy little book containing within its small compass most of the valuable and informative papers (numbering about twenty) read by various experts on various subjects covering a wide field of Indian Industry, before the Calcutta Industrial Conference. It also includes the Inaugural Address by H. H. the Gaikwad, the Presidential Address by the Hon'ble Mr. Vithaldas Damodar Thackersey, the Welcome Address by Mr. P. N. Bose, the First Industrial Conference and a year's outturn of work, by Mr. R. C. Dutt, C. I. E., and the Resolutions of the Industrial Conference. There are many industries which can be carried on by men of small means belonging to the industrial classes. To them much of the useful information contained in these papers would be very valuable. But they are for the most part ignorant of English. These papers, therefore, ought to be translated into the principal vernaculars of India. The *Prabasi* has published many abridged translations into Bengali.

C. B.

HINDI.

Shastroktopasana, by Rai Bahadur Lala Baij Nath B. A. (Judge, Court of Small Causes, Allahabad) with an introduction by the late lamented Swami Ram Tirth. The object of the book is to supply a treatise or *Upasana* (worship) which should be free from all the minute details that differentiate one Hindu religious sect from another and yet serve the purpose of all religiously inclined Hindus, whatever their own views may be in regard to the particular god or goddess to be worshipped and the manner in which the religious services are to be performed. It is a matter of congratulation that the book has been written so ably and the objects kept in view have been fully realised. The most attractive and impressive portion of the book is the introduction by Swami Ram Tirth. The thoughts expressed therein are the effusions of a sincere and devoted soul who felt keenly for his country. If the face is said to be the index of the heart, these thoughts garbed in unostentatious and simple language are no less the index of the writer's mind and character. The thoughts and ideas strike home to the reader's mind and leave an abiding impression behind. Although uncompromising critics would find fault with the language here and there, yet it must be said that a man who feels keenly for a thing and who is full of thoughts and ideas, may not sometimes wait to

see if his language is quite grammatical, so long as he is able to express his ideas with force and energy. The writer of a book in the style in which Swami Ram Tirth has written this introduction may worthily be styled the Carlyle of Hindi. We wish there were more writers of the kind in Hindi. They would no doubt create a prose literature of which any language might be proud. On the whole the *Shastroktopasana* is an admirable book and deserves to be in the hands of all Hindus, especially of those that have religious tendencies.

X.

Moti and Pavitra Jivan—written by Babu Gokulnand Prasad Varma and published by the Kayasth Institute, Hind, Lucknow. They are priced at annas four and eight respectively. These two books contain short stories of Indian social life. In the first, *Moti*, the heroine of the plot is presented to us as the only daughter of a ruined zamindar, who is anxious to get a suitable bridegroom for his daughter. The zamindar and his wife are very credulous people and easily fall into the trap of a rogue, who represents himself as the very ideal of gentlemanliness and nobleness. They think of rejecting another boy of a rather quiet and delicate nature and who is after the heart of the girl *Moti*. By a stratagem of one of *Moti*'s brothers, the real character of the rogue is discovered, and thus the whole family is saved from disgrace. *Moti* is married to the boy of her heart and passes a noble and peaceful life. Such is, in short, the plot of the book. Although it must be admitted that no exciting scenes are here presented, the reader's curiosity about the future of the hero or heroine is not quickened, he is led to follow the thread of the story calmly, without any great disturbance of his feelings, yet the perusal of the book is sure to leave behind a healthy effect on the minds of the young girls for whom the book is intended. It is written in a beautiful style.

The second book *Pavitra Jivan* relates the story of three sisters, one of whom falls a victim to a fatal disease before reaching maturity and the other dies heart-broken at the cruel and heartless treatment of her husband, who has fallen in evil company and leads the life of a reckless debauchee. The third, who is also the youngest

and gives to the world the painful story of her two sisters, lives to enjoy a peaceful home and is represented as the very ideal of sisterly love. Her great anxiety is always the constant solicitude for the welfare of her mother and her sisters. The spiritual questions dealt with in this book may not be quite acceptable to all, but they no doubt serve their purpose in producing an effect on the mind of the reader and present the characters delineated in a pleasing light. We wish the language of the book had shown touches of a female hand. The story is told by a girl but the language is too masculine to produce the impression which the writings of a woman in her own characteristic style, naturally do. On the whole both the books are excellent and will no doubt serve the purpose of a 'permanent companion to the wives, daughters and sisters of educated people.' The price of both the books is rather high. In order to place them in the hands of women of even ordinary means, it is necessary that they should be sold as cheap as possible.

X.

GUJARATI.

Shri Kāvya Vilās : Part I.; by Bhagwan Shiv Shankar Bhatt, Assistant Master, Mission High School, Surat. Irish Mission Press: Surat. Pp. 74. Price 0-5-0. (1906.)

The author professes that this is an imitation of the late Kavi Narmadashankar's poetic style and subject, specially, the *Ritu Varṇana*. As an imitation it is vain to expect in it the beauty of the original, but, we say without hesitation that even as an imitation it is poor and bad. To suit his purpose, the author has coined several words even. Beyond the humdrum turnout of the ordinary versifier, to be found in every language, there is not much merit in this book.

K. M. J.

Vidhavā : a poem in three sargas, by Vasanta Vinodi. Prajabandhu Printing Works, Ahmedabad: pp. 31. Paper bound: Price 0-4-0 (1906.)

Under the *nom de plume* of Vasanta Vinodi many little songs and poems appear in Gujarati periodicals, now and then. In this poem the writer has attempted a longer flight, on the miseries of Hindu widowhood, dividing it into three parts: Remembrance, Bereavement, and the final Resolution by the widow to devote

her life to a purpose of public utility. The incidents narrated are prosaic, and there is nothing very heroic in their poetic delineation or setting. The metre is at times marred by defects, but all the same there is the promise of something better to come, after the pen of the writer becomes matured.

K. M. J.

Grihinishu Vicharmala, edited by Mrs. Ratanbai Valabhji Bodani: Taddeo, Jubilee Bag, Bombay. Pp.-249, Cloth bound. Price Rs. 1-4-0 (1905).

The Editor is the daughter of Mrs. Mamkhai Kahanji Kavi, whose work as a public lecturer in Bombay is so well known. She is a familiar figure at almost all the public meetings where matters of social and domestic reform are discussed. This work is a collection of some of her public utterances. She is a fluent speaker, and clothes her speeches in very simple language, illustrating and emphasising her points with apt and homely instances and stories. She further fortifies herself with examples drawn from the Mahabharata, Ramayana and the Puranas. Altogether, the collection represents very useful work, and when we bear in mind, that it has been accomplished by a lady, with very little school-education and wholly nurtured on home instruction, we cannot withhold our tribute of praise for the same.

K. M. J.

Garden of Literature with Labyrinths: By K. R. Nanjiani, B. A., Vijaya Pravartaka Press: Ahmedabad. Pp. 97. Paper bound. Price 0-12-0 (1905.)

The author's object has been to give counsels of perfection to girls newly married by painting a picture of the social life of Hindus, as directed by wise and educated and foolish and ignorant parents. Khan Sahib Nanjiani is a known educationist and author, and we wish we could speak of this work of his in the same breath as his other works. He aims well, no doubt, but he writes in a grandiloquent style, his subjects are disjointed, and at times such as with hardly any decency could be read by growing boys and girls. He has served up old mythical stories again in a new garb; for instance, the story in which the word *विष* in a letter was changed to *विषया*, and the bearer instead of being killed by poison was married to Vishaya. The presentment of Hindu social

life is not natural, and the descriptions of marriage, &c., are exaggerated till they become ridiculous. The Khan Sahib, no doubt, has a facile pen, and we are sure, that in the next edition, his work would not suffer by being recast.

K. M. J.

Kalāvant or the Science of Indian Music by D. F. Patel, G. B. V. C., Oherag Printing Press, Bombay. Cloth Bound: pp. 194. Price Rs. 2 (1905.)

Dr. Patel is well known in Bombay as an expert in Indian Music, and as a public lecturer on the subject. This book is a collection of his lectures in which he has added certain mythic tales, such as the powers wielded by the different *Rāgas* e. g., *Shri*, *Asāvari*, *Dipak*, the miseries that king Vikrama had to endure on account of his having slighted a certain *Rāga*, &c. The book makes pleasant reading, though its form interferes with the continuity of the subject and consequently fails to sustain the interest of the reader. But the impression left at the close of its perusal is that the author is proud of his subject. To those who live on this side of India, this statement means much. The tendency of the bulk of the Parsi community to which the author belongs, has of late been to slight and look down upon everything Indian, and hence to find in their midst an individual, who cultivates Indian music and the Gujarati language, is a most gratifying circumstance. He makes one more of the already thinned ranks of Farsi Gujarati-writers. The language at times rises to poetry, though, it must be said, that it is neither cultured, nor easy. The author has travelled over various parts of India, and the appendix at the end, describing the several vogues of dances observed in India, is very informative. The description of the *Taranga* Dance is simply fascinating. A more sustained and systematic work on popular lines from the same pen would be highly welcome.

K. M. J.

BENGALI.

Shubha Bibaha—By a Hindu Lady. Published by the Proprietors of the Mazumdar Library, Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.

We have no hesitation in recommending this book as a first-class work of fiction. The authoress has by this small book well established her position in Bengali

Literature. The work is one of unassuming art, the glory of the writer resting essentially in the cleverness and power with which she hides art. It is a domestic novel and the minutest details of the Hindu home have been, as it were, photographed in it. So vividly do the descriptions recall nature that we hardly recollect any novel in the whole range of our Literature, "Swarnalata" not excepted, which is so intensely realistic; yet the subject is one of commonplace occurrence having no touch of romance in it. It is an account of a Hindoo widow's short trip to the houses of her relations, and there is no soul-stirring or sensational event in any portion of the book. Three families are vividly described in it. The first represents pride of wealth, want of proper care and training of children and irregularity and want of discipline in the management of the house-hold. The mistress of the house, though loving ostentation and display, is not, however, wilfully wicked or sordid and not even without a touch of faith and good breeding. The second family shew, how a home may be made really delightful by discipline and education—but the third claims a conspicuous attention by contrast. Here a Hindoo widow by self-abnegation and faith makes of her lonely house a sort of earthly paradise. Her asceticism and devotion to God and total disregard of the great riches that she possesses invests the house-hold with a glory which peculiarly belongs to Hindu Homes. The last few pages of the book in which the tide of affairs suddenly takes a new turn are sanctified by a spirit of benefaction which solves one of the greatest problems of a Hindoo home—viz., the marriage of a daughter under peculiarly difficult circumstances, and the book terminates in happiness.

In these days when sensational writings are the craze of our readers, it may be difficult to secure the well deserved appreciation of the intrinsic worth of the

book under review from the public, but we are sure that the book will be ever on demand by lovers of works of true art in literature.

D. C. S.

Gita-Govinda—A metrical translation of the Poem, in Bengali, by Babu Bishweshwar Bhattacharya, B. A.

There are numerous Bengali translations of Jayadeva's *Gita-Govinda* to be found in old Bengali Literature amongst which we may specially mention those by Rasamay Das and Giridhar. Rasamay Das's translation has the charm of a lucid and simple style intelligible to all classes of people, but that of Giridhar (1736 A. D.) is undoubtedly the very best that is to be found in classical Bengali. It reproduces the sweetness and the elegance of the original poem in a pre-eminent degree and the sprinkle of words of Braja Bhasha in it gives an exquisitely attractive flow to the style. But the peculiar feature of all old works of translation is that the writers scarcely aim at a literal rendering. They try to hit the significance of an original poem without caring for working out the details accurately. The book under notice is a literal translation, and at the same time it does not yield to any of its predecessors in point of sweetness and elegance of diction. The translator of a Sanskrit work has an advantage in Bengal; he may, if he likes, use the very choice words of Sanskrit in his Bengali rendering and thus retain not only the meaning but the charm of sounds which is the forte of the inimitable Sanskrit Language, and we are glad to find the present translator using the advantages of his position well. The readers will be reminded of the pleasant jingle and the exquisite alliterations of Jayadeva's songs at every page of this Bengali version. The get-up of the book with a fine picture of Radha-Krishna on the cover adds to its many attractions.

D. C. S.



BUDDHA AND SUJATA.

*From the original painting by
MR. ABANINDRO NATH TAGORE.*

By the courtesy of the Art.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

THE MODERN REVIEW

VOL. I

JUNE, 1907

No. 6

HOME RULE FOR INDIA

THE phrase 'Home Rule' is a phrase of ill omen to the ruling classes of Great Britain. When 'Home Rule for Ireland' was talked of at first, it sent a shiver through Clubland and the Court, through the Stock Exchange and the Church; and the shiver reacted throughout all classes. The real reason for the shiver was the shock that was given to the Briton's sense of possession.

The supreme British phrase is 'Rule Britannia': and its highest word of exhortation is 'Britons hold your own!' Here and there a Briton persuaded himself that England held down Ireland for Ireland's good, and believed, as usual, that England's rule could never by any one be improved. Here and there, too, were a few advanced spirits who risked everything by being scorned as 'Home Rulers,' just as afterwards they risked everything when they were howled at as 'Pro-Boers': but, in the main, the conventional Briton proposed to fall in with the exhortation to 'Hold his own.'

At the present moment, he has become used to the idea of some sort of self-government of Ireland by Irishmen; and perhaps he is a trifle afraid of what may happen if he is too stubborn, and probably a little ashamed of

being so recreant all round to his boasted love of liberty: and it is likely that Ireland is after all on the road to Home Rule.

As for 'Home Rule for India,' that is a cry which has not yet even reached him and very few Englishmen pronounce it. It has yet to win acceptance by the rank and file even of 'Pro-Boers.' But, apart from the cry, good progress has been made with the idea and tens of thousands of thoughtful Englishmen are getting thoroughly ashamed of our autocratic, masterful and selfish grip of India. Still, it may mislead to insist too strongly on the desire of Englishmen to be just. That is not the ruling passion in England. The liking for power, and a certain unctuous belief that English rule is best for everybody, dominate the abstract desire to be just.

It is, however, important to distinguish between the official and ruling classes and interests and the rank and file of the free thinking class of Englishmen. The official and ruling classes and interests are very strong and almost entirely determine Great Britain's policy, and decide its action: but behind them, more or less watchful, more or less placid or restless, stand these outposts of freedom-loving Englishmen: and from these,

India has much to hope. But they are ill-informed, and it is India's business to instruct them: and this could easily be done, for they have no antipathies and would gladly listen to what representative Indians had to say. It is not of much use to preach or complain in India. Indians must come and preach and complain here, to Britons on British soil.

There is here a vast amount of ignorance about India, just as there was about Ireland, though it lay alongside our own coasts: and just as there was about the Boers in South Africa: and it was this ignorance that was taken advantage of by cunning politicians and selfish interests, in the one case to keep a nation in irons, and in the other case to bring about a shameful and wicked war. It is this ignorance that should be assailed. We need the pouring in of information.

It is largely believed here that if British rule in India were relaxed, Indians would fly at one another's throats. As to this, much use could be made of the long series of National Congresses held in India, as showing how India is preparing to act as a united whole. It would greatly help if representative men from India came to England to expound the nature of the National Congresses and their proposals.

Connected with this is another difficulty in the way of Home Rule for India. It is said that the country is not homogeneous, and that, with its various races and various languages, Home Rule would be impossible. There may be a difficulty here, but Englishmen who cry 'The Duma is dead. Long live the Duma!' are not the men to insist upon it. Surely, to say the very least, India is as homogeneous as the Russian Empire and has, in every way, a unity, the like of which has no existence there, outside of a comparatively limited range. But Russia is not Great Britain's: India is. That makes all the difference.

Alas! that the sense of possession should make such a difference! An overwhelming

instance of that stares us in the face in the contrast between what we did in South Africa and what we do in India.

A few Englishmen, temporarily in South Africa, engaged simply in getting gold, did not choose to comply with the Transvaal Republic's conditions for granting the suffrage. At once the cry of 'oppression' was raised, and England was challenged to come to the aid of these English 'helots' in a strange land. The rest we know. A quarrel was engineered: a storm of patriotic passion was aroused: war was precipitated, and two Republics were destroyed, for the sake of a few English voteless 'helots' in a strange land. But what of the millions of voteless Indian 'helots' in their own land; denied not only votes but all representative institutions? The contrast is enough to make the most brazen Pharisee hide his head for shame, if he has not the humour to laugh at the ridiculousness of his own hypocrisy.

But the people of India, we are told, are not fit for 'Home Rule.' That is to say, we say so: we who profit by no Home Rule in India: we who do not want to surrender power: we who think we are the best and ablest rulers in the world, and who like to try and prove it. But it is an old cry. It was raised against the middle class in England: it was raised against the mechanics of the great towns: it was raised against the country rustics: it is now being raised against women: and in every case it was raised and is raised by the people in possession who did not and do not want to lose their power.

It is not certain, after all, that the people of India are, on the whole, unfit. The National Congress might very well serve as an object-lesson of India's political capacity, and as a preliminary to a Parliament: and it at all events shows what can be systematically done in that sense. But what is 'fit'? and what makes fit? Surely the knowledge of where the boot hurts, and why, has something to do

with fitness: and experience will give knowledge how to remedy the hurt. For the rest, India is at least as fit for Home Rule as Russia is fit for the Duma: and it may safely be said that if the argument of 'not fit' had been too strictly applied in England, the modern House of Commons would never have been born.

What then is to be done? If one Englishman may give advice to India's millions, I think it should be this:—*India must be its own Saviour*. The best course for India is the bold course. She must refrain from pleading for trivial relaxations, and boldly set forth the larger claim, and insist upon it, night and

day. Set up associations and unions to do, to actually do, as self-help, much of what legalised Home Rule might be supposed to do. Let the National Congress introduce some kind of unbroken continuity in its work. Encourage Home Trade as a preliminary to Home Rule. Put not your trust in princes, and in State Secretaries. These are usually but puppets in the hands of unseen powers behind them. You cry, 'What must we do to be saved?' The only answer is, 'He that believeth shall be saved.' Let Indian patriots believe!

London.

JOHN PASE HOPPS.

CONDITIONS FAVOURABLE TO SOCIAL PURITY

BROADLY speaking, men aim at two great objects of their social life;—first, *social happiness*; second, *social progress*. By social happiness, I mean, men and women living in peace and prosperity in their houses, and in fraternal sympathy and communion with their neighbours; and by social progress, I mean, the possession of those means and appliances for social comfort and social improvement, that the arts and sciences supply. These two great objects of man's social life are attainable only on condition that society, in general, is healthy, moral, and pure. We are all familiar with the fact that in the name of social comfort and social progress many things have been introduced by modern civilisation which inevitably tend to ultimate social corruption and social degeneracy. We have to fight against these evils, and constantly try to keep up a social standard that alone is conducive to social progress. All the evil springs from forgetting the important truth that man's social life,

like his individual life, is not entirely in his own hands, but lies in the hands of another Power, which governs that life by moral laws; and the greatness or true fruition of man's life lies in his conformity to those laws. There is a frivolous way of looking at life which regards it as a fancy-dress ball, where men and women meet only to give and receive pleasure. The fancy-dress ball view of life has generated in the modern civilised man an insatiable hankering for personal comfort. Indeed most of the skill and industry of modern civilisation are exhausted to invent methods for gratifying that hankering. The Rishis of India discovered long ago, and the modern man will discover ere long, that the true happiness and progress of society are not to be secured by adding fuel to that fire; but by keeping it under legitimate control in conformity to the higher deals of social life.

The question of social purity, therefore, is highly important. Whatever tends to make

* A paper read before the Metropolitan Temperance and Purity Association in Calcutta.

society healthy, natural and pure, also tends to make it happy and progressive. It is my intention in this paper to bring together a number of conditions on which depends the purity of society, and consequently its ultimate happiness and progress.

The first necessary condition of social purity is a healthy and pure home-life. Improved home-life and social purity are most intimately connected with each other; so much so that the one is unattainable without the other.

By a healthy and pure home-life, I understand one in which all the domestic relations are normal and in which woman is duly honoured and respected and is allowed to exercise her legitimate influence. To be able to exercise her influence duly it is necessary that she should be educated and free, and a worthy companion to her husband. Indeed, the companionship of woman is the best safeguard of social purity;—a fact daily illustrated by the social life of different races of the world. Nations that permit the separation of the sexes in social life, amongst whom, for instance, the man can move about in society or frequent places of public entertainment without the wife by his side, are sufferers on that account. There men are left without the refining and restraining influence of women and are accordingly led into many temptations. Hence it may be accepted as a principle, that the companionship of women, cultured and refined, is the first condition of social purity. A domestic or social system under which the sexes live apart, as amongst us, the people of Bengal, is unfavourable, nay, fatal to the cause of social purity. How many thousands of young men of Bengal take to evil courses, simply because by social decorum they are denied access to their young wives during the greater part of the day! In the evenings when they return from their work and most sorely need the soothing companionship of their wives, they are driven to seek diversion

elsewhere,—often in the company of persons who open to them the door to vice.

Then we should bear in mind that home-life to be morally helpful should have enough of “sweetness and light” in it,—enough of culture and also of the refinements that art and beauty can give. The home of man should be a place where his tired body can find rest and his fatigued spirit soothing refreshment. Providence has so ordered that this soothing refreshment of the spirit is to be attained in a place where love reigns, and where literature and art, culture and piety, all combine to produce a harbour of rest. By endowing man with the strength of conjugal love and woman with the instincts of fidelity and moral sense, he has created this haven of rest in the human home, and to improve that home is to improve that outer life also which is called social life.

It is not only necessary that women should be enlightened and free, to make our homes centres of purifying moral influence. It is also needed that there should be freer and more enlightened intercourse, than exists at present, amongst the male members of a house. At present social decorum strictly forbids free mixing amongst the elders and youngsters in a Hindu household. Though living in the same house they move in separate spheres of their own, coming together only at meal time. Even the meals are separately taken in many houses; so much so that the father sees the grown-up boy only at intervals, passing out of or coming into the house. Even the mother in many cases does not know his whereabouts. Then the decorum of Hindu society forbids, in the presence of elders, the enjoyment by the young of any domestic or social entertainments in the shape of music or games. So in this respect our Hindu home is quite barren for the young man. For such entertainments he must frequent places where there are no gaurdians or elders to scare him away. It is easy to conceive the

consequences of such a social arrangement. The young men fall into evil company and are led astray. The sooner such a state of things is discontinued the better for society.

Something more is needed to make our homes attractive and morally helpful. The minor virtues of neatness, order, punctuality, and method, which are sadly neglected in many of our Hindū homes, go a great way to make a home morally healthy. Though minor virtues, they are yet highly important for the purpose of securing that *quiet refreshment of the spirit* which alone can foster purity of mind and enable man to achieve worthy things. In the hurry of life and in the press of daily engagements men are likely to lose sight of the great issues of life and also of the secret principles that lie at the bottom of real human progress. A good, well-ordered and methodical home is the best place where that spiritual sight can be cultivated, which alone can discover those principles.

But above all the greatest agency for moral influence in the home is the practice of religion. As the tree stands on its roots and draws in nourishing sustenance therefrom, so human life, whether individual or social, stands on the Unseen and Eternal, and derives all its moral sustenance from a habitual cultivation of the sense of that Unseen and Eternal. A home-life where the exercises of religion are neglected tends, as a rule, to foster worldly and sometimes low and selfish ideals of life. It is a grievous error to leave the home without the sanctifying influence of religion, and to allow the children to grow up without a due sense of the eternal verities. In our old Hindū houses the ordinances of religion, in one form or other, were never neglected. But with the progress of modern education men's faith in their old creeds has been shaken, and, as a consequence, religion is losing its hold on our educated houses;—a fact which is worthy of the most serious reflection on the part of the educated people

of this country. Let our modern readers take note of this rapid secularisation of the people.

To sum up:—an improved home-life where woman is educated and free and is honoured and respected, in whose very atmosphere there are culture and refinement, where there is unrestricted intercourse among its members and where religion is a potent influence for good, is the first condition of social purity.

Next after good and well-ordered homes we have to take care of the influence of national literature on the minds of the young. In all civilised governments the greatest watchfulness is maintained to prevent the adulteration of human food. Recently, in America people have been horrified by scandalous revelations with regard to the adulteration of many tinned articles of food, and both the legislature and executive have been moved to be on the alert to prevent such gross abuses. But is all our anxiety to be exhausted in the matter of physical diet alone? Does not society suffer more by the adulteration of the mental and moral diet of the young? Is the injury done to the young by filthy and impure literature less than the poisoning of their system by cocaine and other narcotic drugs? If we feel impelled to devise measures to keep away the narcotics from the young, should we not equally feel ourselves impelled to devise measures for keeping away impure literature from the young? This leads us to the consideration of the sad want of public vigilance that we find at the present moment in this matter. A good deal of impure literature is allowed to grow and circulate amongst the rising generation without a word of protest from any quarter. A set of unscrupulous writers who want to make money by pandering to the vicious imagination of the young are allowed to ply their trade unhindered to the great moral injury of society. There are provisions in the Penal Code against such offenders; but the apathy of the public in such matters lets those provisions remain dead

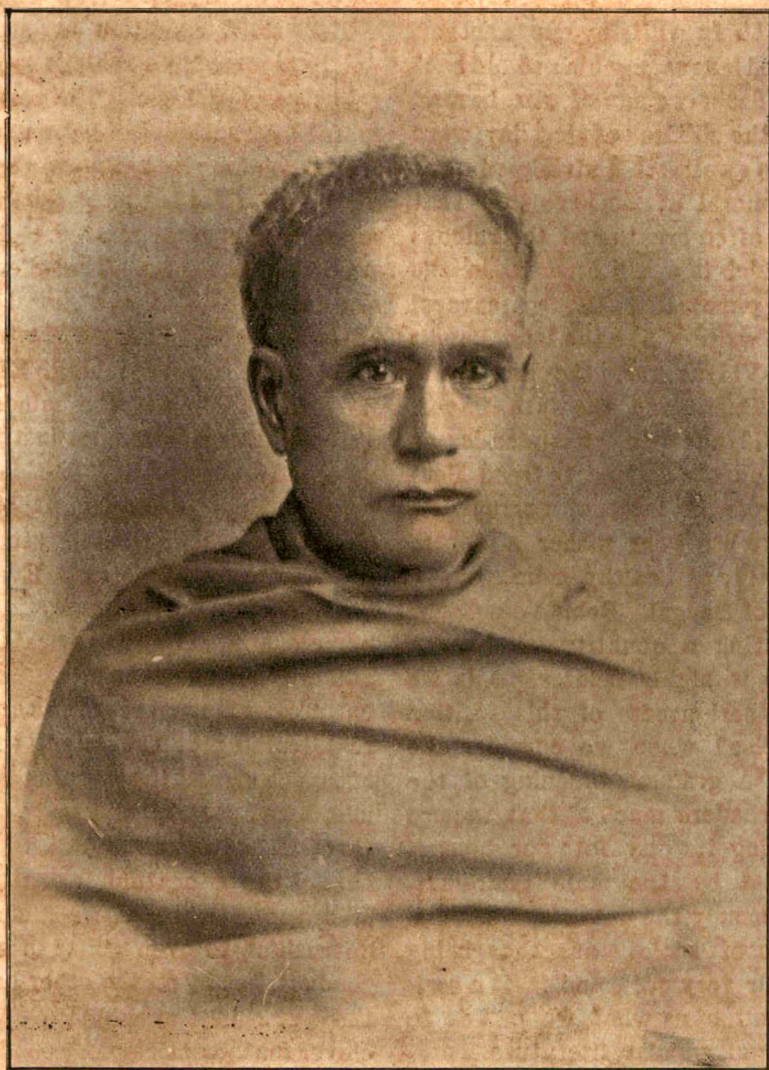
letters; and consequently these despicable writers carry on their filthy trade, without let or hinderance. Fifty years ago the state of things in Calcutta was still more deplorable. I shudder to recollect the low depths to which the public press of Bengal of those days, at times, descended. In vilifying one another, they at times used language which would befit the lips of the fisher-women of our bazars. Yet all that we, the children of that day, were freely allowed to swallow. I vividly remember the impure moral atmosphere that that literature would often create and the ruinous consequences which it would produce in the lives of many. A generation of honest, earnest and pure-minded writers like the late Pandit Iswar Chandra Vidyasagar, the late Babu Akshay Kumar Datta and the late Pandit Dwarkanath Vidyabhusan, the far-famed editor of the *Somprokash*, largely freed Bengali literature from its taint of corruption; but latterly there has been rather a degeneracy in the matter of healthy moral tone in the public press of Bengal. Behind our backs there is circulating a quantity of popular literature which is highly deleterious in its influence. The seriousness of this position will be fully realised when we consider the fact that with the gradual widening of the circle of female readers much of that impure literature is finding its way into our houses, often unobserved by the male guardians, who generally occupy the outer apartments. The moral ideals of society are thus being corrupted to their very core, and it is a serious question to all of us what we can do to improve the tone of popular literature.

We may, in the first instance, successfully check the progress of impure literature by organising something like a vigilance committee whose business it would be to keep a constant watch over the above-mentioned undercurrent of literature, and to drag the offenders before the courts of justice. Secondly, direct encouragement may also be given

to pure literature by making it known to the public by various means. As far as I can see the operations of an active committee for these purposes would produce a very whole some change in the moral tone of the literature of the country.

The third condition favourable to social purity is securing a healthy moral tone in our schools and colleges. The need for imparting moral instructions and for exercising moral influence at a place where the young of all ages gather for the most part of the day can scarcely be exaggerated. Much depends upon the teachers. The silent influence of the character and the moral earnestness of a good teacher is often far more efficacious than direct moral teaching. Efforts require to be made to imbue the minds of the managers of our educational institutions, with a sense of responsibility in this respect. At present they confine most of their attention to preparing their students for the university examinations. Even education in the fixed subjects of study is imparted in a narrow and cringed way. It is *instruction* and not *education* that is intended. Not culture but cramming is the object. The real training of the mind, the development of manhood, and the turning out of a worthy member of society, are far less aimed at than the passing of examinations. So the moral part of the education is woefully neglected. If a young man is false, dishonest, selfish, untruthful, or even guilty of grossly immoral conduct, but is, on the other hand, quite up to the mark in the subjects of his study, is a clever mathematician, a good English scholar, is duly stocked with knowledge of History or well versed in Sanscrit Grammar, such one passes off as an acceptable person under the present University system. Neither the University nor the affiliated Educational Institutions which take their hue from the University pay any very great heed to the moral part of the student's outfit. No doubt insin-

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



PANDIT ISWAR CHANDRA VIDYASAGAR.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

the college walls notice is generally taken of moral delinquencies and punishments are often inflicted, but our schools and colleges sadly lack that moral fervour which a distinct aim to make themselves the centres of moral ideas and of moral influence would give them.

Then the present educational system leaves the student without any moral control outside the school hours. Most of the students of our large cities live at a distance from their guardians and families, in messes or boarding houses, which are tiny commonwealths managed entirely by themselves, having no superior authority to look after or control them.

Fortunately, the evils of such a system have already drawn the attention of Government, and efforts are being made to remedy them. But much remains to be done by the managers of schools and colleges themselves, and also by the leaders of society, by organising such other social measures as are likely to influence the younger generation morally, and to improve the moral tone of our educational institutions.

If I had the time and the means and if the caste and other prejudices of the people would permit it, I would introduce the old Hindu custom of boarding students in the families of their teachers. That would secure an inestimable advantage,—namely, the continuation of home-life. Of course I take it for granted that the teachers must themselves be men of high character, leading an inspiring home-life. A boarding house under the proper superintendence of teachers is certainly better than the mess system. It keeps up supervision and control over the conduct of the students out of school hours, and also helps to stimulate exertion by creating something like an intellectual atmosphere; but it has also its disadvantages. Young men rooted out of their families, and growing up mostly amongst their friends and equals, fail to receive those softening influences which develop such social

virtues as reverence, charity, forbearance, hospitality, and self-abnegation.

It is also necessary that the students' boarding houses should not be too large, nor its boarders too many, thereby making the work of proper supervision extremely difficult. I would prefer small boarding houses under separate superintendents, living in the houses or close by, with their families. The disadvantages of overcrowded boarding houses are largely the same, as having large and overcrowded classes in schools and colleges; they necessarily entail ineffective supervision.

But good and well managed boarding houses are not alone sufficient. Students' clubs, students' debating societies, students' reading rooms and libraries, should be organised in connection with every college, where the managers of the institution as well as the leaders of society outside may occasionally meet the students, and impart to them such knowledge as they are not likely to get from their class books and to impart to them sound moral ideas. Such general culture is absolutely needed to train them up as future useful members of society.

Nor should I forget to mention in this connection the great use that athletic sports and other games have in producing a healthy moral tone in student life. A boy who delights in active sports is, as a rule, morally healthy; and it is the morbid imagination of the hater of manly sports and loiterer-at-home that is to be dreaded. The book-worm who lurks in his room, and hates the society of his friends makes himself liable thereby to secret vices. Drag him out into sunshine and let him exercise his limbs, in healthy sports, and you will lift him above many temptations.

Solitude in many cases has greater temptations than society. Hence in educating the young the need for physical exercises and healthy recreation should never be forgotten. In short the very atmosphere of our educational institutions should not only be

intellectual but also social and moral, with a view to train up worthy members of society.

The next thing to which I should like to draw your attention is the need for morally pure popular diversions. Unfortunately this portion of our national life is awfully defective. There is very little in the shape of healthy recreation for the masses of the people. There is truth in the familiar adage— all work and no play makes Jack a dull boy. Diversion is necessary for an ordinary member of society who works hard to earn his bread. Theatres, concerts, excursions, visits to art and other galleries, I would decry nothing; nay, I find the usefulness of all. My religion includes and encourages everything calculated to refresh and help man. But I would certainly set my face against every form of public amusement that gives direct or indirect encouragement to immorality. I may specially mention in this connection the present native theatres of this city, in which professional public women are allowed to take part as actresses. All manner of arguments is advanced by the supporters of these theatres, to convince people that the stage as a public institution fulfils important functions;—it promotes æsthetic culture, it feeds the nobler feelings, it supplies refined pleasure, and so forth. On the other hand, it is argued that the presence of public women as actresses exerts no impure influence on the minds of the audience, inasmuch as the character of these women, if the play is at all successful, is generally forgotten: and it is only a vile imagination that can think of it in the midst of an effective performance. But my objections do not lie along these lines. No thoughtful person ever denies the usefulness of the stage, or the refining influence of musical concerts. Nor do I say that the real character of the performers has necessarily an impure influence on the minds of the audience. But to me the most regrettable, the most painful part of the thing is the outstanding fact, that young

men belonging to respectable families of the city, publicly associate with professional public women, as fellow-actors and stage-managers; and the playgoing public of the city, including in many cases the friends and guardians of these very young men, go and encourage them by their presence and with their money. To me the plain truth is this,— by going there, we teach those who are coming after us, that in our estimation such open association with public women, on the part of married men, is not only allowable but also worthy of encouragement. It is sad and shameful to reflect how many of these male actors leave their sorrowing wives at home, and the time they should have spent with their wives, they spend in the company of these public women. Of this our play-goers are not only spectators, but encouragers. The feeling burns in me to condemn such leaders of our society as by frequenting these theatres, give direct encouragement to immorality.

But what I have said with regard to public theatres may justly be said with regard to nautches of dancing girls. I have travelled all over the country, and have closely enquired into the operation of this social institution, amongst different races, and I can bear testimony to the moral corruption and degeneracy of society consequent upon the admission of the dancing girl, as a caterer to social pleasure. Alas! in many parts of the country, people have fallen to such low depths, that a dancing girl receives from them greater honour and attention, than the virtuous ladies of their households. While the latter are shamefully neglected inside their houses, their husbands openly associate with the women of this degraded class. Indeed, it is painful to reflect how, in some parts of the country, the dancing girl occupies a position midway between the modest housewife and the street woman; how she is held to be more respectable than her unfortunate sister who walks

the streets; how her presence is held to be almost necessary on festive occasions; how she has free access to respectable houses; and how it is not looked upon as a disgrace, even for leading men, to be associated with her publicly. Many of these dancing girls are attached to the temples of the gods in the Southern Presidency; nominally consecrated to the gods as their hand-maids, but practically corrupting the very fountains of religious life by their immoral influence. They are commonly known as "*temple-prostitutes*." This class of dancing girls is an old institution in the Deccan. We find them mentioned in the *Chaitanya Charitamrita*, written three centuries ago, as *deva-dasis* or hand-maids to the gods. One can easily fancy the amount of moral injury their presence has done to the populations amongst whom they have lived for generations. It has weakened the moral fibre of those races and has made them unfit for moral earnestness in any noble and unselfish cause. Fortunately they have never existed as a distinct class in Bengal. I have found it from observation that communities amongst whom moral laxity arising from association with such a class of women prevails, are incapable of the conception of lofty aims or unselfish endeavours. They are too morally degraded to rise to the level of great causes. All our appeals for religious or social reform, fall flat upon them. In these days, when

there is a talk of awakening national life, our eyes naturally turn to these social evils. To boast of national life, or national progress, in the presence of such evils, is certainly, something like throwing a marble slab over a charnel-house of stinking corruption. O men, I feel impelled to cry, if you wish to see your country truly great, first put your house in order; remedy the evils for which you alone are responsible and which you alone can rectify.

Lastly, social purity may be effectively promoted by raising the general level of social intercourse of men, by the spread of education amongst the masses, by creating in them a taste for culture, and by training them to take interest in public causes. Anything that lifts men and women above the narrow groove of selfish concerns and teaches them to take interest in things higher than those concerns, inevitably creates a pure atmosphere around them. Very much can be done in this respect by organising measures of popular instruction, on the lines of the University Extension movement in England. Lectures with the aid of magic-lanterns may be organised in important industrial centres, with a view to impress on the minds of the working poor, sound moral and social ideas, calculated to raise and ennoble them in their daily lives.

S. N. SASTRI.

THE NATIVE INDIAN ARMY

DUPLEIX was a man of genius. His residence in India showed him the ease with which any unscrupulous European nation could acquire supreme power in this country. The people of India were divided among themselves, and so it was the easiest

thing in the world to pit one class against another. The Indian people are intelligent and also possess physical courage: so it was easy to train them in the European mode of warfare. Then he also discovered that patriotism, as that term is understood in European

countries, was unknown in India. So the people who were to be disciplined in the European mode of warfare, lacking in patriotism, could be enlisted as mercenaries to fight against and subjugate their own countrymen. Having made these discoveries he set to work to bring India under the sway of France. But that country did not approve of Dupleix's scheme. The French, of all the European nations of that period, had not bidden farewell to the dictates of their conscience. Their writers and public men were busy preaching those doctrines which were instrumental in bringing about the French Revolution. Dupleix met with his deserts, which he richly deserved for the diabolical methods he had devised for depriving the people of India of their liberty and earthly possessions.

With the fall of Dupleix, there was no chance for France to establish an Empire in India. The French were beaten and driven out of India by the English.

The English succeeded because they acted upon the suggestions of Dupleix. It should be remembered that in all the battles which Clive, Lawrence, Coote, Wellington, Lake and other British Generals fought on the soil of India, the Indian sepoys by their valor and by the shedding of their blood contributed to the success of the British in the establishment of their power in this country. The Sepoys were such splendid fighting material that Frederick the Great, no mean soldier himself, was obliged to say that had he the command of troops who acted like the Sepoys, he could conquer all Europe.

When Clive arrived at Calcutta in May, 1765, as Governor and Commander-in-Chief of Bengal, he found

"that every spring of the Government was smeared with corruption; that principles of rapacity and oppression universally prevailed, and that every spark of sentiment and public spirit was lost and extinguished in the unbounded lust of unmerited wealth."

In his attempts to correct these evils, his Christian compatriots mutinied against him. It is recorded that on one day 200 officers resigned, and that but for the fidelity of the Sepoys the whole military organisation of the Company might have fallen to the ground.

The Sepoys lacked patriotism, but they have been always faithful to their employers. They have not been found wanting in loyalty. One of the most touching incidents of their loyalty is that mentioned by Macaulay.

"During fifty days the siege (of Arcot) went on. During fifty days the young captain (Clive) maintained the defence, with a firmness, vigilance, and ability, which would have done honor to the oldest marshal in Europe. * * The garrison began to feel the pressure of hunger. Under such circumstances, any troops so scantily provided with officers might have been expected to show signs of insubordination; * * . But the devotion of the little band to its chief surpassed anything that is related of the Tenth Legion of Caesar, or of the Old Guard of Napoleon. The sepoys came to Clive, not to complain of their scanty fare, but to propose that all the grain should be given to the Europeans, who required more nourishment than the natives of Asia. The thin gruel, they said, which was strained away from the rice, would suffice for themselves. *History contains no more touching instance of military fidelity, * * * .*"

On many a field of battle their courage and bravery have been very conspicuously displayed. Now-a-days we often hear Christian natives of England boast that India has been acquired by England by the sword. But they forget that it was not the sword brandished by the English which won India for them. The cowardice of British soldiers came out in strong relief in many battles fought in India. Students of the History of British India need not be reminded of the flight of the white soldiers of the 101st regiment at Cuddalore, and also of the refusal of the 76th regiment to advance from the trenches at Bhurtpore, when the Indian Sepoys did so, and shewed them the way.

The superiority of the Sepoys to the British soldiers has been borne testimony to by

many Englishmen and women. Thus Captain Mundy, in his *Pen and Pencil Sketches*, being the journal of a tour in India, published in 1833, says regarding the reviewing of the five regiments of infantry at Agra by Combermere in the beginning of 1828, that

"it was impossible to avoid remarking the superiority of the sepoy over the European corps in steadiness and regularity of movement."

There is nothing to be surprised at in the superiority of the Sepoys. They are sober and abstemious and not given to those habits of debauchery which natives of Christian countries belonging to the class from which soldiers are recruited are generally addicted to. Elphinstone writes:—

"Their freedom from gross debauchery is the point in which the Hindus appear to most advantage. * * * If we compare them with our own, the absence of drunkenness, and of immodesty in their other vices, will leave the superiority in purity of manners on the side least flattering to our self-esteem."

Elphinstone also says that

"The military classes in Hindustan are much taller than the common run of Englishmen."

But while the Sepoys have contributed to the raising of the fabric of the British supremacy in India, how have they been treated by the Christian Government? It must be said, without mincing matters, that they have not been, and are not being, treated in that fair manner which they deserve. It is political expediency which dictates to a certain extent the peculiar treatment which the Sepoys receive at the hands of their Christian rulers.

Herbert Spencer said:—

"Down to our own day continues the cunning despotism which uses native soldiers to maintain and extend native subjection—a despotism under which, not many years since, a regiment of sepoy was deliberately massacred, for refusing to march without proper clothing."

The systematic ill-treatment to which the Sepoys were subjected was perhaps the main cause of the Indian Mutiny (or rather the Sepoy Revolt as it is called by many writers)

of 1857. The pages of Kaye's *History of the Sepoy War* will show instances of the ill-treatment of the Sepoys preceding the mutiny.

Since the Mutiny, the lot of the Sepoy has been made worse. He is made to feel his inferiority to his European comrade—Tommy Atkins—in every way. His loyalty has been in question—nay, he is branded with disloyalty. Before the days of the Mutiny, the number of Sepoys was much larger than it is now. The people of India, although groaning under the yoke of foreign rule, had at least this satisfaction, that the defenders of their hearths and homes were mostly their own countrymen. But since the Mutiny, European soldiers have been imported to India in large numbers to replace the Sepoys. Owing to this procedure not only the financial condition of India is becoming worse, but the people are also emasculated. As has been said before it was the blood of the Indian Sepoys which was shed freely to cement the foundation and raise the superstructure of the British supremacy in India. But now the manner in which the European soldiers are pampered would make one believe that England won India with the aid of these soldiers.

Before the days of the Mutiny, that important arm of the Military Service, *viz.*, the artillery, was largely in the hands of the Sepoys. But now they are not trusted, and so we do not see any native artillery in India. This is how the loyalty of the Sepoys has been rewarded.

We said before that the Indian Sepoy is made to feel his inferiority to his European comrade in arms. We will now cite a few specific instances.

The Sepoy is accommodated in what are called *lines*, which are in marked contrast with the white soldier's barracks. Most of the lines are no better than piggeries or kennels; without any plinth, ill-ventilated and badly lighted. The barracks are palatial buildings and furnished with such luxuries as

the class of people to which the white soldier belongs could never have dreamt of in their native land.

In the line of march the Sepoy is made to carry much heavier kit than the British soldier. The Sepoy's weight of accoutrements is much heavier than that of Tommy Atkins. The latter's kit hardly weighs 20lbs, whereas the Sepoy's is very nearly double that weight. As the loyalty of the Sepoy is in question, so he is not trusted with the same rifle as his European comrade. As a fighting unit, the Sepoy, therefore, under the present circumstances, is less efficient than the British soldier.

The British soldier is allowed to go out shooting, carrying his rifle with him. This makes him a good shot. But not so the native soldier. The Russian Officer, Captain Novitsky, is quite right when he says:—

"The English have very little confidence in the native soldiers, who are allowed to have their rifles only when drilling or on sentry duty."

The Sepoy is considered to be a man of such an intriguing nature, that he cannot be trusted with light in the room in which he sleeps after 10 P. M. It is assumed that if the Sepoys be permitted to have light in their rooms at night, then they might conspire against the Government and so after 10 P. M. the Sepoy's lines present the darkness and stillness of the grave-yard. But such is not the case with the barracks of the British soldiers.

Sepoys who do not enlist for the corps of Sappers and Miners or the Pioneers, are under the impression that they shall have to perform only military duties. Under that impression even high caste Hindus and high class Muhammadans also have no objection to take to the profession of arms. But of late they have been made to perform duties for which certainly they never enlisted. In recent years in many stations they have been set to work on building lines. They have to work

very hard at least eight hours a day, and do not get any extra pay for their labour.

The British soldier in India gets free ration every day. But not so the Indian Sepoy. In many native regiments, the messing system has been introduced, which tells heavily upon the slender income of the poor Sepoy. The cost of living is every day increasing in India and the grain compensation allowance is not enough to maintain in comfort a Sepoy, who, unlike his British comrade in arms, has always two or more persons dependent on him.

The punishment awarded to Jack Sepoy by courts-martial is severer than that of Tommy Atkins for the same offence. Flogging as a punishment exists for the poor heathen Sepoy and not for his fortunate Christian comrade.

Great trouble is taken, and no expenses spared, to provide the British soldiers with amusements and recreation. They have their gymnasium, their grounds for various sports, billiard rooms, theatres, libraries, swimming baths, &c. But nothing is done to cheer the hard lot of the poor Sepoy.

The Russian Officer, Captain Novitsky, who visited India less than a decade ago, truly observed:—

"The English rank and file in India enjoy an exclusively superior position. Their life is replete with comforts of every kind. They enjoy complete freedom, and are allowed to leave their barracks every day. * * It is fully recognised by Englishmen themselves that this superfluous luxury and liberty exercise a very bad influence on the morals of the soldier, whose debauchery and dissipation have already been exposed in the Press. On the other hand, the position of the Native Soldier is altogether different. No recreations or comforts are provided for him. He leads a monotonous, lonely, and cooped-up existence in barracks. His behavior in the street is nevertheless irreproachable."

Again, in the matter of parades and drills, much more work is exacted from Sepoys than from British soldiers. Many native regiments parade in the morning, in the middle of the day and again in the evening. "Satan

finds some mischief still for idle hands to do." It is perhaps acting on this proverb that poor Sepoys are not given rest lest they might find time to conspire against the Government. They get hardly sufficient leisure to cook, and partake of and properly digest their food. As a result, they break down in health and spirits before they complete their term of service entitling them to pension.

No Sepoy enlisted since 1888, is entitled to any pension before he completes 21 years' service. Formerly, after 15 years' service, Sepoys were entitled to invalid pensions. They complain of the hardship of the present regulations, for they say, not without reason, that very few can survive the strain and hardships inseparable from the requirements of service in these days to claim their pensions. The system of giving a pension after short service accustoms a larger proportion of the general population to military training. But this is opposed to the interests of the alien rulers of India. Formerly native Reservists used to get Rs. 3 a month, but now they get only Rs. 2. This discourages recruiting.

Nothing is done for the moral or religious instruction of the Sepoys. There are chaplains—Anglican, Presbyterian and Roman Catholic—for the spiritual welfare of the Christian soldiers. But on the ground of the so-called policy of religious neutrality, nothing is done for the moral or spiritual welfare of the Indian Sepoys.

We have said enough to show how unfairly native Sepoys are treated when compared with their British comrades. They do not lack intelligence and physical courage. But are the native regiments—whether cavalry or infantry—efficient from the military point of view? In his evidence before the Welby Commission, Viscount Wolsley said that he should be sorry to lead the native army against that of any civilized Christian country. This statement of Lord Wolsley was resented by Indian military officers because it undoubtedly cast reflection

on the efficiency if not the loyalty of the native army. But Lord Wolsley spoke nothing but the truth in his evidence before the Commission. The native army is not efficient enough to take the field against the army of any civilized power. Why was no native regiment sent to the Transvaal to fight the Boers? The plausible argument was made use of that no colored person should be encouraged to shoot down a white (that is a colourless) man. But the real reason was the inefficiency of the native army. This was practically admitted by the *Pioneer*, which in its issue of the 26th February, 1900, wrote:—

"People who during the last few months have been urging that the Native Army should be employed in South Africa have managed to overlook one great obstacle to the proposal—namely, that the Indian forces are not armed for such a campaign. To send Native Infantry or Cavalry into the field with their worn out Martinis against the Mausers of the Boers would be putting them at a quite unjustifiable disadvantage; while to supply them with new weapons, with the use of which they would be unacquainted till they came under fire, would be equally undesirable."

But it is not merely the want of the proper rifle which places Jack Sepoy at a disadvantage compared with his more fortunate British comrade. The whole system of the organisation of the native army is calculated to make it inefficient. It is not considered politically expedient to foster what is called *esprit de corps* in the native army. "Carnaticus" wrote in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1821 (p. 434);

"Mixed troops would be, in my opinion the very thing for India, particularly for our Asiatic army. The fewer foreigners we have in our European army the better; but in the native army we should mix all descriptions of castes as much as possible, not to break the link of possible combination, at least to disturb and perplex it."

The words put in italics need no comments. Should not what is sauce for the European goose prove equally so for the native gander? How can one expect the native army to be efficient when every native member of it

knows that he is under surveillance, that his loyalty is not trusted and that the system of espionage is encouraged? The same writer "Carnaticus" says that "**Divide et impera should be the motto for our Indian administration**, whether political, civil, or military." Confidence begets confidence. When no confidence is reposed in the native army, it is preposterous to expect it to be efficient.

Every native regiment contains a certain proportion of men known as Native Officers. They do not hold the King's commission but that of the Government of India. The British Officers are, as a rule, sons of gentlemen and have to pass certain prescribed examinations and undergo military training and instruction in institutions provided for the purpose. But these conditions do not exist in the case of Native Officers. When H. R. H. the Duke of Connaught commanded one of the Army Corps in India, he proposed the establishment of an institution in this country on the model of Sandhurst, for the training of Native Officers. But Lord Roberts, who was then the Commander-in-Chief in India, opposed the establishment of such an institution. Of course his opposition was based on the ground of political expediency. He did not like that Native Officers should be as efficient as British Officers. Is it not also true that a Director-General of Military Education was in hot water for recommending proper training for Native Officers?

"Carnaticus" in the course of his article on a "General view of our Indian Army," published in the *Asiatic Journal* for May, 1821, (p. 436) writes:—

"Opposed to the plan of instructing in the English language the native officers of the Army, is the apprehension of their learning too much from us, and of its becoming too general through the country, thereby giving them a chance of imitating too closely our policy and prudence, possibly for the undermining of our interests in that quarter. We must at once

admit that our conquest of India was, through every struggle, more owing to the weakness of the Asiatic character than to the bare effect of our own brilliant achievements; and empire after empire rolled in upon us when we were merely contemplating the protection of our trade, or repelling insult. Kingdoms have been vacated for us, as if by magic spell; and on the same principle we may set down as certain, that whenever one-twentieth part of the population of India becomes as provident and as scheming as ourselves, we shall run back again, in the same ratio of velocity, the same course of our original insignificance. But in the course of instruction that I would recommend for those destined as native officers, we should have little to apprehend from their competition with us in our own language, or indeed in any description of learning. They may attain a certain length, but can never reach beyond it. We should merely endeavour to qualify a little their present stupidity and almost total absence of reflection; to bring them to lean somewhat towards our views of things and our system. This would elevate their pride, and would be the means of establishing a closer confidence between our countrymen and themselves. This, I presume, might be done without incurring the slightest danger as respects our footing amongst them."

The words in the above extract which we have put in italics show the policy of keeping Native Officers inefficient. They rise from the ranks and their promotion depends on the sweet will of the commanding officer as well as of some other British Officers of the Regiment. They have to curry favor with them and they know which side of the bread is buttered. Men of no education and altogether devoid of pride, they are servile tools in the hands of British Officers, to please whom they are only too ready and willing to demean themselves to do any dirty work. Captain Novitsky very rightly says that "the native officers are quite uneducated, rough, and without the least trace of cultured influence."

The same officer's views regarding the inefficiency of the native troops are also given below.

"In general the Anglo-Indian forces are divided into two distinctly antagonistic elements; and it is still an open question as to how the Native troops will

conduct themselves in the future war with Russia. One circumstance deserves attention, and that is the disproportionate number of English officers who fall in the expeditions against the mountain tribes of the frontier. One is involuntarily led to think, says Captain Novitsky, that this may be accounted for by the sepoys revenging themselves on their officer amid the din and smoke of battle. The fighting qualities of the Anglo-Indian army, and its capability for offensive action outside India, cannot, of course, be determined until they are proved by the first encounter with a European foe, but the experience of the past compels him to entertain very great doubts on the subject. The different wars and expeditions against Afghanistan during the present century have been nothing but a long series of defeats and disasters."

The question then arises, if the Native army is inefficient, and on grounds of political expediency it is considered undesirable to make it efficient, why is it kept up at all? It is a difficult question to answer. But our suspicion is that it is kept up because it is the

means of providing snug berths to several thousands of European officers. The services do not exist for India, but India exists for the services. That perhaps accounts for the existence of the Native Army. Within the last five or six years the number of British Officers attached for duty to native regiments has been nearly doubled and the famine-stricken population of India has to pay the extra charge of this unnecessary military expenditure. More British Officers are now on duty with the Native Army than before the Boer war and the cry is still they come. At present, there is one British Officer to every double company. It may be safely predicted that within the next few years there will, in all probability, be one British Officer to every company, and then the occupation of the Native Officer will be (although now practically it is no better than) that of the Warrant Officer of a British regiment.

THE COMPANION OF AN EMPRESS

[The following biographical sketch gives us a picture of the inner life of the Mughal Court at the height of its prosperity, introduces to us a learned and accomplished Persian lady, and finally tells the sad and simple tale of a mother's love and death which has an interest quite apart from its value as a side-light on Indian history.]

THE Persians, who have been rightly called 'the French of Asia,' supplied many of the most brilliant gems that gathered round the throne of India's Muhammadan rulers. From Persia came Mahmud Gawan, the heaven-born minister of the Bahmani Sultans of the Deccan; Mir Jumla, the right-hand man of Aurangzib; Abul Fath, the physician and friend of Akbar; Ali Mardan Khan, the Engineer; and many other worthies of

the field and the council-chamber. From Persia, too, came the highly accomplished lady who is the subject of this memoir.

Sati-un-nisa, (lit., 'the Lance-head among women') was the daughter of a respectable native of Mazendran, a province of Persia, and belonged to a family of scholars and physicians. Her brother, Taliba Amli, was unrivalled in his age in the choice of words and the power of clothing fine sense in equally fine phrases, and earned the title of "Prince of Poets" at the Court of Jahangir. When her husband Nasir, a brother of the great physician Raknai Kashi, died in India, Sati-un-nisa entered the service of Mumtaz Mahal, the renowned Empress of Shah Jahan. Here

her ability, charm of speech, perfect mastery of the proper conduct of a dependent, and knowledge of medicine and various kinds of treatment, won her royal mistress's heart, and she was promoted above all the old servants and entrusted with her seal, the badge of the head of the Empress's establishment. She was a good elocutionist and could recite the *Qoran* well and read Persian works in prose and verse properly. For her literary accomplishments she was appointed tutoress to the Princess Royal Jahanara and very soon taught her to read the *Qoran* and write Persian.

She was also the intermediary of the Emperor's charity to women. Whenever she heard of an honest woman in distress or a virgin too poor to be married, she reported the case to the Empress and the latter brought it to the Emperor's ear on his coming to the *harem* in the evening. Large sums were daily spent in helping these poor women, lands and daily stipends or cash bounties were given to the wives and widows, and ornaments and money paid to the virgins. Sati-un-nisa acted as the Imperial almoneress, and the historian praises her as "attentive, eloquent, expert, and gentle in manner."

When the Empress died (7th June, 1631), Sati-un-nisa, as her chief servant and agent, accompanied the corpse to its last resting-place at Agra (the Taj Mahal). Shah Jahan, as a loving husband, faithfully cherished her memory and did not marry again, though he survived her by 35 years. The duties of the late Empress, as the female head of the Imperial family, now fell to her eldest daughter Jahanara, and she had to do her mother's part in arranging marriage ceremonies, entertaining female guests, and other social functions peculiar to the mistress of a household. In this task she was ably assisted by her former tutor, Sati-un-nisa, to whom she gave her seal and the control of her household staff, on her mother's death. Thus the subject of our memoir continued to be the

highest lady servant of the Mughal Empire and was like a mother to the orphan prince and princesses.

At every marriage of a prince of the blood royal, Sati-un-nisa, as a sort of female *maj-domo*, conveyed the Imperial presents to the bride's house. The male officers who accompanied her stayed outside, while she entered the *harem* and made over the gifts to the bride's mother, from whom she received liberal rewards for her pains. Mumtaz Mahal before her death used to lay aside money, jewels and precious articles in view of her sons' marriage when they would grow up. Jahanara constantly added to the store. At the time of marriage these were spent in making tribute to the Emperor, gifts to the Princes and Begams, and presents of robes to the nobles and courtiers. At the marriage of the Crown Prince Dara Shikoh (11th November, 1632), these amounted to *60 lacs* of rupees,—seven *lacs* in jewels, one *lakh* in cash, four *lacs* in gold and silver ornaments and rare articles of all countries from all over the world, and the balance in elephants and horses. By order of Jahanara, Sati-un-nisa arranged all this vast collection for display in the spacious courtyard of Agra fort in front of the window at which the Emperor used to show his face to his adoring subjects. At night the whole place was illuminated, forming a sort of Exhibition. The courtiers and nobles feasted their eyes on the treasure and even the Emperor condescended to pay a visit.

So, too, at the marriage of the second prince Shujah (23rd February, 1633), a display was made of wedding presents worth 10 *lacs* of rupees, all supplied by Mumtaz Mahal and Jahanara. Sati-un-nisa's capacity for organisation and artistic taste must have found ample scope for exercise in getting up such exhibitions.

In addition to being the head servant of Jahanara, Sati-un-nisa was also made by the

Emperor the *Sadar* or Superintendent of the *harem*, in reward of her fidelity and obedience. She had also to wait at the Emperor's table and serve him with provisions,—as the most honoured and trusted of women attendants. Thus she was constantly in the Emperor's eyes and was most kindly treated by him.

She had no child of her own, but adopted the two daughters of her late brother Taliba. On them she lavished all the love and maternal yearnings of a childless widow's heart. The younger of the two, on whom she particularly doted, was married to Hakin Zia-ud-din, a nephew of her late husband. The bridegroom was brought over from Persia and cherished in the Imperial Court through her influence. But this young woman, the centre of all Sati-un-nisa's affections, died of a long illness following childbirth (10th January, 1647). A mother's grief is too strong for any earthly control. Sati-un-nisa, "in spite of her wisdom and philosophy, cast off all patience, and abandoned herself to mourning for 11 days in her house, outside the citadel of Lahore."

But Shah Jahan was the kindest of men, a model husband, father and master of house. He could not neglect an old servant. On the 2nd January, hoping that her grief had now somewhat abated, he kindly had her brought to her official residence within the Imperial *harem*, went there in the company of Jahanara, consoled her in many ways, and took her with himself to the Palace.

Next day, as the Emperor went out to hunt, Sati-un-nisa returned to her own house for some necessary works. After eating her meal and saying the evening prayers, she betook herself to reading the *Qoran*.

At about 8 P. M. she suddenly cried out "I feel being choked," and rapidly grew worse. The Persian doctor Masih-uz-zaman, a distant relative, was immediately summoned. At his arrival, she bowed to salute him, then raised her head, and at once sank down on her side. The pulse was still beating, the doctor and her son-in-law continued applying remedies for fainting, but to no avail. When the pulse failed, they knew that she had left the world. Thus she followed her daughter in death by a fortnight only.

Next day (24th January) the news reached Shah Jahan in the hunting camp. He was deeply touched, and ordered all honour to be shown to her remains and Rs. 15,000 to be spent on her funeral. After more than a year the body was taken out and finally buried west of the Taj Mahal, close to the outer quadrangle in a tomb built by Government at an expense of Rs. 30,000. A village yielding Rs. 3,000 a year was assigned for the pay of its attendants. Thus she was not parted from her beloved master and mistress even in death.*

JADUNATH SARKAR.

* This sketch is based upon Abdul Hamid Lahori's Persian history *Padiashahnamah*, Vol. I., 151, 394, 453-455, and Vol. II., 137 and 628.

SANSKRIT SCHOLARSHIP IN THE WEST

I

THE main causes which led some Europeans to study Sanskrit may be summed up by saying that they learned it—

1. For the sake of religious discussions with the "heathens" of India,

2. For judicial purposes, in order to administer justice in accordance with the Hindu Law,

3. For philological purposes.

The Portuguese under Vasco de Gama discovered the sea-route to India in 1498. That

nation professed Roman Catholicism, maintained the horrid institution of the Inquisition, and, as is well-known, were fanatics regarding the conversion of non-Christians to their creed. By fraud and force the Portuguese succeeded in obtaining political supremacy over certain parts of the Indian continent. Their missionaries came out to India also in large numbers for making converts of the heathens. The best known of these was St. Francis Xavier, who landed in Southern India in 1545 A. D. Owing to the purity of his character and his disinterested devotion he succeeded in his self-imposed task to an extent unprecedented in the history of missions. But he did not know any of the Indian languages. He has himself admitted, "I do not understand that people nor do they understand me."

About the time that Xavier was carrying on his mission propaganda in India, the Society of Jesus was founded in Europe, with the special object of preaching the Bible in heathen lands. The most remarkable man of this order who made a name and fame for himself in India was Robert di Nobili of the Madura Mission. He commenced his career in India in 1607. To gain his end he was quite unscrupulous as to the means which he adopted. He lived like a native of this country and gave himself out to be a Brahman. He called himself by the name of *Tatwa-bod, haca Swamy*. He studied Sanskrit with great diligence. Madura—the scene of his labours, was the place where a few centuries before his arrival the Buddhists were impaled by the Brahmans.* The Buddhists who were defeated in dialectic duels were thus cruelly treated. These dialectic duels greatly contributed to the downfall of Buddhism in India. Writes Sir James Campbell:—

"The prosperity of a monastery depended on the argumentative power of its chief. The champion

* See Taylor's Catalogue of Mackenzies' Oriental Mss. Vol. III, pp. 56 and 144. "The memory of the impaling of the Buddhists of Madura by the Brahmans is still fresh."

talker of the monastery was treated with the highest honor. He was liable to be challenged by any stranger; and, as was the practice in the times of European chivalry, if the champion was beaten his whole part was at the conqueror's mercy. A monastery that had lasted for ages was sometimes deserted from the result of a single dialectic duel. This system undermined the strength of Buddhism in two ways. It loosened the monk's hold on the people and it divided the monasteries, changing them from practical teachers and helpers into isolated unsympathetic theorists. The Brahmans were little behind the Buddhists in their zeal for oratory. * * In the eighth century, when the great Brahman champion Shankaracharya arose, the Buddhists trembled. They knew they would be challenged, they knew his arguments, and knowing no answer, they shrank away leaving the monasteries empty."

The fear of being defeated in a dialectic duel by the Brahmans made this Roman Catholic priest study Sanskrit and live as a Brahman. The Vedas were looked upon as Revealed Scriptures by the Hindoos. But in their four authoritative Vedas no mention is made of Christ or Christianity. To make the Hindoos believe that the Christian cult was contained in the Vedas, this Roman Catholic priest did not scruple to forge a new one. In this fifth Veda known as the *Ezour-Veda* Christianity is diluted with Theistic Brahmanism. The Ms. of this work was sent to France from Pondicherry, where it had been kept for sometime, and in 1761 was deposited in the King's library in Paris. It was published in 1778. The learned and sceptic Voltaire was so far deceived by it that he considered it as "the most precious gift for which the West has ever been indebted to the East."

Nobili died in 1656 A. D., aged forty-five. Although he studied Sanskrit with diligence there is no proof forthcoming of his having composed the forged *Ezour-veda*. According to Prof. Max Muller,

"it seems quite certain that the notorious *Ezour Veda* was not his work. This *Ezour-Veda* was a poor compilation of Hindu and Christian doctrines mixed up together in the most childish way and with

Supplement to "The Modern Review."



PROFESSOR MAX MULLER.

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

probably the work of a half-educated native convert at Pondicherry."

Within the last century, it is Germany which has produced some of the most distinguished Sanskrit scholars. The first German to study Sanskrit, appears to have been Heinrich Noth who in 1664 studied it in order 'that he might be capable of disputing with the Brahmins'. He did not, however, seem to have gained much proficiency in Sanskrit.

But the German Jesuit Hanxleden has been often referred to as an eminent Sanskrit scholar of his day. He landed on the Malabar coast in 1699 and labored as a missionary for over a quarter of a century.

The forged Veda of Nobili and the labours of the other Jesuits in India attracted the attention of the Pope to them, and Cardinal Wiseman has truly said that it was in Rome that the languages and literature of the Hindus were first systematically studied in Europe. This was chiefly due to the exertions of Father Paulino, who after his return from India in 1790, took up his abode in the Propaganda at Rome.

But the Sanskrit scholarship of the Jesuits did not benefit the cause of learning. Many of them were no doubt very profound Sanskrit scholars, but their learning did not contribute anything to the stock of human knowledge. They studied Sanskrit for being able to dispute with Brahmins.

Since the establishment of British rule in India, Sanskrit has been studied for the proper administration of justice according to the Hindu Law. Professor Jolly in his Tagore Law Lectures says:—

"In modern times, after the establishment of the British rule in India, the hold of the early native institutions over the Indian mind was found to have remained so firm, that it was considered expedient to retain the old national system and adoption amidst the most sweeping changes which had been introduced in the administration of the country and in judicial procedure. It was the desire to ascertain the authentic opinions of the early native legislators in

regard to these subjects which led to the discovery of the Sanskrit literature. European Sanskrit Philology may be said then to owe a debt of gratitude to the memory of the ancient Sanskrit Lawyers of India."

It was in 1765 that the East India Company obtained the Dewany of Bengal, Bihar and Orissa, and in 1776, the Code of Gentoo Laws compiled by Mr. Halhead was published. Mr. Halhead did not know Sanskrit. But he compiled it from a Persian translation made from the original, written in Sanskrit. This work was undertaken at the instance of Mr. Warren Hastings.

The first Englishman who seems to have studied Sanskrit to advantage was Charles Wilkins. He came out to India in 1770 and immediately on his arrival he set himself to the study of Sanskrit; and translated the Bhagavat Gita into English. Mr. Warren Hastings urged the Court of Directors of the East India Company to undertake its publication. In his letter to them he wrote:—

"Every accumulation of knowledge, and especially such as is obtained by social communication with people over whom we exercise a dominion, founded on the right of conquest, is useful to the State: it is the gain of humanity; in the specific instance which I have stated, it attracts and conciliates distant affections, it lessens the weight of the chain by which the natives are held in subjection, and it implants in the heart of our own countrymen the sense and obligation of benevolence."

The English translation of the Bhagavat Gita was published in England in 1785 A. D., and from this translation the Gita was rendered into French and German.

But the establishment of the Asiatic Society of Bengal marks a new era in the history of thought. It was founded in 1784, mainly through the exertions of Sir William Jones. He was one of the judges of the Supreme Court of Calcutta and came out to India in 1783. In his inaugural address as President of the Society, he said:—

"When I was at sea, last August, on my voyage to this country, which I had long and ardently desired to visit, I found, one evening, on inspecting the

observations of the day, that *India* lay before us, and *Persia* on our left, whilst a breeze from *Arabia* blew nearly on our stern. A situation so pleasing in itself, and to me so new, could not fail to awaken a train of reflections in a mind, which had early been accustomed to contemplate with delight the eventful histories and agreeable fictions of this eastern world."



SIR WILLIAM JONES.

Sir William Jones was a remarkable linguist. He had studied Latin, Greek, Hebrew, Arabic and Persian in his native country, and on his arrival in India he applied himself assiduously to the study of Sanskrit. The proficiency which he gained in Sanskrit is evident from his translations into English of some of the Sanskrit works. Kalidasa's *Sakuntala* was translated into English by him, and this translation was much appreciated by the natives of the Christian countries of Europe. The poet Goethe went into raptures on reading *Sakuntala* and burst forth into the following often-quoted verse :—

"Wouldst thou the young year's blossom and the
fruits of its decline,
And all by which the soul is charmed, enraptured,
feasted, fed, ?

Wouldst thou the earth and heaven itself in one
sole name combine ?

I name thee, O *Sakuntala* ! and all at once is said."

This appreciation of *Sakuntala* by Goethe gave an impetus to the study of Sanskrit in Germany. The Asiatic Society of Bengal published some 21 Volumes of the *Asiatic Researches*. These volumes revolutionised the old world ideas regarding the philology, history and geography of the ancients. In his inaugural address as President of the Asiatic Society, Sir William Jones said :—

"If now it be asked, what are the intended objects of our inquiries within these spacious limits, we answer, MAN and NATURE; whatever is performed by the one, or produced by the other. * * * You will investigate whatever is rare in the stupendous fabric of nature, will correct the Geography of Asia by new observations and discoveries; will trace the annals, and even traditions, of those nations, who from time to time have peopled or desolated it; and will bring to light their various forms of Government, with their institutions civil and religious; * * * * You may observe, that I have omitted their languages, the diversity and difficulty of which are a sad obstacle to the progress of useful knowledge; but I have ever considered languages as the mere instruments of real learning, and think them improperly confounded with learning itself: the attainment of them is, however, indispensably necessary; and if to the Persian, Armenian, Turkish, and Arabic, could be added not only the Sanskrit, the treasures of which we may now hope to see unlocked, but even the Chinese, Tartarian, Japanese, and the various insular dialects, an immense mine would then be open, in which we might labour with equal delight and advantage."

Yes, the Asiatic Society of Bengal has done more than any other public body in the world to unlock the treasures of Sanskrit. Of the various English Sanskrit scholars who were connected with the Asiatic Society and whose contributions enriched the pages of the *Asiatic Researches*, Henry Thomas Colebrooke and Horace Hayman Wilson were the most prominent.

Colebrooke was the first Englishman to write the Grammar of Sanskrit in English and study the Vedas. He also made a very

large collection of Sanskrit Mss. which he presented to the East India Company. After his retirement from India he was mainly instrumental in establishing the Royal Asiatic Society in England.



HENRY THOMAS CELEBROOKE.

Horace Hayman Wilson was a medical officer in the service of the East India Company. But he is better known as a Sanskrit scholar than as a medical man. He served in India from 1808 to 1832. He was the first Englishman who devoted his attention to the religious sects of the Hindus and also to the compilation of a Sanskrit-English Dictionary.

Colonel Boden was a very zealous Christian, who in 1830 bequeathed all his property to the University of Oxford for the purpose of promoting the study of Sanskrit, as he was of opinion that a knowledge of it would enable missionaries to discharge their calling in India better. A chair of Sanskrit was established in 1880 and Wilson was elected its first Professor in 1832. How the members of the Asiatic Society of Bengal appreciated the

labours of Wilson, will be evident from the following words of theirs:—

"None after Sir W. Jones, if even he is to be excepted, has stronger claims on our grateful recollection; none certainly more long-continued ones."

The Marquess Wellesley during his period of office as Governor-General of India established in 1800 the College of Fort William for the purpose of training the civil and military officers of the East India Company in the languages of this country. The well-known Reverend Carey of the Serampur Mission was the Professor of Sanskrit of this institution. He was the author of a Sanskrit grammar and also was the first to print the text of Valmiki's Ramayana in Sanskrit.

Of the many civil and military officers trained in this institution, the most distinguished Sanskrit scholar was Sir Henry Macnaghten who was assassinated in Fakhul by the Amir Dost Mohammed's favourite son, Akbar Khan.

To Germany is due the credit of showing the importance of Sanskrit for the study of Comparative Philology. Frederick Schlegel was almost the first to point this out. His essay on the Indian Language, Literature and Philosophy published in 1808 should be considered as laying the philosophical basis of Comparative Philology. It supplied a philosophic method for generalising all that was done and reducing it to a system. He was the first to direct attention to the affinity between languages in grammatical construction and forms. In 1802 he went to Paris to study Sanskrit and was so much struck with its beauty that in the Essay above alluded to he wrote:—

"I must, therefore, be content in my present experiments to restrict myself to the furnishing of an additional proof of the fertility of Indian literature, and the rich hidden treasures which will reward our diligent study of it; to kindle in Germany a love for, or at least a prepossession in favour of that study; and to lay a firm foundation, on which our

structure may at some future period be raised with greater security and certainty.

"The study of Indian literature requires to be embraced by such students and patrons as in the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries suddenly kindled in Italy and Germany an ardent appreciation of the beauty of classical learning and in so short a time invested it with such prevailing importance, that the form of all wisdom and science, and almost of the world itself, was changed and renovated by the influence of that reawakened knowledge. I venture to predict that the Indian study if embraced with equal energy, will prove no less grand and universal in its operation, and have no less influence on the sphere of European intelligence."

Regarding the manner in which the study of Sanskrit was calculated to benefit Comparative Philology, he said:—

"The old Indian language, *Sanskrit*, that is the formed or perfect, * * has the greatest affinity with the Greek and Latin, as well as the Persian and German languages. This resemblance of affinity does not exist only in the numerous roots, which it has in

common with both those nations, but extends also to the grammar and internal structure; nor is such resemblance a casual circumstance easily accounted for by the intermixture of the languages; it is an essential element and clearly indicating community of origin. It is further proved by comparison, that the Indian is the most ancient, and the source from whence others of later origin are derived. * *

"The great importance of the comparative study of language, in elucidating the historical origin and progress of nations, and their early migration and wanderings, will afford a rich subject for investigation. * * * *

"Of all the existing languages there is none so perfect in itself, or in which the internal connection of the roots may be so clearly traced as in the Indian. * * * *

The Indian grammar offers the best example of perfect simplicity, combined with the richest artistic construction."

From his time dates the regular and systematic study of Sanskrit in Germany.

B.

THE GENESIS OF THE PRESENT UNREST

"THE Hindoos are religious, affable, courteous to strangers, cheerful, enamoured of knowledge, fond of inflicting austerities upon themselves, lovers of justice, given to retirement, able in business, grateful admirers of truth and of unbounded fidelity in all their dealings. Their character shines brightest in adversity. Their soldiers know not what it is to fly from the field of battle. * * * They have great respect for their tutors; and make no account of their lives, when they can devote them to the service of God."

THUS wrote Abul Fazl, who had, at the command of his friend, master, and king, Akbar the great, come into constant and intimate intercourse with the Hindus, and made a life-long study of their sacred books. Three hundred years after this came a Viceroy

from the West who, in an assembly containing in it some of the best and most cultured Indian minds, declared at the top of his voice that truthfulness in its strict sense was a thing unknown in the literature of the East. Lord Curzon had nothing but a most distant acquaintance with the best products of the Hindu and Mohammedan intellects over which he sat in judgment; and, therefore, the arrogance displayed by him and that in the presence of men at the feet of some of whom he might sit for years to learn the qualities that make for righteousness, was amazing; but it was not a mere individual idiosyncrasy: it is a national taint. This lies at the root of the unrest that is manifesting itself from one

end of this vast continent to the other; this has called into being the nationalist movement in Egypt.

What educated Indian is there who is not grateful for the dissemination of Western knowledge in this country? It is English education that has made India what she is to-day. But it was the same trait of character in Macaulay—his undisguised contempt for Oriental literature—that helped the planting of English education in India. The story, briefly told, is this.

For about half a century after the transformation of the East India Company from a trading firm into the rulers of India, they did not feel the urgency of doing much to educate their subjects. The first attempt for the enlightenment of the natives of India in the science and literature of Europe was the foundation of the Hindu College in 1816. In 1823, the Governor-General in Council established the Committee of Public Instruction, the object of which was

"Considering, and from time to time submitting to Government, the suggestion of such measures as it may appear expedient to adopt with a view to the better instruction of the people, to the introduction of useful knowledge, including the science and arts of Europe, and to the improvement of their moral character."

The institutions placed under its charge were the Calcutta Madrasah and the Sanskrit College at Benares. The Sanskrit College at Calcutta was opened in 1824; a College was established at Delhi the following year for instruction in the oriental classics. But in 1834, "the operations of the Committee were brought to a stand by an irreconcilable difference of opinion as to the principles on which Government support to education should be administered." The orientalists counting half of the Committee—H. T. Prinsep, James Prinsep, W. H. Macnaghten and two more—were for encouraging Sanskrit, Arabic and Persian learning. Their opponents, the "Anglicists," forming the other half, and under

the lead of men like C. Trevelyan and J. R. Colvin—were in favour of English education. Over this Committee, Macaulay, on his arrival in India in June, 1834, as Legislative Member of the Supreme Council, was appointed President, and on the 20th February, 1835, he indited the celebrated minute which put an end to the heated controversy once for all, and was followed by the decision of Lord William Bentinck to the effect that "the great object of the British Government ought to be the promotion of European literature and science among the natives of India." Now, why was it that Macaulay so eloquently pleaded for imparting instruction in the English language, to the exclusion of Arabic and Sanskrit? The answer is to be found in his own words. Here is an extract from the "Great Minute":—

"The whole question seems to me to be which language is the best worth knowing. I have no knowledge of either Sanskrit or Arabic. But I have done what I could to form a correct estimate of their value. I have read translations of the most celebrated Arabic and Sanskrit works. I have conversed both here and at home with men distinguished by their proficiency in the Eastern tongues. I am quite ready to take the oriental learning at the valuation of the Orientalists themselves. I have never found one among them who could deny that a single shelf of a good European library was worth the whole native literature of India and Arabia."

"I certainly never met with any Orientalist who ventured to maintain that the Arabic and Sanskrit poetry could be compared to that of the great European nations. . . . In every branch of physical or moral philosophy, the relative position of the two nations is nearly the same (i. e., the superiority of the Europeans is "absolutely immeasurable". (The italics are mine).

This was enough to make the ghost of Rajah Rammohun Roy turn in his grave. Just think of the supercilious arrogance with which Macaulay quietly takes for granted the inferior value of the vast literature of Arabia and India—the homes of three of the mightiest religions of the world, the civilizers of Asia, and in no small measure of Europe too—

the literature with but a fraction of which he was acquainted through translations, and not a page of which he was in a position to understand in the original. He would himself have recommended the administration of a sound caning to the impudent school-boy who should have the hardihood to pass a similar verdict of condemnation on Shakespeare on the strength of his knowledge of that immortal poet through the Bengali translations of Rai Sahib Haranchandra Rakshit.

"Out of evil cometh good." Macaulay's violent diatribe against oriental literature, blind, and unreasoning and unjustifiable as it was, helped the birth of New India; we have, therefore, no quarrel with his nephew and biographer when he says that

"It is fortunate for India that a man with the tastes, and the training, of Macaulay came to her shores as one vested with authority, and that he came at the moment when he did; for that moment was the very turning-point of her intellectual progress."

But what justification is there for that rancorous insult to the Bengali character—the sweeping, unqualified defamation of a whole nation—in his essay on Warren Hastings, which, by the way, is among the most popular of his writings? It does not appear that during his four years' stay in Calcutta he ever met distinguished Bengalis like Ram Kamal Sen, Radhakanta Deb and Dwarka Nath Tagore: if he did, at any rate he did not care to cultivate their friendship. Nay more. Before he came out to India to legislate for its teeming millions, he had an opportunity offered to him of meeting the greatest Bengali of modern times—the founder of New India—the mightiest intellect since Sankaracharya—one, whom any country on the face of the globe would be proud of owning as its citizen. Macaulay did not avail himself of that opportunity, because he could not brace himself up to forego the pleasures of a dinner-party at Marshall's. This is what he writes to his sisters (7th June, 1831):—

"Yesterday I dined at Marshall's, and was almost consoled for not meeting Rammohun Roy by a very pleasant party. The great sight was the two wits Rogers and Sidney Smith.... I told him (Sidney Smith) that my meeting him was some compensation for missing Rammohun Roy. Sidney broke forth: 'Compensation! Do you mean to insult me?' A beneficed clergyman, an orthodox clergyman, a nobleman's chaplain, to be no more than compensation for a Brahmin; and a heretic Brahmin too, a fellow who has lost his own religion and can't find another; a vile heterodox dog, who, as I am credibly informed eats beef-steaks in private! A man who has lost his caste! Who ought to have melted lead poured down his nostrils, if the good old Vedas were in force as they ought to be?"

Macaulay found all this "indescribably amusing." Indescribably amusing indeed is the self-complacency of the statesman who for the sake of such trash, could fail to cultivate the acquaintance of one of the finest products of Eastern and Western culture.

We have dwelt at some length on the arrogance and exclusiveness of Macaulay, because he was one of the most distinguished British Statesmen who ever served in India. What we are driving at is to show that men of his ability and influence in England do not think it worth while to study Eastern literature, and hence any true, sympathetic understanding of the vast population of England's great Eastern Dependency is difficult of attainment. There have been scholars in England—there have been European scholars in India, who patiently and silently toiled at the mines the untold treasures of which are to-day the common property of the human race,—and who have spent a life-time in interpreting the East to the West; but how many are there among those who immediately rule over the destiny of India—Viceroys and Secretaries of State and Members of the Cabinet—who have ever brought their Oriental sympathies to bear on the task of administration—sympathies that can be the outcome of only a loving study and appreciation of the *thoughts* of the highest intellects in the land? India will ever

remain grateful to Orientalists of world-wide reputation like MaxMuller and Muir and Rhys Davids—to Anglo-Indians like Colebrooke and Wilson and Prinsep—though unfortunately the race of these latter is now extinct—but among the Viceroy's, Lord Dufferin alone had some knowledge of Persian, and among the Secretaries of State, we do not know of any who had even a smattering of the classics of the East. One of the misfortunes of India is this; and it is of a two-fold nature. British statesmen of the highest order do not care to take over the Indian portfolio: Lord Salisbury was the only Indian Secretary who afterwards rose to be Prime Minister. In the second place, even when an eminent politician like Sir Stafford Northcote, Lord Hartington, or Mr. John Morley, is placed at the helm of the Indian administration, he looks elsewhere than the India Office to win his laurels; he has seldom time enough to study accurately the temper and traditions of the peoples committed to his charge. Much was expected of Mr. Morley when he became Secretary of State for India—but there were hardly any grounds for this expectation. As early as the seventies, he wrote in his treatise on *Compromise*:—

"We undertake it (the Government of India and other dependencies) with a disinterestedness, and execute it with a skill of administration, to which history supplies no parallel, and which even if time should show that the conditions of the problem were insoluble, would still remain for ever admirable."

This is the root of the evil. When even a philosophic writer of cosmopolitan sympathies of the type of Mr. Morley feels convinced that the disinterestedness of the British rule in India is without a parallel in history, we look about in vain for a parallel to this magnificent self-laudation.

This proclivity towards national glorification warps the judgment of many European writers. Too often they fail to recognise the undeniable fact that Asia is the mother of civilisations—that the founders of all the

greatest religions of the world were Asiatics. Hence arises the one-sidedness of European culture. No English gentleman would be considered a scholar if he did not possess a fair knowledge of Latin, Greek, French, German or Italian; to which, perhaps, should be added Hebrew, too; but not one in ten has heard of Kalidasa or Hafiz, or has read the Vedanta or the Qoran in the original. Here is a story, the authenticity of which we cannot vouch for. Mr. Gladstone, it is said, was once asked by a friend to name the four greatest poets of the world. About the three first he had no doubts—they were Homer, Dante and Shakespeare. But who was the fortunate fourth man? There were, Mr. Gladstone thought, four claimants to the fourth place in the front rank of the poets of this planet of ours—Æschylus, Vergil, Milton and Goethe. We are told that the choice of the great English statesman and theologian ultimately fell on Goethe. Did Mr. Gladstone ever dream that there was such a dramatist as Kalidasa whose *Sakuntala* his own favourite German poet had pronounced to be one of the greatest dramas in the world? Or possibly, *the world*, to his mind, meant *Europe*, (excluding, of course, that part of it which is inhabited by the Turks). It is amusing to note carefully the vocabulary of many English publicists. "The world" is often synonymous with a fifth part of the Old Hemisphere, or the land of their birth; 'humanity' not unoften stands for the British people; 'civilization' means only the civilization of the whites. To quote instances from rhetorical writers like Macaulay would be lost labour. We shall remain content with giving only one extract from a most dispassionate scientific writer. Says Professor Huxley in his essay on *Agnosticism and Christianity*:—

"The science, the art, the jurisprudence, the chief political and social theories, of the modern world, have grown out of those of Greece and Rome—not by favour of, but in the teeth of, the fundamental teachings of early Christianity, to which science, art, and

any serious occupation with the things of this world, were alike despicable.

"Again, all that is best in the ethics of the modern world, in so far as it has not grown out of Greek thought or Barbarian manhood, is the direct development of the ethics of old Israel."

Here the famous scientist was undoubtedly speaking of Europe: otherwise, the absurdity of the statement becomes at once evident.

It is not a mere question of linguistic ambiguity: the evil lies deeper. This peculiar national characteristic—call it vanity, arrogance, insular pride, or unctuous self-righteousness—is responsible for the distorted representation of many great historical events, notably the life-and-death struggle with Napoleon. This is what a sober historian like Dr. Arnold writes in all seriousness in his once celebrated History of Rome:—

"Twice in history there have been witnessed the struggle of the highest individual genius against the resources and institutions of a great nation; and in both cases the nation has been victorious. For seventeen years Hannibal strove against Rome; for sixteen years Napoleon Buonaparte strove against England: the efforts of the first ended in Zama, those of the second in Waterloo."

The hollowness of the boast is thoroughly exposed by a well-known Hungarian writer in one of his lectures before the University of London. We shall make a pretty full extract from it:—

"That opinion (viz., that England saved Europe from Napoleon), frequently accepted in books written by French authors too, has not the slightest possible basis in fact. In all the immense struggles between England and the French from 1793 to 1815, the English were able to secure not a single decisive victory on land single-handed; and it was only on sea where in 1798 in Aboukir Bay, and in 1805 off Trafalgar, the English secured a decisive victory over the French and Spanish fleets, * * * It was only when the French army after thirty years' continuous fighting had been reduced in number, in force, and in morale, that in the last battle Wellington, most decisively aided by the Prussians under Blücher, won a victory over Napoleon. The victories of Wellington in the Peninsular War have been described with all the

exaggeration and "advertisement" natural in the case of smaller nations, who succeed in securing a victory over a greater nation. * * * It has been said that Spain was the grave of Napoleon; if that be so, we must hasten to add that the diggers of that grave were Spanish." * * *

"Wellington's plan was to move on a straight line from Lisbon to Salamanca, to Valladolid, across the Pyrennes, and to enter France. The length of that line amounts to from four to five weeks' marches. The net upshot of all his activity is that it took him six years to arrive at the other end of that line in France at Toulouse in April, 1814. He made no real headway on that line before 1813, that is, before the time that Napoleon's power had been broken at Leipzig, and Napoleon had been recalling most of his better troops from Spain. It was only when Napoleon's power had been completely crushed by the others, that is, the Russians, the Austrians, and the Prussians in 1813 and 1814, that Wellington was able to enter France, only to learn that Napoleon had already been forced to abdicate."—Emil Reich—*Foundations of Modern Europe*, Lecture III.

Our contention would have been quite academical, if the shortcomings in the English national character which we are pointing out, did not produce serious administrative evils. But the fact lies just the other way. The real rulers of India—the people of England—care more for a by-election than for the well-being of "our great Eastern Dependency." The servants of the Crown, engaged in the practical work of administration, live *in the country*, but *not among the people*. The heads of the governments, imperial and provincial, live in splendid isolation on the heights of the Himalayas, the Neilgherries and Mahabaleswar for a considerable part of the year; not infrequently forging legislative measures that come upon the unwary native population like a veritable bolt from the blue; and when they condescend to come down into the plains, they are surrounded by their own kith and kin, and hold intercourse with the privileged few among the untold millions, which at times, is of a very formal nature. There is a distinct country growing up in the midst of this peninsula—an

Anglistan evolving out of and becoming separate from *Hindustan*. Wherever there is an European population, however small, there are two different and distinct localities, two types of civilisation, two standards of comfort and culture and refinement, two antagonistic and irreconcilable sets of political ideas, with an impassable barrier between the two communities, black and white. It was decidedly not so in the days of the Moghuls. Not to speak of the practice of intermarriage introduced by Akbar, not to speak of the absolute trust and confidence reposed in their Hindu ministers and generals by him and his successors—even Aurangzib could not dispense with the services of Jay Sing—do the present rulers of India take the trouble to *know the minds* of their subjects? "Foreigners do not feel with the people," said John Stuart Mill. The natural difficulties of a foreign rule have been ten times enhanced, the inevitable evils of an alien domination have been manifold accentuated by the arrogance and exclusiveness of the English national character.

"There are," says Tyndall, "Tories even in science who regard Imagination as a faculty to be feared and avoided rather than employed." In politics, at any rate Indian politics, imagination is carefully shunned and eschewed. The reason has been pointed out by such a high authority as Mr. Morley. "The English are," he says, "as a people little susceptible in the region of the imagination." It is on account of this lack of the imaginative faculty that whenever Indian interests clash with British interests, the entire British people turn out to be rank Tories. True liberalism is ever borne on the pinions of imagination and aspiration: cut them down, and it will forthwith grovel in the dust and prove only toryism writ large. It is this lack of imagination that was at the root of the partition of Bengal. For it is imagination that creates genuine sympathy, and sympathy is the core of true statesmanship. The same haughty and

unsympathetic nature that made Lord Curzon one of the most reactionary administrators of India in recent times, has led him to moot the proposal of dedicating a statue to the memory of the forging and opium-eating hero of Plassey. Lord Curzon and those who think with him ought to have realised that in the present temper of the country, the proposal is very unfortunate: if it be carried out it will still more exasperate the Hindus, and may alienate the Mahommedans, whose good-will the Government are so sedulously cultivating. "The decisive sign of the elevation of a nation's life is to be sought among those who lead or ought to lead." Thus writes John Morley in his excellent essay on *Compromise*. How is it that the Secretary of State for India does not hesitate to subscribe to the funds to be raised for the perpetuation of the memory of a forger? None more than he decries the divorce between speech and action. Where is the agreement between the "height of aim" so eloquently preached by him inside the India Office, and this anxiety to consecrate what he above all others ought to regard as a national ignominy? The explanation for this apparent inconsistency is not far to seek. In all that vitally affects the future destiny of India, there is only one party in England—intensely conservative, sternly determined to perpetuate the foreign domination, be it by the pen, or be it by the sword, not caring for truth and justice or righteousness when the aspirations of the subject-people, however noble, have to be repressed. This is why the great wrong done to the Bengali race, in spite of its acknowledged unjustifiableness, has not yet been righted by the most enlightened and liberal-minded Secretary of State. This is why the Mahommedans have been pitted against the Hindus to stifle all genuine and legitimate protests against the partition of Bengal. Everywhere the natural frailties of the dominant race give rise to deep-seated dissatisfaction among the people over whom it rules;

and it is in the unimaginativeness, the pride, the inability to enter into the feelings of the ruled—it is in these defects of the rulers of

India that the genesis of the present unrest must be sought.

April 30, 1907.

RAJANIKANTA GUHA.

CONTEMPORARY INDIA AND AMERICA ON THE EVE OF THE REVOLUTION

OUR English friends, both stay-at-home Britishers as well as Anglo-Indians who feather their nests at the expense of the children of the Indian soil, are never tired of reiterating certain statements which they consider to be great discoveries and so they utter them in season and out of season in such a manner as to make one feel sick of hearing them. According to them, India is merely a geographical expression, and it did not exist as one country* until the natives of England came out here. They further say that the natives of India are not a homogeneous people, but a very heterogeneous mass†, split up into separate races and creeds and castes, and, therefore, they are not fit for any representative or democratic institutions. There being no common language, no community of interests in India, its people are incapable of feeling any sentiments of pat-

riotism. It is the English rule that maintains peace in India, otherwise its people would cut one another's throats. These views given expression to by charitable and philanthropic white men, we are accustomed to hear from our very infancy and read in school-books written by them. We will assume for the sake of argument that all their statements are true. But we do not conclude therefrom that the people of India are unfit for any democratic or representative institutions or that the growth of the sentiment of common patriotism is impossible amongst them. If history shows that the people of one country under those very circumstances which now obtain in India, could exhibit patriotism when called upon by circumstances to do so, and representative government in its highest form is working successfully amongst them, there is no reason why there should be any failure in these matters in the case of India.

* Mr. Vincent A. Smith however says in the *Early History of India* (p. 6): "Twice, in the long series of centuries dealt with in this history, the political unity of India was nearly attained;" namely, in the reigns of Asoka and Samudragupta.

† In the course of the last Imperial Budget Debate, Sir Harvey Adamson, the Home Member of Council, said:—"The honourable member [Mr. Gokhale], in his tours through India, has formulated a demand for self-government for India on lines of a self-governing Colony. We may all look forward to the day far distant when education shall have permeated throughout India, when the hundreds of races that inhabit it will have attained some measure of homogeneousness, and when such form of administration may be feasible, but to set up that type of government at the present day as a plank of practical politics is as illogical and absurd as it would be for a teacher to instruct a pupil in the differential calculus immediately after he had "mastered the principles of simple addition."

Let us turn to the circumstances that existed in those British colonies which are now known as the United States of America, before their separation from England. When America was discovered by Columbus, it was inhabited by many tribes whom Christian nations designated as Indians. As America was to be colonised, so the fate of these tribes was sealed. Colonisation means displacement. So the Christian nations exterminated the aborigines of America by means of gunpowder, the sword, brandy, and sowing

of diseases and dissensions amongst them. There were also many other means devised by the European colonists to encompass the ruin of the American natives which it is not necessary to refer to here. The Christian colonists did not belong to one race, one creed or to one original country. There were not respectable men entirely wanting among them, but speaking generally it was the drögs of the Christian countries of Europe who furnished the ranks of the colonists of America. Their character was such that no one considered them capable of self-government. We will quote here the views of some of the Christian authors who had personal knowledge of these colonies before their separation from England and formation into the United States of America.

Burnaby, an acute observer, travelled through these North American Colonies in 1759 and 1760. According to him,

"Fire and water are not more heterogeneous than the different colonies in North America. Nothing can exceed the jealousy and emulation which they possess in regard to each other. The inhabitants of Pennsylvania and New York have an inexhaustible source of animosity in their jealousy for the trade of the Jerseys. Massachusetts Bay and Rhode Island are not less interested in that of Connecticut. The West Indies are a common subject of emulation to them all. Even the limits and boundaries of each colony are a constant source of litigation. In short, such is the difference of character, of manners, of religion, of interest, of the different colonies, that I think, if I am not wholly ignorant of the human mind, were they left to themselves, there would soon be a civil war from one end of the continent to the other ; while the Indians and negroes would with better reason impatiently watch the opportunity of exterminating them altogether."

Otis, who was a well-known American patriot, wrote in 1765 :—

"God forbid these ever prove undutiful to their mother-country. Whenever such a day shall come, it will be the beginning of a terrible scene. Were these colonies left to themselves to-morrow, America would be a mere shambles of blood and confusion before little petty States could be settled."

The historian Lecky says :—

"Great bodies of Dutch, Germans, French, Swedish, Scotch, and Irish, scattered among the descendants of the English, contributed to the heterogeneous character of the colonies, and they comprised so many varieties of government, religious belief, commercial interest, and social type, that their union appeared to many incredible on the very eve of the Revolution."*

In India, there is not one common language. But that was the case in the colonies too. Lecky writes :—

"Twenty-one years before New York, or, as it was then called, New Amsterdam, fell into the hands of the English, it was computed that no less than eighteen different languages were spoken in or near the town, and it continued under English rule to be one of the chief centres of foreign immigration" †

Even at the present day during the presidential election campaigns in the United States, the different parties have to publish pamphlets in 12 or 13 languages.

It is said that there is no patriotism, or community of feeling in India. But things were no better in America before the Revolution. To quote Lecky again, ‡

"A country where so large a proportion of the inhabitants were recent immigrants drawn from different nations, and professing different creeds, where, owing to the vast extent of the territory and the imperfection of the means of communication, they were thrown very slightly in contact with one another, and where the money-making spirit was peculiarly intense, was not likely to produce much patriotism or community of feeling."

Men like Lord Reay say that India is not fit for democratic government because its people are mostly illiterate.§ But the condition of the colonies was no better. Webster, the lexicographer, writes in his Essays :—

* England in the Eighteenth Century, vol. IV. p. 12.

† " " " " p. 18.

‡ " " " " p. 34.

§ "Had education 'permeated throughout' England when the foundations of popular liberty were laid?" (*Ibid.* April 19th, 1907). Every student of English history knows that in England the wide spread of popular education followed but did not precede popular Government.

"Education is sunk to a level with the most menial services. * * * * Will it be denied that before the war it was a frequent practice for gentlemen to purchase convicts who had been transported for their crimes and employ them as private tutors in their families?" (pp : 17-19).

Our aristocracy and moneyed classes are charged, and justly, as lacking in public spirit. That they spend their time in idleness and worthless pursuits cannot be denied. But the aristocracy of America were no better before the Revolution. Their gentlemen class consisted of planters and farmers, regarding whom Adams writes :—

"The lands are cultivated and all sorts of trades are exercised by negroes or by transported convicts, which has occasioned the planters and farmers to assume the title of gentlemen, and they hold their negroes and convicts—that is, all labouring people and tradesmen—in such contempt, that they think themselves a distinct order of beings. Hence they never will suffer their sons to labour or learn any trade, but they bring them up in idleness or, what is worse, in horse-racing, cock-fighting, and card-playing * *. The object of the men of property here, the planters, &c., is universally wealth. Every way in the world is sought to get and save money; land-jobbers, speculators in land, little generosity to the public, little public spirit." (Adams' Works, II., 436).

But the Indian people at present, on the whole, are angels compared to the Christian Colonists of America, who were brutalised by their dealing in slaves and permitting slavery. They presented the spectacle of degraded humanity. Lecky writes :—

"The most serious evil of the colonies was the number and force of the influences which were impelling large classes to violence and anarchy, brutalising them by accustoming them to an unrestrained exercise of power, and breaking down among them that salutary respect for authority which lies at the root of all true national greatness. The influence of negro slavery in this respect can hardly be over-rated, and in the slave States a master could commit any act of violence and outrage on a negro with practical impunity.

"* * White men planted among savages and removed from the control of European opinion seldom fail to contract the worst vices of tyrants.

"* * * * Juries in Indian cases could never be trusted, and public opinion on the frontier looked upon Indians as little better than wild beasts. * * But the despatches of Johnson and Stuart are full of accounts of how the English settlers continually encroached on the territory which was allotted by treaty to the Indians; how the rules that had been established for the regulation of the Indian trade were systematically violated; how traders of the lowest kind went among the savages, keeping them in a state of continual drunkenness till they had induced them to surrender their land; how the goods that were sold to Indians were of the most fraudulent description; how great numbers of Indians who were perfectly peaceful, and loyal to the English, were murdered without a shadow of provocation; and how these crimes were perpetrated without punishment, and almost without blame." *

If those Christian colonists who were brutalised by permitting slavery amongst them were worthy of liberty, why should not the heathen inhabitants of India where no institution like that of the slavery of Christian colonies ever existed be considered worthy of the same? Liberty alone befits a people to enjoy liberty.

Where similar causes exist, similar effects are likely to follow. The causes which brought about the American Revolution are now more or less in operation in India. The American colonies were under the protection of England. So is India a dependency of that Christian island. The Christian islanders tried to enrich themselves at the expense of the colonists by crushing their industries. The natives of England have all along been doing the same towards the people of India. Our industries are not encouraged, but have been deliberately destroyed, by Christian England, † and are at present handicapped by the philanthropists of Lancashire.

* Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 35;

† The real cause which led to the American Revolution was the English trade laws which crushed American industries. Arthur Young in the Preface to the *Tour in Ireland* very justly said: "Nothing can be more idle than to say that this set of men, or the other administration, or that great minister occasioned the American War. It was not the Stamp Act nor the repeal of the Stamp Act, it was neither Lord Rockingham nor Lord North, but it was that hateful spirit of commerce that wished to govern great nations on the maxims of the counter."

Then again one of the measures which greatly irritated the colonists was the establishment in America of a portion of the British army. The same is the case in India also. Ever since the Mutiny of 1857, the number of white soldiers is being increased almost every year.

The English Parliament attempted to tax the colonists and also legislate for them. The colonists were not represented in the British Parliament; so their popular watch-word was not only 'No representation, no taxation,' but also 'No representation, no legislation.' Are not the people of India treated in these matters of taxation and legislation exactly like the American colonists?

But what awakened the American colonists from their state of lethargy, and who were the mouth-pieces to give expression to their discontent? Perhaps it is not so well known, but it should be widely known, in India, that it was the lawyers, the members of the legal profession, who helped to give voice to the discontent with which American society was seething. The most intelligent men amongst the colonists took to the study of the law. Burke said:—

"In no country, perhaps, in the world, is the law so general a study. The profession itself is numerous and powerful, and in most provinces it takes the lead. The greater number of the deputies sent to Congress were lawyers. ** I have been told by an eminent bookseller that in no branch of his business, after tracts of popular devotion, were so many books as those on the law exported to the plantations."

Noah Webster wrote in 1787:—

"Never was such a rage for the study of law. From one end of the continent to the other the students of this science are multiplying without number. An infallible proof that the business is lucrative."

The legal profession more than any other contributed to the American Revolution. Men like Jefferson, Adams, Otis, Dickenson and others, belonged to this profession.

Do we not see the same thing happening in India? The best men of our universities

belong to the legal profession. Most of the delegates returned to the Indian National Congress, and members of the public bodies and assemblies of this country are lawyers. The legal profession is so much in evidence everywhere in India that our Anglo-Indian rulers and newspapers tauntingly refer to the present state of India as 'Vakil Raj.' The members of the legal profession should take this as a compliment and strive to give expression to the discontent that is prevalent in India as did Otis, Jefferson and others in America on the eve of the Revolution. They should also try to create and direct public opinion in this country.*

(The colonists found themselves quite helpless and sold to England. On their awakening, the first thing they did was to boycott English goods. Lecky writes:—

"The merchants of the chief towns entered into agreements to order no more goods from England, cancel all orders already given, in some cases even to send no remittances to England in payment of their debts, till the Stamp Act was repealed. ** In order that the colonies might be able to dispense with assistance from England, great efforts were made to promote manufactures. The richest citizens set the example of dressing in old or homespun clothes rather than wear new clothes imported from England; and in order to supply the deficiency of wool, a general agreement was made to abstain from eating lamb."†)

So in India also we see the Swadeshi and Boycott movements coming into existence. They are at present in their infancy, but nevertheless they are growing. It is the

* Lecky writes:—"Few persons except lawyers had any tincture of literature, and lawyers under these circumstances had attained a greater power in this province than in any other part of the king's dominions. They had formed an association for the purpose of directing political affairs. In an assembly where the majority of the members were ignorant and simple-minded farmers, they had acquired a controlling power; * *. They were the chief writers in a singularly violent press. They organised and directed every opposition to the Governor, and they had attained an influence not less than that of the priesthood in a bigoted catholic country. (Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 19.)

† Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV., p. 83.

bounden duty of every Indian to take a solemn vow to support these movements. These movements as they spread and take root in the country are sure to ameliorate the condition of the Indian people.

We have shown the parallelism between the circumstances that existed in the American colonies on the eve of the Revolution and in India in modern times. But there is one great difference in their situation. The American colonists had not been emasculated and were in possession of arms.* The natives of India on the other hand have been emasculated and are disarmed. The American colonists as a last resource appealed (or rather responded to the call) to arms, and we know with what success. But it will not be necessary for us to take up arms to secure *swaraj* for our country. The implements of peace are more effective than weapons of war. The author of "National Life and National Character" says:—

"The supremacy of the inferior races in the future is likely to be achieved by industrial progress rather than by military conquest." †

Yes, in the spread of the Swadeshi movement binding all the inhabitants of India to abstain from English manufactures lies the salvation of this country.

A word to our rulers. They should take a warning from the history of the American Revolution. Had those men in Christian England who possessed political power been considerate and yielded to some of the reasonable demands of the colonists, in all probability America would not have been lost to the

* "As an American military writer truly said, the middle and lower classes in England, owing to the operation of the game laws and to the circumstances of their lives, were in general almost as ignorant of the use of a musket as of the use of a catapult. The new England yeomen were accustomed to firearms from their childhood, they were invariably skilful in the use of spade, hatchet, and pick-axe, so important in military operations; * * *. (Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV. p. 202)

† Pearson's National Life and National Character, p. 99.

Crown of England.* If the present generation of Englishmen are wise and are able to read the signs of the times, they should not trifle with the new life that has come into existence in India; they should not treat the Indian people with contempt as being an inferior race and, therefore, not entitled to any political rights and privileges. The demand of New India is *Swaraj* or Self-Government; nothing short of this will satisfy India. If, as we said, the present statesmen of England are wise enough, they should grant this to India at once. No sophistry, no far-fetched arguments to prove our so-called incapacity for *Swaraj* will be of any avail. As we said before, the Christian colonists of America were, on the eve of the Revolution, no better, nay worse, than the Indians of to-day. There were many colonists who were averse to throw off the yoke of England and assume independence. What were their reasons? Lecky writes:—

"Was it not likely, too, that an independent America would degenerate, as so many of the best judges had predicted, into a multitude of petty, heterogeneous, feeble, and perhaps hostile States? * * Was it not possible that the lawless and anarchical spirit which had of late years been steadily growing, * * would gain the upper hand, and that the whole fabric of society would be dissolved?†

Similar fears are professed by Anglo-Indians and entertained by many of our own countrymen. But the subsequent history of America has proved that these colonists were one and all false prophets. Their predictions have not come to be true. If India be given *Swaraj* and left alone, and if no incarnation of Satan, inspired by the doctrine of "*Divide et impera*," come to play mischief in this country, is it not likely that the predictions of the present day

* Lecky says that George III "espoused with passionate eagerness the American quarrel; resisted obstinately the measures of conciliation by which at one time it might easily have been stifled; envenomed it by his glaring partisanship, and protracted it for several years, in opposition to the wish and even to the advice of his own favorite and responsible minister."

† Lecky's History of England, Vol. IV, p. 223.

Anglo-Indian bureaucrats and journalists also will be falsified? Under the flag of *Swaraj*, confederated India consisting of different provinces, races and creeds, like the United States of America, will march in the van of

progress, leading mankind to a higher plane of humanity and setting before the world nobler ideals to follow. That is the goal worth striving for.

"SWARAJ" OR SELF-RULE IN ORIENTAL COUNTRIES

IT was in the early nineties of the last century that, when it was proposed to reconstitute the legislative councils of this country, Lord Salisbury—the author of the phrase describing the British connection with India as "political hypocrisy"—opposed the proposal on the ground that the representative system of Government was unknown in the East. According to him, democracy was not suited to the Eastern races and a system of benevolent despotism is what is good for them. But is it true that the people of oriental countries are and always have been all governed autocratically and that they are groaning under tyrannical despotism? We have to deal with this question in order to see whether *swaraj* or self-rule in any shape or form existed or exists in the East.

To begin with that country which has been described as the "Sick man" of Europe, Turkey—the nearer East as it is called—has been the theme of gross misrepresentation at the hands of Christian politicians. Of course a large section of the Muhammadans of India delude themselves with the belief that the English are their best friends. But they do not know that the English have done all that they could, to humiliate and degrade the position of him whom they look upon as the defender of their faith and representative of the khalifs. Yes, the Porte has been shorn of much of its glory and importance by the doings of the English.

But is the government of Turkey so despotic as it is misrepresented to be? Mr. Grattan Geary, a very well-known Anglo-Indian, who travelled in Turkey about 30 years ago, thus wrote of the Turkish Government in his work on Turkey:—

"People do not complain," he said, "of the tyranny of the government; its laxity and inefficiency, and the inertness and venality of the subordinate officials are the most frequent topics when grumbling begins. * * Among themselves they canvass every official act with the greatest freedom, for there is no organized espionage to make them afraid. The Turks have no Siberia. * * " *The Turks are much more fitted for Parliamentary institutions than many nations which flatter themselves that they are much further advanced in civilization. One reason for this is, that there has been always a large measure of local self-government throughout the Empire. * * The experiment of a Turkish Parliament was by no means absurd in itself, though it appeared so to Europeans who had no means of becoming acquainted with the real tendency of things in the Ottoman Empire, and knew nothing of the existence of a certain measure of self-government in all its provinces.* [The italics are ours].

So *Swaraj* is a thing not unknown in the dominions of the Sultan—who has been described by prominent English statesmen as the negation of all virtues. Regarding Turkish tolerance, Mr. Grattan Geary quotes one J. J. Benjamin, who said:—

"In no other country that I visited. And I find my brethren in the faith so void of care, so happy, so free from persecutions and oppressions of intolerance as at Baghdad."

Mr. Grattan Geary also himself bears testimony to this tolerance, for he writes:—

"The Jews at Baghdad with whom I conversed bore similar testimony to the complete toleration which they enjoyed under Turkish Government."

So we should be very cautious in believing all those accounts of oppressions with which the Sultan of Turkey is often charged. Most of them are probably stories invented by European Christians to serve their political purposes.

Egypt also before she came under the protectorate of England possessed *Swaraj*. And that this aspiration for *Swaraj* is inherent in the breast of every Egyptian will be evident from what is passing in that country at present. The strong Nationalist party is demanding their birthright of *Swaraj*, but the representative of England is holding out the threat that any agitation on the part of Egyptians for self-government will be looked upon as sedition or treason, and drastic measures will be taken to put it down. Those who themselves value liberty should only be too glad to appreciate the desire of others for the same. But this seems never to have been the policy of Christian England in her dealings with the non-Christian nations of the world.

The Parliament of Persia is an accomplished fact now. That it will prove a great success and a boon to the Persians need not be doubted. It will lead the people of that country to that position of eminence which they once occupied in days of yore and which made it possible for a Zoroaster to appear in that land.

The Afghans have always possessed self-government in a form which it has been found difficult to stamp out. They are the Highlanders of Asia and their tribal *jirgahs* are so many Parliamentary institutions to manage their domestic and foreign affairs. These *jirgahs* are representative bodies. It is because the Afghans have been brought

up under *Swaraj* for centuries, that they so strongly resent the interference of foreigners in their affairs. Elphinstone in his "Account of the Kingdom of Caubul" (2nd Edition) wrote:—

"The Afghans themselves exult in the free spirit of their institutions. Those who are little under the royal authority, are proud of their independence, which those under the King (though not exposed to the tyranny common in every other country in the East) admire and vain would imitate. They all endeavour to maintain, that "All Afghans are equal", which, though it is not, nor ever was true, still shows their notions and their wishes. I once strongly urged to a very intelligent old man of the tribe of Meeankhail, the superiority of a quiet and secure life, under a powerful monarch, to the discord, the alarms, and the blood, which they owed to their present system. The old man replied with great warmth, and thus concluded an indignant harangue against arbitrary power, "We are content with discord, we are content with alarms, we are content with blood, but we will never be content with a master."—Vol. I, p. 279.

Can anything be a clearer indication of the working of the spirit of *Swaraj* than the above declaration? We shall give a few more extracts from Elphinstone's work to give a better idea to the reader of self-government in Afghanistan.

"As each tribe has a government of its own, and constitutes a complete commonwealth within itself, it may be well to examine the rise and present situation of those commonwealths, before we proceed to consider them as composing one State, or one confederacy, under a common sovereign."—Vol. I, p. 253.

"The name of Oolooss is applied either to a whole tribe, or to one of these independent branches. The word seems to mean a clannish commonwealth."—Vol. I, p. 254.

"The Chief of an Oolooss is called Khaun. * * * In some Ooloosses, the Khaun is elected by the people."—Vol. I, p. 255.

"The internal government of the Oolooss is carried on by the Khauns, and by assemblies of the heads of divisions. These assemblies are called Jeergas."—Vol. I, p. 258.

"* * * In matters of importance, when circumstances will admit, the sentiments of the whole tribe are ascertained before anything is decided."—Vol. I, p. 259.

"With the exception of the republican government of the Ooloosses, the situation of the Afghaun country appears to me to bear a strong resemblance to that of Scotland in ancient times : * *."—Vol. I, 277.

"In Afghaunistan, on the contrary, the internal government of the tribes answers its end so well, that the utmost disorders of the royal government never derange its operations, nor disturb the lives of the people. A number of organised and high-spirited republics are ready to defend their rugged country against a tyrant; and are able to defy the feeble efforts of a party in a civil war.—Vol. I, p. 280.

"In most Ooloosses, the khauns can levy no taxes, and can take no public measure, without the consent of the elected Mulliks, who are obliged, in their turn, to obtain the consent of their divisions. The king might try to strengthen the Khauns, and by their means to draw a supply from a reluctant people, but unless he began with greater means than the kings have yet possessed, his attempt would probably be attended with as little success; and if he wished for general and cordial aid, it must be procured by adherence to the present system, and by obtaining the consent of the nation".—Vol I, p. 282.

The above extracts must convince all unprejudiced readers that the Afghans are used to a representative form of Government.

But it is said that the Afghans are fanatics and cut the throats of those who are not Muhammadans. But is this allegation true? For, if it were true, then no non-Muhammadan could live amongst them, and there being no liberty for non-Muhammadans *swaraj* would be a mockery. But Mountstuart Elphinstone in the work cited above thus bears testimony to the tolerance of Afghans towards Hindus :—

"Whatever may be their conduct in war, their treatment of men whom they reckon infidels, in their own country, is laudable in Mahomedans. Their hatred to idolaters is well known; yet the Hindoos are allowed the free exercise of their religion, and their temples are entirely unmolested; though they are forbidden all religious processions and all public exposing of their idols. The Hindoos are held to be impure, and no strict man would consent to eat meat of their dressing; but they are not treated with any particular contempt or hardship: they are

employed in situations of trust and emolument, and those who reside in Afghaunistan appear as much at their ease as most of the other inhabitants."—Vol. I, pp. 317-318.

"They are often employed about the court, in offices connected with money or accounts; the duty of steward and treasurer about every great man is exercised either by a Hindoo or a Persian. There have even been Hindoo governors of provinces, and at this moment the great Government of Peshawar has been put into the hands of a person of that religion. * * "I have mentioned the degree of toleration which the Hindoos meet with, and have only to add, that many of them are in very good circumstances and that they possess the best houses in every town, if we except the palaces of the nobility."—Vol. I, p. 503.

The religion of Islam in its origin, in its development and in its progress has been saturated through and through with the spirit of democracy. Wherever it has found its home, it has favored the doctrine, if not of the brotherhood of man, at least, of the brotherhood of the members of its own creed. So democracy is quite suited to the countries which believe that God is One and Mahomed was His Prophet.

That island in the Far East, that Land of the Rising Sun, Japan, has shown what progress can be achieved in all departments of human activity within less than half a century, if a country is given the boon of *Swaraj*. It is not quite forty years since the Japanese Parliament came into existence. But within that short period what a revolution it has wrought in the politics of the world.

China is also awakening, and at a not very distant future, with her Parliament, and well-trained army and with the industrial development of the country, she is sure to command the respect of the other nations of the world. That will be the day of the real yellow peril. Mr. Pearson in his work on "National Life and National Character," wrote that "the military aggrandisement of the (Chinese) empire, which would provoke general resist-

ance, is in fact, less to be dreaded than its industrial growth, which other nations will be, to some extent, interested in maintaining."

But what if owing to the new spirit which is abroad, China becomes a great military power as well as a nation of shop-keepers like England? Then no Western poet will sing:—

"Better forty years of Europe than a cycle of Cathay."

In the beginning of this twentieth century, the Christian nations all conspired against China. The torrents of blood which they shed, the ill-treatment of the people of the country, irrespective of their age, sex and position in life, and the vandalism which they practised have opened the eyes of the Chinese, and it is only human nature if they are thirsting for revenge; 'Vengeance sleeps long but it never dies.' The Chinese being practically a homogeneous nation must be considered fit for Parliamentary institutions even by those Europeans who believe or profess to do so, that homogeneity is absolutely necessary for representative government, which is not a fact. That such institutions will be a success will be quite evident from the past history of China. The question arises, "is the great continent of India alone unfit for *Swaraj* and representative institutions? What, after being under the tutelage of England for a century and a half, is she alone of all countries in the East unfit to enjoy the privileges of *Swaraj*?" Every schoolboy knows that before England had set her foot on the Indian soil, village communities flourished in this land—nay, this land was the home and cradle of those communities. Did not these village communities represent democratic and representative institutions? But English rule has tolled the death-knell of those communities. The rule of England has destroyed most of our institutions good, bad and indifferent. No wonder then that at present Englishmen believe that our capability for self-government does not

perhaps exist. Says Seeley in his "Expansion of England":—

"India then is of all countries that which is least capable of evolving out of itself a stable government. And it is to be feared that our rule may have diminished what little power of this sort it may have originally possessed. For our supremacy has necessarily depressed those classes which had anything of the talent or habit of government."

That we once possessed free and representative institutions can be proved to demonstration. Elphinstone says in his *Account of the Kingdom of Caubul*:—

"There are traces in the village government of India, of the existence of a system resembling that of the Afghans Ooloooses; the remains of it, which have survived a long course of oppression, still afford some relief from the disorders of the government, and supply the solution of a difficulty, which must be experienced by all travellers in the centre of India, respecting the flourishing state of parts of the country, from which all government appears to be withdrawn."—Vol. I, p. 284.

So it is clear that these village republics were so strong and so firmly rooted in the soil that even in the midst of anarchy they were prosperous. But it is not our ancient village communities alone that show that we have the instinct of self-government. Our caste brotherhoods are democratic institutions, and our joint families are democratically conducted. Some people might be disposed to consider it a long leap from domestic government to the government of a State. But, as Tacitus says, "Domestic rule is more difficult than the government of a kingdom." And it is not unreasonable to think that the government of the home fits persons for the government of larger aggregations of individuals. For a family is the state in miniature, and in it all the functions of the government have to be exercised by its head: he has to be judge, jury, treasurer, law-maker, etc., in the harmonious management of the household and the orderly bringing up of the children.

That public opinion existed and was respected by the kings in ancient India has been shown in the article on "Mrs. Annie Besant's Political Dicta" in the March number of this review. In the same article an authentic instance has been given of an ancient Indian republic.* That others, too, existed is clear from the following extract from an article on oriental research in the *Times of India* by Dr. R. G. Bhandarkar, who is not a political agitator:—

"The Indian Aryans had, like their European brethren, the rudiments of free political institutions. When Kshatriya tribes settled in a province, the name of the tribe in the place became the name of the province, and the Panchalas, Angas, Vangas, Vrijis, etc., collectively became identified with the countries in which they lived. And actually the existence of aristocratic republics is alluded to in Buddhist Pali books. But the rudiments of free political institutions did not grow in India; and no passion for national unity strong enough to trample under foot the germs of caste was developed, while the latter had a very luxuriant growth, with the results that we at present see. Why did the instinct of political freedom and a passion for national unity not grow in India, while they did among the Aryan races of Europe? Probably the cause is to be sought in the rigidly despotic and

*"Vaisali is the modern Besārh, about 27 miles north of Patna. Anciently it consisted of three distinct portions, called Vaisali, Kundagāma and Vāniyagāma, and forming, in the main, the quarters inhabited by the Brahman, Kshatriya and Baniya castes respectively. * * * While it existed, it had a curious political constitution; it was an oligarchic republic; its government was vested in a Senate, composed of the heads of the resident Kshatriya clans, presided over by an officer who had the title of king and was assisted by a Viceroy and a Commander-in-chief."—Dr. Hoernle in the *Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, No. II, February, 1898, p. 40.

tyrannical manner in which the conquering Aryas treated the subject races. One section of a community, especially if it be small, cannot continue to enjoy freedom if it rigidly denies it to the other and larger section, and cannot have the desire to be united with it by the national tie if it invariably despises the other as an inferior race, and denies it the ordinary rights of man."

Incidentally, Anglo-Indians may be asked to reflect on the sentence we have italicised above.

Mr. Vincent A. Smith also says in *The Early History of India*:—

"The Panjab, Eastern Rajputana, and Malwa for the most part were in possession of tribes or clans living under republican institutions. * * * The reader may remember that in Alexander's time these regions were similarly occupied by autonomous tribes then called the Malloi, Kathaioi, and so forth. P. 210.

It must, of course, be admitted that just as liberty alone fits men for liberty, so our slavery is daily making us more and more unfit for liberty. We have already lost much ground. But if the natural right of *swaraj* be restored to India and Indians be left alone, the lost ground will be recovered, and in a very short time our countrymen will be able to properly administer their own affairs. If England be true to all the pledges which she had in the name of her people and sovereign solemnly given to India, she should not hesitate to restore the right of *swaraj* to India without any further delay. India should be brought in line with Japan, Persia, China, and other countries of the East.

Every loyal obedience to the inner call of duty, every attempt at speaking bravely the thing that is within one's heart, every attempt to utter kindness and goodwill, bring us into connection with the whole history of the upward movement of the world. So have good men and women been doing from the beginning, and all our heritage is but the result of their effort. If to us there comes the need of meeting a

new situation, speaking in a new accent, making for the time a new emphasis, we are simply following on that universal law through which the world grows more and more, though men die and fall. A new commandment speaks to us. When we obey it, we find that it is the old commandment which we have heard from the beginning.—S. M. Crothers.

THE STUDY OF PICTORIAL ART IN INDIA

OF late the above subject has been rather widely discussed, and in this connection the Indian Art student has come in for a good share of friendly advice, not unmixed, perhaps, with a certain amount of ridicule.

It has been authoritatively decided that Indians have no talent for European Art. And, lately, Mr. Abanindra Nath Tagore has been saying things that might lead one to suppose 'that nature study is bad, and gods and even goblins and monsters are higher sources of artistic inspiration;' that 'modern European Art is an evil genius, and its influence is to be counteracted by the Bengali potters' clay images' (viewed in a special setting of priests and incantations, smoke and incense, *chirags* and conch music !)

As an Indian Art student, I have most earnestly considered the facts connected with the study of European Art by Indians, but must confess myself unable to accept the statement that our talents are not suited to it. In this paper I beg leave to state my reasons for this. But lest in doing so I should lead any one to misjudge my views about Indian Art, permit me to declare at the outset, that I am an ardent admirer of Indian Art, and have no sympathy with those that cry it down. Of course, I do not consider it equal to European Art. Nor am I prepared to admit that it is more suited to our talents or temperament.

I am not qualified to speak of other provinces, but in Bengal, the result of teaching European Art to the people has been extremely disappointing; and this has been attributed to want of aptitude. The inference is natural, but in my humble opinion, it is not

justified, as the experiment was not made under proper conditions. A glance at the material with which the experiment was performed will prove this.

Present pupils of the School of Art will please note that I am speaking of old times; so my remarks cannot apply to them.

At the time of which I am speaking, there were too many persons in the School of Art who ought never to have been there. They were already too old to learn. They had been sent to the Art school by their guardians, simply because they were past redemption, and there was absolutely no hope for them in the general line. These men hampered work and demoralised the school.

Besides, very few of the pupils knew English or had the culture to appreciate the higher branches of Art. As a result of this, only the rudiments of Art were taught in the school. But as far as these rudiments are concerned, many of the students did remarkably well, and have since earned a good name for themselves in government offices and photographic studios. They were not taught higher Art, and so have not become great artists. But this fact need not lead any body to think that Bengalis have no talent for European Art. In fact failure in this case had nothing to do with talent. Show me ten cases where an earnest attempt was made under proper conditions to teach European Art to intelligent Bengali boys. If five of these have been failures, I shall retract my words, though the five successes might entitle me to speak differently.

On my part I know of only one case (that of Mr. J. P. Gangooly) where such earnest attempt is being made (under somewhat

adverse conditions), and that the results so far obtained are very encouraging, a reference to the awards lists of the annual Art Exhibitions of Simla and other places will amply demonstrate.

I was recently told of another case. An East Bengal boy is now in Paris, learning sculpture. This boy has astonished his teachers by easily outstripping the European students in a very short time.

I think I have sufficiently accounted for our past failures without having to admit want of talent in the country. I have not yet heard of a really intelligent boy being sent to the School of Art simply because he possessed artistic talents. The few really talented men that have to my knowledge joined the School of Art have, every one of them, done so rather late in life. Some of these have gone to Europe and given very good accounts of themselves. I might mention Mr. S. K. Hesh, whose work was greatly admired in London, some of the papers prophesying "a great future" for him, one even going so far as to ask if the nation to which such a man belongs should be treated with contempt.

Then there was poor honest Rohini Kanta Nag, whose untimely death, just at the beginning of a promising career, evoked such universal regret.

After all this, if a Bengali lad (I say *Bengali* only because my knowledge is limited to Bengal, but I know I could say Indian) wants to learn European Art, would you still say 'he had better not'? Decidedly there should be option in this matter, and equal and ample facilities provided for studying both European and Indian Styles of Art.

But there is another objection to our studying European art, which arises from the fact that it is foreign, the idea being that such study is bound to end in failure, like a poet's attempts at writing verses in a foreign language. This objection would have much force

if the two systems of Art were really so dissimilar in their methods of expression as two totally different languages; but in that case Indian Art would be a sealed book to Europeans, which is far from being the case. This is proof positive that the Indian artist employs the same language, artistically speaking, as the European, the former talking like a child, the latter like a man. There is undoubted charm in a child's lisp, but all the same it is necessary that the child should outgrow it and eventually learn to talk like a man.

No, we are not thinking of giving up our language, but simply trying to improve our 'grammar' and 'rhetoric'. In this our poets have already set us the example with the happiest of results. The grace and beauty of modern Bengali poetry is due at least as much to Shelly, Wordsworth, Tennyson and Hood, as to Valmiki, Vyasa, Kalidasa and Bhavabhuti. And nobody regrets it. What is there to prevent us from expecting similar happy results from the proper study of European Art?

I have very carefully studied the specimens of Indian Art exhibited in the Calcutta Art Gallery, and have been forcibly struck by the unmistakable evidence many of them bear of the efforts made by Indian artists to assimilate European methods. They have gone in for perspective and chiaroscuro; and in one or two instances there is a distinct attempt at aerial perspective and the massing of foliage. Of course they did these things blindly and ineffectually. But the question is, if such blind and unsuccessful attempts are allowable in Indian Art, why prevent people from studying the subjects properly? Is it to be thought that the harm lies only in doing things well?

But perhaps it will be said that "Indians might do tolerably in these elementary things, but they will surely fail in composition." My only answer to this is—"try them." Not so many years ago, Indians used to be considered incapable of serious intellectual pursuit in

any form. Gradually the holders of these views are coming to think differently. And it is our earnest hope that the same thing will happen in the case under consideration.

It strikes me as a significant fact that Europeans should be quicker to perceive the subtler beauties of Indian Art than the Indians themselves. This is doubtless due to their superior Art culture, the result of the European system. Its effect is to broaden one's sympathies. If we had this culture, we should all the better be in a position to value Indian Art.

It has been said that Indian Art is better than European Art. In its decorative aspects it most probably is often superior, a fact which must be gratifying to every patriotic Indian. Our possessions in this field are indeed precious, and unsparing execration is what we deserve for having so egregiously neglected them. But our present concern is with pictorial Art. And here our Art with all its loveliness is distinctly inferior to European Art. A sound knowledge of the latter would enable us to improve the former as we could never hope to do in any other way.

But here we are given a very hard nut to crack! Is high class pictorial Art possible without the serious study and guidance of nature? Some of Mr. Tagore's recent utterances might seem to indicate that such are indeed his views with respect to Indian Art. If this is really so, it is much to be regretted. For it would be impossible to treat such utterances with the respect to which Mr. Tagore's opinions are generally entitled. But I am inclined rather to think that his remarks are to be taken simply as an emphatic form of protest against a slavish and unimaginative copying of natural objects. They are to serve rather as warnings, not to draw upon nature more than is necessary for effective expression. 'Brevity is the soul of wit' is a maxim worth remembering by every student of effective expression, and the artist cannot afford

to ignore it any more than the poet. If the poet is to beware of talking too much, the artist for exactly the same reason must avoid unnecessary detail.

I do not think Mr. Tagore really intended to say more than this. Knowing him as I do, I find it difficult to believe he is anything but a devout student of nature. Look at his lovely drawings and tell me, if it can honestly be said that their author works with absolute disregard of nature. And, parenthetically, tell me also if these drawings are after all so very free from the influence of that 'degraded' European Art of which those unhappy words of Mr. Tagore express such a lively horror.

Indeed, I should be sorry to see Mr. Tagore judged by these utterances. They hardly do him justice. He was quoting *Shukra*, and seems to have been carried away by his enthusiasm for the saint.

But, in spite of what the great *Shukra* says, the Hindu pantheon is by no means so much out of touch with the visible world. The gods look and behave very much like human beings. They have eyes, and ears and arms and legs, not at all unlike ours. Being gods, I see no reason why they should not now and then indulge in an extra eye or hand, or even go in for a little novelty in complexion. This privilege has not been altogether denied to men even, for had not Kartaviryarjuna a thousand arms, and Rishyasringa horns? But such eccentricities, instead of removing their possessors from the visible world, serve only to emphasise their indebtedness to it.

At any rate, as far as the artist is concerned, his dose of nature increases in direct proportion to the number of organs. Two hands require a lot of nature study. Four hands would lessen it only if the artist's spiritual vision permitted him to deviate from the natural pattern. But no, he must paint the features as they are in men, and, except perhaps in the blessed land of Orissa, is not at liberty to make an arm look like a bottle or

an eye like a millstone. At least, if he did, nobody, not even Mr. Tagore, would think of praising him for it.

In fact, there is no getting away from nature for the Indian Artist any more than for the European. No amount of spiritual vision can even make him independent of nature. If he has any conscientious scruples against nature study, let him confine himself exclusively to the contemplation and representation of the *Shalagrama Shila*.*

As to the praiseworthiness of painting gods, I gladly admit that in the case of a sincere Hindu, such practice would be highly beneficial from a devotional point of view. But in the case of a non-Hindu, the religious motive would be wanting, and the artistic inspiration exceedingly feeble, except in so far as the human element predominated in the subject. For the artist there can be no other subject of study than nature, the handiwork of God and the noblest exponent of His wisdom and goodness.

It is the study and interpretation of nature that pictorial Art has to do with. And for the would-be artist there is no other way to attain his object. If Indian Art is something to be practised "in absolute disregard of the forms of the material world", then it is a monstrous misnomer, and unfit for the serious study of an artist. But we need not form such a poor opinion of Indian Art. With all its defects it is a charming exponent of nature, and with a little help from European Art is capable of still further development.

But modern European Art has been called an evil genius with a baneful influence, and is said to have already demoralised the war-god *Kartik*. How far this is true, it is not my business to decide. What pleases me genuinely in this connection, is to note, that in thus protesting against a fighter being represented as a fop, Mr. Tagore for once shows

himself in his true colors as a real student of nature.

I wish Mr. Tagore had been a little more explicit in his denunciation of Modern European Art. Its aims are still very noble indeed. If Mr. Tagore is disgusted with the doings of those that forget these aims, he has my heartfelt sympathy. But let us not forget that depravity belongs to men and not to Art. If the abuse of a thing were to justify our rejecting it altogether, we should pretty soon have to do with nothing at all. Has not Indian Art itself been sadly abused? In filthiness I think many of our old artists could easily give a point or two to foreigners. But of this the less said the better. Let us look at the better sides of things.

Mr. Tagore has yet other charges to make against modern European Art,—those of 'imitating nature even to a fault' and 'working out all the details sharply.' Of course, there are exceptions to every rule, and I am quite aware that Mr. Tagore could point to a number of European artists in support of his charges. But speaking of modern European Art as a whole, these charges are glaringly unfair. The avoidance of unnecessary detail and the removal of defects are among the first things taught to the student of European Art. It is not excessive detail that makes modern statues suffer in comparison with the antique, for there is no lack of detail in the old Greek statues. It is in the finer expression of truth and beauty that these Greek statues excel. Those ancient Greeks had opportunities for observing the undraped human figure such as moderns can never hope to have. And this is why the sculptors of to-day fail to approach them in skill.

Of course, the artist must be able to paint things properly. And if he cannot avoid erring in the matter of detail, it is infinitely better for him to err on the side of a too close imitation of nature than on that of absolute disregard for it. In the first case his work may

* A kind of round sacred stone said to be typical of Vishnu.

lose in force, but it still may be a picture, and a good one even. But in the other case there is absolutely no hope.

I have spoken of Mr. Tagore's objections to European Art. Mr. Tagore has also suggested two remedies for counteracting its mischievous tendencies. One of these is a contemplation of the clay images made by Indian artists. He specially mentions the image of *Durga*. But, as 'if unwilling to trust to its artistic excellence alone, he is careful to prescribe special accessories to it. It must be viewed amid surroundings appropriate to actual worship. Even then one has to 'look upon the image with reverence,' and after all this depend upon the "grace of the goddess." All this is very fine; but one is tempted to ask a question. Is Indian Art, and the instruction provided in the Government School of Art meant for devout Hindus alone, in these days of religious neutrality?

The other remedy is nothing less than the "steel armour of nationality." It sounds very sweet and business-like, but unfortunately its meaning does not seem to me to be very clear. Quite conflicting things are being said and done in the name of nationality. Some people's idea of nationality includes an acquiescence in the tenets of idol-worship. Others would consider you denationalised and perhaps even call you a renegade if you ventured to affirm that Indians have defects and are in need of improvement. If Mr. Tagore's 'nationality' resembles any of these, then I must beg to decline his steel armour with many thanks. My nationality consists of a legitimate and affectionate pride in all that is noble in our national life and tradition, combined with sincere regret for our shortcomings and eagerness to remove them. It is this nationality that prompts me to advocate the study of European Art as a means of improving the Art of my country, and also on account of its intrinsic excellence. In this I have the support of the revered poet who sings

"Deshdeshante jao re ante
Naba naba jnan." *

Mr. Tagore describes 'the evil spirit' of modern European Art, as "smelling of traders' greed" and "selling at a fixed price." "The functions of the presiding deity of Art," says he, "are identified with those of Mammon in modern Europe." Poor old Mammon, what a hard life must be his! Men commit sins and he is made the scape-goat. But all the same, the world cannot go on without him; and even the artist is very often obliged to court his friendship for the means of keeping body and soul together.

Nor need we suppose that the ways of the world have at any time been different from this. Even in the palmy days of Greek Art, we find no less a man than the great Praxiteles stealing the gold entrusted to him for the statue of a goddess. Of course it was very bad of him to have done so, but the fact proves conclusively that even the greatest artists were followers of Mammon, and very misguided ones, too, at times. In fact, this much maligned being had nothing to do with the decline of Greek or any other Art. If the whole truth could be told now, I rather think he would be found to have helped Art wonderfully. The decline of Art was due to nothing so much as the want of culture among its patrons and followers. In declaring that "if Indian Art had yielded to the influence of wealth and power,* we should have found statues of Asoka, instead of his edicts on the pillars, &c.," Mr. Tagore is really putting the cart before the horse. If Asoka wanted statues, depend on it, he would have got them. The credit for the edicts belongs to the high-minded monarch himself, and not to the artizans who worked merely for pay, and had no thought loftier than that of their daily *dal* and *roti*.

Mr. Tagore's advice to "direct public taste and not to succumb to it," is no doubt a very

* "Go thou to different countries to bring various kinds of new knowledge."

good one. But unfortunately, it sounds alarmingly like 'belling the cat.' I do not know whether the unlucky artists concerned in the decadence of Greek Art had this advice or not, but that they did succumb to the public taste is very evident. I am not sure that I ought to speak lightly of this matter. For, it must be admitted that it would be a very good thing if artists could direct public taste with the same ease as tailors direct fashion. But it seems to be an exceedingly difficult thing to do, calling for extraordinary powers in the artists themselves. The next best thing for them to do would be to try not to succumb to the public taste. And this, I think, is the

plain duty of every artist, especially if he is well-to-do.

Let every artist earnestly and sincerely follow his ideal. If it be painting gods, by all means let him do nothing but paint gods, no matter what the public may say. For of this he may be sure, that unless he is himself true to his ideal, he can hardly expect others to accept it. On the other hand, if he has got hold of the right kind of ideal, has the right sort of talent, and sets about his work in the right spirit, sticking to it right through at high pressure, he may or may not be able to carry the present public with him, but humanity will be so much the richer for his work.

UPENDRAKISHOR RAY.

LIFE OF SHIVAJI

(From the Persian)

§ 25.—Shivaji's further Conquests.

Moro Panth was appointed Peshwa or *diwan* and Raoji Panth commandant of Rajapur. The latter had a fine penman named Balaji of the Prabhu tribe in his service, who was asked for by Shivaji on account of his charming handwriting. But Raoji delayed compliance. One day Shiva rode out on some pretext to Raoji's house, who then advanced to welcome him. Shiva now asked for Balaji, who was immediately produced, and presented with a robe and a horse. Balaji soon gained Shiva's confidence, and engaged in his work taking Kanhoji of the Dalia tribe as his assistant. The old clerks in envy tried to undermine his position and waited for an opportunity. When Shiva heard of it, he

called the caligraphist to himself, gave him many favours and told him not to visit the house of any of the other officers, or else he would be punished. Those men, on learning of Shiva's invariable kindness to him, gave up their design and made friends with him.

Dalip Rao *deshmukh*, an inhabitant of the village of Raikamal, who had been long out of possession, came to Tajpur, demanded help from the amazonian lady Rai Baghini, and tried to raise a disturbance. Shivaj on hearing of it posted a large force at the pass of Umarkhera, on the road of his advance. Encouraging with promises of favour Huladkar Rajpail, Jaswant Rao, Manaji, Waswas Rao Dinkar Rao; Bank Rao and other [captains] he ordered them to stand ready at the pass

and not suffer Rai Baghini to cross. On her arrival there, they set fire to the jungle and charged her from all four sides together. The heroic woman was captured and her army dispersed. When brought before Shivaji, she was treated kindly as an Imperial *mansabdar* and a woman, and then sent back to her *jagir* near Aurangabad with presents of robes of honour, cloth, and ornaments.

An Afghan named Namdar Khan, who had accompanied her, fled away. Shiva closed the passes of Mizan named Dungar or hill(?) and ordered the path of his flight to be blocked. But in spite of his efforts the Afghan escaped by way of Kalian and went to Dalip Rao. Shivaji's bravery being noised abroad, all the chiefs of the Deccan were alarmed and agreed to join and obey him. He conquered with his sword and annexed the forts of Satara, Chandan, Wandan, and others up to the frontier of Vishalgarh and Khelgaon,—Rangna, Prasadgarh and Bhilgarh up to the frontier of Sudia (?),—and Bijnor and other forts. He himself resided at Panala.

§ 26.—Grand Bijapur attack on Shivaji.

Afzal Khan's son, who had fled from Pratapgarh, going to the king of Bijapur, dressed as a *dervish*, reported the whole affair. The king answered, "As long as you do not exact vengeance for your father's blood, consider sleep and food as forbidden things." A force of 80,000 cavalry was sent under Afzal* Khan's son and Siddi Halal, with which they advanced by forced marches and besieged Panala in which Shivaji was living. Cannon and muskets were fired. At night Shivaji descended from the fort with 8,000 men, attacked the enemy's entrenchment, forcing them to retire 16 miles, where they encamped. Kartoji Gujar, one of Shivaji's braves, acted most heroically in this night attack. Shivaji changed his name to Pratap Rao,

granted him *naubat*, and did him the greatest favour.

Fazl Khan and other Bijapur leaders, avoiding Shivaji, attacked Pawan-garh vigorously. Seizing a hillock near the fort, they mounted guns on it and threw balls into the fort, to the alarm of the garrison. Trimbakji Ingalia, the commandant, sent to Shivaji to beg help. Shiva strengthened the fort with 8,000 Mawals, descended at night with 40,000 men, broke through the enemy's lines of league, and set off for Vishalgarh.

From Pawan to Vishalgarh the distance is $3\frac{1}{2}$ *gaon*, one *gaon* being 8 miles. The day broke when one *gaon* had yet to be traversed. The Bijapuri commanders were in pursuit with lighted *mahtabs*. At a narrow hill-pass on the way, Shivaji took counsel with the brave Baji Prabhu, who said, "I shall stay here with my contingent and bar their road. Your Majesty should push on to Vishalgarh, and fire guns on entering it, on hearing which I shall seek my own safety". Then Baji Prabhu stood at the pass with 8,000 men, while Shivaji proceeded to Vishalgarh. The mouth of the pass was the scene of a great fight. Fazl Khan and Siddi Halal heroically assaulted the hillock of the pass, but Baji Prabhu drove them back with the fire of guns and muskets. This went on for $4\frac{1}{2}$ hours, when Shivaji arrived at Vishalgarh and fired two or three guns as a signal. At this Baji Prabhu, greatly delighted, thanked God and put forth his best efforts, as also did the Bijapuri commanders Fazl Khan, Siddi Halal, Sarza Khan, and others. At one time the battle was at such close quarters that daggers were plied. The dead on the two sides numbered about 700. Baji Prabhu sank down severely wounded, but the Mawals carried him off to the hills. The Bijapur army then crossed the pass and arrived near Vishalgarh, but finding no water there, they halted for 2 or 4 *gharis* and then returned to Panala. In fear of night attack they

* The *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* calls the son Afzal. I have followed Grant Duff who calls him *Fazl Muhammad*.

did not besiege it, but retreated towards Bijapur, and Shivaji engaged in taking care of Baji Prabhu and the other wounded.*

The environs of Panala had been utterly devastated by the struggles of the armies; he cherished the peasantry, and induced them to cultivate it. Raghu Atri was left to settle the tract and his excellent administration led to all the land being brought under tillage.

§ 27.—Shaista Khan conquers Shivaji's forts.

[The *Alamgirnamah*, pp. 578-589, gives a full account of Shaista Khan's campaigns against Shivaji, which I translate below. The *Tarikh-i-Shivaji* dismisses the whole matter in one sentence.]

Beginning to plunder all sides and environs of Kokan, Shivaji even laid violent hands on some Imperial *mahals* when he got the opportunity. When the Emperor [Aurangzib] heard of it, he ordered the Amir-ul-umara [Shaista Khan], the Viceroy of the Deccan, to go with his troops, subdue the miscreant, wrest his forts and land, and purge the country of his usurpation and disturbance.

Accordingly the Amir-ul-umara started from Aurangabad [the seat of his government] on the 28th January 1660. Arriving at Ahmadnagar on the 11th February, he stopped there for a few days, but leaving it on the 25th, he reached Sonwadi, a *mahal* of Shiva's kingdom. Thence he advanced by Supa, Baramati (5th April) and Hol (16th April) to Shirwal, the enemy evacuating his forts on the way, never showing fight, but hovering at a distance to cut off supplies. But the Amir-ul-umara left detachments at all these outposts to guard the line of communications, repaired or built the forts, and sent out flying columns to break up the enemy's masses.

*This conflict with Bijapur is briefly described in the Mughal histories. The *Alamgirnamah* (p. 578) says, "After the affair of Afzal Khan, Ali Adil Khan sent an army under Rustam, one of his great officers, to put down Shiva. A battle was fought near Panala, in which the Bijapur army was defeated. At this Shiva got new strength and daring and utterly cast off fear of the Bijapuris." Khafi Khan, ii. 113, merely repeats this account.

One column left Shirwal to attack the enemy assembled around Rajgarh (20 miles from Shirwal), where there was a group of four or five forts. The Marathas fled on the arrival of the Mughals, who sacked the villages round Rajgarh, and at night rejoined the main army.

From Shirwal Shaista Khan marched to Shivapur, 16 miles further on, after repelling a threatened attack of the Marathas from the rear on his camp. Near Garara^a between Shivapur and Puna is a hill with two very difficult passes over it. News came that the enemy had assembled armed and prepared at the mouth of the pass to oppose the Mughals. Shaista Khan sent Shamsuddin Khan with a party of pioneers and hatchet men to inspect and widen one of these paths, while he himself went to reconnoitre the second. His men discovered that there was a third path which could be easily widened to allow the passage of carts. Immediately he sent a body of pioneers and hatchet men with 1,500 cavalry of his own contingent, and they finished the road-making by the evening. The Mughal detachments out foraging had constant encounters with the enemy and Shaista Khan always sent a strong escort with them.

Next day the Amir-ul-umara marched from Shivapur and reached the foot of the pass at noon. The army after crossing the pass advanced 7 miles beyond it and halted at Garara. Rao Bhao Singh, who was guarding the rear, was menaced by three thousand of the enemy's cavalry, but he boldly fell upon and dispersed them. But they rallied and returned to the attack, when they were charged and finally routed by Shamsuddin Khan who had come up with reinforcements.

The following day the Mughals reached Saswad, whence a party of *barqndazes* was sent to plunder the villages at the foot of

^aText reads *Karadah*.

fort Purandhar, 4 miles from Saswad. The Marathas hearing of it assembled in a body of 3,000. But the small Mughal force attacked them boldly, exhausted their ammunition, and then fought desperately with the drawn sword, losing 24 men (including 3 or 4 officers) killed and 25 wounded. Shaista Khan hastened with reinforcements, the enemy fled, and were pursued to the pass at the foot of Purandhar, the garrison of which fortress now began to discharge rockets and muskets from the bastions and towers.

Meantime some followers of Shamsuddin cleared the pass at a full gallop. The enemy at the other end, seeing their small number, charged them. But now Shamsuddin's spirit was up, he defied the hot fire from the fort, crossed the pass with the rest of his troops, and put the enemy to flight. But the Mughals returned to their camp as the day was far spent.

Next day they marched on to Rajwah* where grain and fodder were procurable. After a four days' halt here to lay in a stock of provisions and make a road, Shaista Khan started towards Puna (7th May). Arriving at a difficult pass on the way, he sent forward most of his troops and then crossed it himself leaving Sarafrax Khan and Jadu Rai to occupy different points on the road and guard the camp from the enemy's attacks during its transit. Then the whole army and camp reached the plain on the other side of the pass, and in two more marches arrived at Puna.

Before this Shaista Khan had despatched one thousand cavalry and two thousand foot musketeers under Ismail to seize Tal Kokan. This detachment succeeded in its mission. Salabat [Khan] Deccani was now deputed to act as its *Faujdar* and guard, and Babaji Bhonsla, Raghuji, and other [allies of the Mughals] were sent with him as aid. (*Abridged translation.*)

* Not found in the map. Is it a mistake for Wajragarh near Purandhar?

§ 28.—Siege and Capture of Chakan.

Shaista Khan decided to canton at Puna for the rainy season, and about 40 days were passed there. But as many flooded rivers intervened between this district and the Mughal frontier, no provisions came to Shaista Khan from the latter place; scarcity and hardships seized his camp. He, therefore, thought it better to move on from Puna to Chakan, which was separated from the Imperial dominions by the river Bhima only, (so that supplies might reach his camp more easily),—and to pass the rest of the rainy season there. Campaigning having been stopped for the rains, he resolved to capture Chakan fort. For this object he marched out of Puna and arrived below Chakan on 21st June, 1660. After a reconnaissance of its fortification and environs, he told off different officers to run trenches from different sides: on the north he took post with his own division; and Girdhar Gaur, Brahmdeo Sisodia, Habshi Khan, Trimbakji Bhonsla, Dadaji, and others; on the east facing the fortgate were stationed Shamsuddin Khan, Mir Abdul Mabud, Syed Hassan, Uzbek Khan, Khudawand Habshi, Bijay Singh (servant of Rana Raj Singh, with the Rana's corps), and Sultans Ali Arab and Ali Yar of Bukhara; on the south Rao Bhao Singh, Sarafrax Khan, Jadu Rai, Jauhar Khan Habshi, and others; on the west Rajah Rai Singh Sisodia and others. Batteries were constructed at suitable places and large guns brought from the Deccan forts mounted on them. In spite of the rainy season and incessant shower, the Mughals kept up a hot fight, never slackening the investment.

In 56 days a mine was run from the Amir-ul-umara's trenches to the tower facing it. At 3 P. M. on 14th August the mine was exploded, blowing up the bastion and its defenders. The Mughal storming party, after being encouraged by Shaista Khan, advanced heroically to the assault. But beyond the

opening made by the explosion there was a high mound of earth, which was strongly held by the enemy, who with rockets, muskets, bombs and stones attacked and checked the assailants. That day the Mughals could not advance further, but when the sun set they slept at the foot of the fort.

Next morning the Mughals again rushed on the fort, made their way through the city wall, and captured the city. Many of the Marathas were slain, the rest fled into the citadel. In these two charges the Mughal loss was 268 killed and 600 wounded. At last the enemy capitulated and the citadel was surrendered.* By Aurangzib's order the fort was re-named Islam-abad, and a Mughal garrison placed in it. Shaista Khan then returned to Puna. (Abridged translation of *Alamgir-namah*.)

§29.—Night Attack on Shaista Khan at Puna.

Shaista Khan captured all the forts on the way, came to Puna, and occupied the Palace or residence of Shivaji, who was now staying at Rajgarh and greatly disliked this occupation of his home by Shaista Khan.

With three hundred soldiers, Shivaji made a rapid march and arrived in a dark night close to the Palace. With combined boldness and cunning he tied torches to the horns of oxen and encouraged his brave troops saying, "Don't fear the enemy's largeness of number. Seek the protection of the true Giver of Victories." Shyamraj was posted behind with 12,000 Mawals. Shiva with his 300 men planted ladders against the Palace walls, leaped in, made his way to the bed chamber of Shaista Khan (who was then asleep), and struck him with a sword cutting off the fingers of his right hand. As he awoke, his wife, who was with him, boldly confronted

Shivaji, who turned away his face [from the woman], and Shaista Khan seized this opportunity to escape and hide himself in the kitchen. Coming out of the inner apartments, Shiva saw in the outer garden a Qazi's son who looked like Shaista Khan, and slew him under that wrong impression. Then lighting the torches fixed to the horns of oxen he drove them towards the enemy's army with his 300 men following. The Mughals were confused and fled in broken routs. The Maratha division of 12,000, which was behind, now fell on Siddi Halal and routed him too. The victorious Shivaji went towards Pipri, and ordered all his soldiers to assemble there. Thence he marched on Gothani. Shaista Khan after the dispersion of his army could not stay in Puna but retreated in alarm towards Delhi.

[The above is the account given in the *Tarikh-Shivaji*, p. 19, b. and 20, a. I now translate Khafi Khan's narrative, which on this point is of great historical value. The court-history *Alamgir-namah* silently passes over this episode!]

I report the account of Shiva's night attack upon the Amir-ul-umara, which I heard from my father, who had accompanied the Viceroy in this expedition. The Amir-ul-umara conquered most of Shiva's forts and strongholds. Going to Puna, he put up in Shivaji's palace and sent troops to different places to capture him. He issued orders that no armed or even unarmed person, especially one of the Maratha tribe,—other than the servants of the State,—should be allowed to enter the cantonment and city [of Puna] without a pass. No Maratha was taken into the service in the cavalry. Shiva was so utterly overpowered that he passed his days amidst the inaccessible hills.

One day a party of Marathas serving in the Mughal infantry asked the *kotwal* for a pass for 200 Marathas to accompany the marriage-procession of some unnamed person. Early in the night they brought in a beardless boy, dressed in wedding garments and

*Grant Duff (i. 193) gives 1662 as the year of Shaista Khan's capture of Chakan, but the *Masir-i-Alamgiri* and *Alamgir-namah* positively state that it happened in the 2nd year of Aurangzib's reign, that is 1660 A. D., and so also does Khafi Khan (ii. 119.)

ornaments, and accompanied by the joyous music of tabor and kettledrum and a party of Marathas. That very evening they had passed through the police station and brought into the town a party of men, with the hands tied behind and bare heads, strung together with ropes, whom they abused and beat, pretending that they were enemy's soldiers captured at one of the outposts. All these men assembled at the appointed place and armed themselves [secretly]; when the music of midnight was being played, a party of them arrived near the kitchen, which adjoined the *harem* wall. Between this wall and the quarters of the personal attendants was a small door which had been closed with mud and bricks, and which the party knew.

It was Ramzan, the month of fasting. Some cooks had risen to cook the meal that is taken a little before dawn and to trim the fire-place. The Marathas who knew the paths suddenly fell upon them in every way they could, and slew the sleepers and the awake alike, without the least noise being made. Then they dug open the walled up door leading to the *harem*. The noise of the pickaxes and the groans of the slain, awoke one of the attendants (*chawas*), whose room was behind the kitchen wall. He went to the Amir-ul-umara and reported on the noise. But the latter was angry [at his sleep being disturbed], and replied that it was only the noise of the cooks of the morning meal who were trimming the fire. But in quick succession came the news of digging and the appearance of a small hole in the wall. The Khan in bewilderment rose and seized a bow and spear. Just then a few Marathas appeared before him, but a cistern of water separated them from him. The Khan shot at one, but he came up and hit the Khan with his sword cutting off his thumb. Two other Marathas then fell into the cistern full of water and another was brought down by the Khan's spear. The slave-girls seizing this opportunity carried the Khan

away in their arms and took him to a place of safety.

Another party of Marathas went to the guard-house, and suddenly attacked and slew the sleepers and the awake, saying, "It is thus that you keep watch?" A few reached the band-house (*naqqar-khanah*) and said that the Khan had ordered his *naubat* to be played. The loud noise of the kettledrums drowned all other sounds, and the yells of the enemy swelled confusion. They also shut the door of the *harem*. Just then Abul Fath Khan, son of Shaista Khan, a young hero, hastened to the spot and after slaying or wounding 2 or 3 Marathas was himself slain. A great captain who lodged behind the Khan's *harem*, on hearing the bustle within and finding the outer door closed, planted a ladder and tying ropes threw himself down inside from the top of the wall. As he somewhat resembled Shaista Khan in age and physical structure, they cut off his head under that mistake. Two wives of Shaista Khan were hacked with swords,—one of them being so dismembered that her remains had to be cast into a basket and buried, and the other, in spite of her receiving 30 or 40 cuts, recovered. The Marathas left the house quietly, without engaging much in looting.

Next morning, Maharajah Jaswant Singh came to see the Amir-ul-umara and express sorrow. But the latter only said, "When this disaster befell me I imagined that the Maharajah had been slain!"

The emperor on hearing of it was displeased with Shaista Khan and the Maharajah, and recalled the former, appointing in his place Prince Muazzam as Viceroy of the Deccan.

[The *Dilkasha*, pp. 44—46, gives the following version:] The Amir-ul-umara lived unguardedly at Puna. Shiva learned by means of spies all the roads, lanes and markets of the Mughal camp, so well as if he had personally seen them. One day with 200 warriors he traversed 40 miles on foot, at midnight

passed by the bazar of Jaswant Singh's camp, reached the kitchen of the Amir-ul-umara, and dug a hole in the wall of his *harem*. After two or three men Shiva himself, and then ten other Marathas entered by it. The *harem* servants informed the Khan that a hole had been made in the wall and some men had entered. The Khan leaving his bed went to the platform of the hall. In the darkness of the night he could not see who it was. The enemy gave him two wounds. In another hall many lamps were burning, and Abul Fath, the son of the Khan, was sleeping. They cut off his head under the impression that he was Shaista Khan.

Meantime the Khan in perplexity went towards the porch (*deorhi*) of the hall of audience and sent a few soldiers of the guard into the *harem*. There was an encounter, but Shiva escaped scatheless. The Khan, considering it impolitic to stay there, went back to Aurangabad, leaving Jaswant Singh with all the army at Puna. The popular report is that Shiva's audacious feat was due to the instigation of Jaswant, who wanted thus to promote the cause of Shah Jahan by ruining the plans of Aurangzib. But God knows the truth!

JADUNATH SARKAR.

SAVITRI—AN AUTOBIOGRAPHY

XII

My mother threw down my hands, and glided out of the room. I cried, cried bitterly, cried passionately,—for what I did not know. My mother had taken hold of my hands while she spoke—she had looked me full in the face and—well, what ailed her that I should see a tear in her eyes? Surely a woman, a woman too like my mother, strong of heart and steady of purpose, surely she did not tremble for nothing, but there was something that had upset her. Was she sorry for me? I could not think of it. All these thoughts rushed past me, and I wept—wept aloud. My brothers at last sat by me, and consoled me. "My sister," said my eldest brother, "I have a right to command you to be silent. You have no reason to grieve. Your husband is a very spirited young man, exceedingly charming, very affable, of good manners and of scholarly attainments. He is wiry, swift, active. He is very sociable; talked to us very freely,

expressed his anxiety to please us all and win our good opinion, and above all, seemed to passionately adore you. He asked us innumerable questions about you. When does she rise? What does she read? Does she delight to sing alone? Does she help her mother in her household duties? A good housewife? Oh! so many questions, all so affectionately asked, that one could neither laugh nor frown at him. He is a small boy. He is four years my junior; yet, my sister, it ought to please you, he is as much my superior in what he knows and in what he has studied as you are. Go—pray to God—thank Him for having given you so good a husband—Go and pray for Gopal."

XIII

"As the nineteenth is an auspicious day, I would desire that the marriage should take place then," said Mr. Narayana to my father, as both of them talked over the matter seriously. "I am so very much struck with your

daughter's beauty, with her knowledge and her bearing, that even apart from the fact that to be related to you is in itself a high honour, I should think it a blessing to have her in my house. Therefore, to speak formally, I hope you have no objection to marry your daughter to my son."

"My Narayana, it is not an ordinary honor that I feel in my daughter becoming yours; it is not an ordinary pride I feel in your son becoming mine. Therefore, as you said, formally, how much do you demand for your son?"

The question had come to that. How much do you demand for your son? Mr. Narayana was taken aback. He never expected to be asked point blank—how much do you demand for your son? But my father was a man of few words, and asked his questions without much prologue.

"Mr. Krishna——" gasped my father-in-law, would-be, that is to say, "I am a wealthy man, that is, I have earned enough to ensure a happy life for my children."

"Mr. Narayana," said my father, "I know your position and wealth; I know, too, that your son has all the capabilities that characterise you. He deserves anything, and you have only to say."

"Mr. Krishna——" and Mr. Narayana stopped. With all his wealth, with all his authority and power, he found something very high above him. He could not speak out his mind. He found something arresting his words. Tall and stately, with a benignant smile in his lips, stood my father, his hands falling erect by his side. He observed the embarrassment of Mr. Narayana.

"I should be very sorry indeed," said he, "to have in any way wounded your feelings. The fact is, I am a simple man, and do not know the polite ways of the world. I know that something is always demanded for a son when he is given in marriage. In your case I find that apart from your wealth and power,

your son has himself attainments of no mean order. Therefore, what in other cases they demand without reason, you can do with propriety; and now I come to think of it, you have a right to be paid for your troubles in educating a son; you are going to make him over to me, and it is only natural that you should demand something for your son."

"Since you have made it clear to me," said Mr. Narayana, "I demand,—I am sorry that I have not your dignity, Mr. Krishna, I have always entertained the idea that my son ought to bring me something—I demand two thousands."

XIV

He spoke and stopped. Mr. Narayana was an honorable man. He feared whether any altercation would rise on a point so delicate, for, really as became a man of honor, he loved me and was resolved to have me for his daughter-in-law at all costs. Should, therefore, my father wrangle about the price, he did not know what he should do. He had incessantly worried himself about it. Should any altercation ensue? Then, the honorable man that he was, he resolved to make all sacrifices. This he had determined to do.

Therefore, he was not a little surprised when almost immediately came my father's answer—"Yes, I agree—your son deserves more."

Could Mr. Narayana believe it? Was my father jesting? Was he serious? He looked up, and glad and smiling, my father confronted him.

"And so you agree"—asked Mr. Narayana timidly.

"I have said" was all my father's reply, "and to you I will tell another secret—I agree gladly."

My future father-in-law stood overpowered at my father's open-handedness. This was too much for him. Here was a man, born and bred in a village, who had a largeness of heart and a generosity which not even he, with his

judgeship and pension and friendships and authority could pretend to. But unlike ordinary men, Mr. Narayana could appreciate nobility. He prostrated himself at my father's feet.—

"Your pardon—your pardon—excuse me, I am ashamed."

With the gentleness of a child he was slowly raised by my father.—

"You need not be ashamed. You have desired, and I have wealth enough to satisfy your desire. You are a good man, Narayana, and I am proud to call you—brother."

XV

The nineteenth of the month! That day came on apace. Everything was arranged. The priests had been making excursions. Our relatives had all poured in. Sweatmeats were preparing. Pandals were erecting. Invitations were being sent. One evening, when the preparations were at their highest, my mother entered my father's room. He was seated on the floor writing. As the door moved on its hinges he looked up. My mother stepped back. He resumed writing, and not until he had finished did he vouchsafe a "well," and not until that "well" had assured her of her husband's permission to speak did she begin.

"With your permission, I have to speak a few words. I have waited for a long time, but had not the courage. I love my daughter and—"

"And—" interrupted my father, "since she is to be married and leave you, you want another to fill her place. I have given you permission to choose your daughter—"

"And I have chosen—" said my mother, and stretching her hands towards the door she led a young, a very charming, but unadorned, and apparently poor girl. "She is poor, but she is industrious. She has a poor mother—her only relation in the world. If you have no objection, I would have her."

"So be it—" said my father.

And so, on the nineteenth two marriages took place in our house, as the poor girl, my sister-in-law, had no house. The whole ceremony was grandly celebrated. Only the people had one remark to make. "Krishna could very easily have recovered the two thousands he gave to Narayana, if only he had married his son to the daughter of Rama who offered him two thousand five hundred." There was another man who was weighed down by something—it was Mr. Narayana. After the marriage he came to my father. "I would ill deserve your relationship if I did not aspire to your largeness of heart. I settle your two thousand rupees on your daughter."

Thus was I married—a daughter-in-law when I was eleven. Eleven, that is too advanced an age, from the orthodox point of view, but I do not know why, my father had allowed me to grow up to that age unmarried. He could have married me at seven—he had wealth.

PART II

THE DAUGHTER-IN-LAW.

I

A daughter-in-law! that is a very terrible stage for a South Indian girl. It means all that is hard and heart-rending. It means everything that is trying and troublesome to a human heart. Just imagine a young girl who has up to this day been of a very jovial nature. She was fresh and free. She had brothers and sisters at home with whom she played and talked and laughed. She had her hands full of some work or other. She had friends in her own village. Every tree had a story to tell her; every plant had a thought to remind her of. In the running brook she saw a reflection of her past days, and in every scene she caught faint recollections of a frolicsome past. All the people there had known her from her childhood, and they talk to her and treat her as one of their

own girls. The whole village is her own. And she is as a bird, flitting here and there, now working in the house, now helping her mother, now laughing at some pranks of her younger sister, now in the river playing with her hands in the water, and always of a free and a smiling disposition.

From amidst such scenes she is suddenly transported. She is taken away from the friends and scenes of her youth. She misses the mild rebuke of a loving mother. She misses the tender encouragement of a dear brother. Thrown amidst a strange people and in a strange land she gazes about as a lamb astray. It breaks her heart to be always lonely and fearing and fettered. She is not in her house. She is a stranger. She is surrounded by the sisters of her husband. It is their kingdom there. She trembles to move here or there. She fears to sit—she fears to stand. Unless ordered to do something she has not the courage to. The whole house is a vast waste of heavy melancholy to her. Her heart is heavy, very heavy. She cannot sit in one place and think of her doom. It is her father-in-law that comes, and she runs away for shyness. It is her brother-in-law that comes—and she runs away. She resorts to the kitchen, and there she is a stranger. There is her mother-in-law. There are her sisters-in-law. And they talk and laugh and work, and she is silent. She cleans a vessel or draws water from the well, a silent spectator, her heart weighed down with melancholy, fearing to do the simplest thing, lest it might be found fault with. This is the first great trial of a daughter-in-law. To be suddenly taken away from the scenes of her childhood, to be suddenly separated from her mother and her brothers and her sisters and her friends and thrown away, like an inert mass, having no will of her own, having no voice of her own, but a strange heap of flesh always flitting into the dark, working when called upon to work and always of a retiring

nature. The house of her husband is a house of perpetual darkness to her.

II

Should she venture out of the house, and that is only when she goes to bathe or when her sister-in-law calls her to go along with her, even then it is a very trying affair. Some old woman calls her near and looks at her, with her old dried up eyes and asks her her name, and the name of her father and the name of her mother. And how many sisters she has and how many brothers she has. And the annual income of her father and the annual saving of the family. Is her house very large? How many wells are there in the house? And a thousand and one irrelevant questions which she has to answer patiently and promptly, otherwise she is a very bad girl. And the old woman would wonder whence good Narayana got this wild sheep from? Oh! this girl would lead her mother-in-law by the nose. And the old woman has a warning to give to her sister-in-law.

III

The tank is a higher tribunal. And there the young daughter-in-law is subject to very severe trial, and a very searching examination, cross-examination and re-examination and the like. Who gave me that ornament—father or father-in-law? That cloth that I wear—what is its price? And on what occasion was it purchased; and at which shop? And another woman says that in her opinion the cloth is not worth so much. Why, the other day Subramanya's brother's sister's youngest child's sister-in-law's daughter-in-law purchased a cloth which is better and cheaper. And another woman remembers to have seen it and avers it is not half so good—and they quarrel over it, while I complacently and silently do my work. The unkindest cut of all is when an old woman in the farthest corner of the tank murmurs

audibly enough that I am not half so beautiful as I was represented to be. And another woman takes up the cudgel and continues to observe that Sivaran's daughter who was first settled to be the wife of my husband was far more charming. "Look at her eyes—they are a little whitish—", says a third woman. And so on and so on, while I, the object of all their comments, pass noiselessly away in silence.

Neither has the daughter-in-law any joy to find in the company of her husband. To her young mind he is the strangest man of all, and she shudders before him more than before her mother-in-law. Amidst all this heaviness and solitude, for a grown-up girl who knows what it is to love, the best company would be that of her husband. In his company she would forget all. Heaven and Earth would recede from her sight. Her heart would be buoyed up. All the heaviness, all the darkness, all the weariness would fly at the simple thought that she could bask in his smiles or warm herself at his praise. But to the young girl who could not forget her mother or a brother, and who finds the whole world empty because to her mind her mother is far away, the husband is only a taskmaster; and all his sweet words she could never understand, nay, sometimes she even hates—for is not he her chief enemy in the house, for was it not he that took her there? Thus she wishes for the morning and after the morning the night and thus drags her weary length of days.

IV

She has now and then a ray of light shining in the darkness, and that is when her brother or the priest of her village comes to the house. Then she is glad, though she can not talk long with them. For, curiously enough, it is when her brother or the priest has come to the house and is talking to the father-in-law, that the daughter-in-law is called upon to do the greatest amount of work. And she could not

talk to them. This is the fate of all the daughters-in-law of Southern India,—and this was particularly the case with me. It was now that I knew what my mother meant by her 'but' when she described my mother-in-law.

V

The first day that I came to the house it was all right. My mother-in-law was particularly kind to me. My sisters-in-law were very considerate to me. And my father-in-law said to me that I should be able to find a mother in his wife and sisters in his daughters. I had cried a good deal when I parted from my father and mother. I had cried a good deal—and my mother cried with me and my brother cried with me, and my sister cried with me. This was the first time that I left my parents and the home of my childhood, and it is only those who know it know that there is nothing in life more heart-rending than when we separate from our people, and at a time when we do not know anything, when we feel as if we were going to the mouth of hell.

The second day came and the second day waned. The third day the sun rose and the third day the sun set, everything was as it should be. The mother-in-law smiled at me—my sister-in-law talked and laughed with me, and, though I could not get over my sorrow—that is not a thing to be easily got over—yet I could combat it.

But the fifth day came, and with that day came the series of my trials. It was the most ill-fated day in the life of my husband and me. My father-in-law had given to me, as marriage presents, several ornaments. These ornaments were in my father's house. I had not brought them with me. On the 5th day my mother-in-law called for one of my ornaments as one of my sisters-in-law was to go to the temple and would like to go with ornaments on. I had to say that they were in my father's house, and I

never thought that it was so great a sin to leave them there.

"You forgot—" burst forth my mother-in-law and mark you, the mother-in-law that was so very kind and good and considerate to me—"you forgot, did you? Well, go at this very moment and bring it. Your mother is a clever woman—I know that. But all your cleverness will not do here. Go now and get it."

"Forgot—" put in my sister-in-law, who was disappointed, for her cherished ornament was not to be given to her—"and how could any one forget to bring her ornaments I wonder."

I did not make any reply. The whole situation was very unexpected and awful. My heart was full of sorrow, and I would have cried, but I feared to cry.

"Why do you stand like a stone, get you gone—" said my mother-in-law peremptorily.

Her voice had risen high, and this brought my father-in-law to the scene. He enquired into the cause and, good and large-hearted man as he was, rebuked my mother-in-law, drove out my sister-in-law and asked me to have courage. What if the ornament be not here? Is it not in my father's house? And what is the difference? This was how my father-in-law argued and he hushed the matter up completely.

Afterwards it was my husband's turn to come to the scene, and he re-kindled the dying embers. He began to cry out against his mother. Why should she quarrel with me on such a paltry matter? Whose was the ornament? And what business had she to call for it and make so great a noise? And he abused his sister. Why should she desire to have an ornament which was not hers? She was the cause of the wrangle. No, this must cease. This must be the last time. And he commanded me to go in and look to my work peacefully.

Thus the fifth day waned away. The devil had stepped in, and from that day he would begin his pranks. And though that day things proceeded in a smooth and calm way, and

though all was silent and I only felt that after all nothing too much had happened, only I had to be more solitary than ever for some days and then all would be well again, yet the storm had begun that day, a storm which was not to cease till it had blown me and my husband away from the house.

VI

But from the fifth day it was a regular storm. My sisters-in-law were all strangers to me. None of them would speak, and if they did it was only to find fault with what I had done, or to command me to do something. My mother-in-law now threw off her mask and came up before me in her true colours. It was a very terrifying picture. She would tear me piece-meal with her tongue. She would batter me with the most galling words. "Do that—", "Do this"—"Go there—?" "Come here—" that was the way I was dealt with. My sisters-in-law who before were working with me now stood by and enjoyed the heavy incessant work that I did. They gave me instructions to do it, and I did.

Oh! it is only those who have felt it would know what it is to be working incessantly at the kitchen and working when others of your age are standing by and commanding you. They command you with a vengeance. They take pleasure in your discomfiture. And the slightest mistake or the slightest delay is sure to bring down upon you the whole battery of ridicule and harsh comment. And mistakes occur never more frequently than when others stare at your work, and you know that they are staring.

And all this, mark you, upon a young girl who has just left her mother, who is still a stranger to the house and its ways, who fears every one and who trembles at the slightest warning. The sixth day and the seventh day passed, the eighth day and the ninth day passed also. Each day wound its weary length along. I had no respite at all.

How long was this to continue? It was unbearable to be always abused for no faults of your own. "You put so much salt—salt does not grow here"—"She is a rich man's daughter and is tired very soon"—"You may do so and so in your house if you like, not here"—"Why do you put on such a long face. I do not like it"—These were the weapons which they thrust at me at every possible opportunity. And if opportunity was not forthcoming, they would make it. Amidst this terrible cannonade, quiet and submissive without a word in reply, without a sign of weariness, with a heavy heart, I worked on. Would my mother see me work like this? Oh it was horrible, that thought. The thought of my paternal home shattered all my resolution and would make me burst into tears. But it was all a silent tear that I shed—sitting by the bank of the well, with perhaps thirty vessels to be cleaned, I would weep, and the tears would flow from my eyes and trickle down my cheeks and disappear. When I served my mother-in-law, what a severe fit of trembling would take hold of me. She would hurl all her missiles of abuse at me for the faintest shadow of a mistake.

VII

It was ever like this for a month. I took my fate gladly. I made the best of a bad position. I resigned myself to my fate. Silently, obediently and quickly I did all that was ordered—but still they had no pity, no pity for a girl, tender and young, who was forced to do the most tiresome work.

Complain? to whom should I complain? to my husband? It would make the matter worse. He would go and cry out against the mother-in-law and the mother-in-law, in her vengeance, would consign me to a living death. No—my fate was inevitable. I counted day after day—I counted night after night. It was impossible to live. I prayed that I might catch fever. I prayed that I might die. Just

think of that. A young girl, young and beautiful, blest with all that can go to make life happy and with loving and wealthy relations who did not know up till now what it was to be sorry, now wished to die. Did she know what was death? No, but she wished to die.

But I soon found that they carried their dislike to me farther than mere words. A new cloth of mine which I had spread on in the sun to-day was completely torn. It was a valuable cloth and I was very very sorry. I actually cried. Another day another cloth equally valuable was besmeared with oil. Matters were coming to a head.

VIII

This was not to be borne patiently. With all my patience, and all my forbearance, I found it impossible to live. Three months had passed. I was being persecuted. From noon till night I was being worked to death. My only consolation was that my husband was kind to me. But what of that? He was young and unable to do anything. He would only take to abusing and marningering and that would only incense my mother-in-law. It would incense any mother to find that her son was turned against her, and that because of her daughter-in-law. Here she is, a young girl, come from quite a different house, from quite a different family, nay, from quite a different village altogether. Nobody had heard about her before. No one had seen her before. No one had ever an idea of her before. But there she is. And because of her, her son whom she brought up, her son whom she was looking upon as a great support for her, turns against her, abuses her and rebels against her. That is a very horrid picture, unnatural and therefore unpardonable. My husband, if I had gone on reporting everything that was going on, would have raised a storm. He would have been rude to his mother. He would have thrashed his sisters. He would have quarreled with

his father. Blind and foolish, he would have rushed out of the quiet and happy shade of a happy house—and all this for me—me, a stupid lump of human flesh who had not the capacity to console him or bear with him. I knew that he loved me, that is from the many questions he would ask me at night as to what I wanted—whether I would have that

and whether I would have this—I knew that he was fond of me and would have done anything for my sake. But I had lived and moved with my mother. I was her daughter, and I thought that I must be patient and never sow dissensions in a happy family.

(To be continued.)

S. PARUKUTTY.

THE STUDY OF NATURAL SCIENCE IN THE INDIAN UNIVERSITIES

V

I now proceed to examine the science curriculum in the University of the Punjab, and the provision made for teaching Natural Science in the affiliated Institutions and Colleges of the Punjab.

In the year 1869 an Institution was established at Lahore, styled at first the Lahore University College, but subsequently the Panjab University College, with the special objects of promoting the diffusion of European Science, as far as possible, through the medium of the vernacular languages of the Punjab, improving and extending vernacular literature generally, affording encouragement to the enlightened study of the Eastern classical languages and literature, and associating the learned and influential classes of the Province with the officers of Government, in the promotion and supervision of popular education. The Institution having been attended with success, to further the progress of education in the Punjab, the Government of India, in the year 1882, constituted the said Institution a University for the purpose of ascertaining, by means of examination or otherwise the persons who acquire proficiency in different branches of

Literature, Science and Art, and for the purpose of conferring on them academical degrees, diplomas, oriental literary titles, licenses and marks of honour. There are six Faculties in this University, namely:—(1) Oriental Learning; (2) Arts; (3) Law; (4) Medicine; (5) Science; (6) Engineering.

At the Entrance Examination of the Oriental Faculty and Arts Faculty, Elementary Physical Science forms one of the Optional Subjects. At the same examination in the Science Faculty, Physics and Chemistry, along with the Elementary Principles of Mechanics and Hydrostatics, form one of the four “fixed and compulsory” subjects. Whereas among the optional subjects there are:—(1) Botany and Zoology; (2) Agriculture; (3) Drawing. In the Oriental and Arts Faculties, there is an Oral Examination in Physical Science. In the Science Faculty in each Science subject there is an oral and a practical examination. A candidate has to pass in each of these texts. In the Oriental and Arts Faculties, the examination in Physical Science is mainly based on the Primers of Balfour Stewart and Roscoe in Elementary Physics and Elementary Chemistry, respectively. In the Science Faculty for the years

1906 and 1907, the following text-books are prescribed:—Bright's Physics; Furneaux's Chemistry; Webb's Agriculture; and Taylor's Theoretical Mechanics, excluding certain portions of the work, which are specified in the University Calendar of 1905-06. The four above-mentioned Text-books are published under the name of "Elementary Science Manuals." In Botany and Zoology for 1906-1907, the Text-Books are Macmillan's Science Primer of Botany, and Nicholson's "Outlines of Natural History", respectively.

At the Intermediate Examination in the Oriental, Arts, and Science Faculties, the following are the subjects of examination:—

1. ORIENTAL FACULTY.—*Fixed subjects*:—A Classical Language (Sanskrit or Arabic). *Elective subjects*:—Two and two out of 7 subjects; of these the 3rd subject is named "A branch of science"; and the 4th subject is "A second branch of science."

(N.B.)—The Branches of Science above specified are Botany, Zoology, Animal Physiology and Geology.

2. ARTS FACULTY:—Among the "*Elective subjects*" a candidate has to take up a Branch of Science as specified in the N.B. above.

3. SCIENCE FACULTY:—The "*Fixed*" subjects are English, Mathematics, Physics, and Chemistry. Among the "*Elective*" subjects one and only one of the following must be taken:—(1) Botany and Zoology. (2). Physiology. (3) Geology.

There is also a stiff Practical and Oral Examination. The works selected for the course of reading prescribed for 1906 and 1907 give a fair idea of what is required of an examinee in the various Science subjects mentioned above. The selection is judicious and well up-to-date.

For the degrees of Bachelor of Oriental Learning, Bachelor of Arts, and Bachelor of Science, respectively, the following courses are prescribed for 1906, and 1907:—

1. BACHELOR OF ORIENTAL LEARNING.—Every candidate has to take up *three* and only *three* subjects. One of these is "*Fixed*", namely, a Classical Language (Sanskrit or Arabic). Of the eight "*Elective*" subjects two are required. Of these the 4th subject is a Branch of Science; and the 5th is a second Branch of Science. These two branches mean Botany, Zoology,

Geology and Animal Physiology. Special permission has to be obtained of the Syndicate six months previous to the date of examination.

2. BACHELOR OF ARTS.—Every candidate has to take up *three* and only *three* subjects. A. Course:—Two *Fixed* subjects, namely, English, and a Classical Language. One *Elective* subject of which a Branch of Natural Science is one. B. Course:—Two *Fixed* subjects, namely, English, and a course of Mathematics or a Branch of Science. One *Elective* subject of which a Branch of Science is one; or a Second Branch of Science in the case of candidates who have taken a Branch of Science as *fixed* subject.

In the *science faculty* for the degree of Bachelor of Arts, every candidate has to take up English and one of the six groups, as follows:—

A.—Mathematics and Astronomy.

B.—Physics and Chemistry,

C.—Botany and Zoology.

D.—Geology and Mineralogy.

E.—Physiology.

F.—Agricultural Science, (including Forestry and Surveying.)

There is in each of these Branches besides Paper-examination, a searching Practical and an oral examination.

The text books prescribed in Botany, Zoology, Physiology and Geology, are up-to-date standard works.

For the Degree of Master of Arts there are the following rules:—

A Bachelor of Arts of the Punjab University has to take up one or more of five subjects of which the 5th is termed "*Science*," i. e., Chemistry, Zoology, Botany, Geology and Physiology.

Candidates in Science are examined in what is termed the Doctrine of Scientific Method and in one of the following subjects:—

(1) Physics (2) Chemistry; (3) Zoology and Comparative Anatomy; (4) Botany; (5) Geology; (3) Physiology.

The courses for M.A. reading in Science for 1906-1907, especially in Botany, Zoology and Animal Physiology, are of a higher order than those required in the Bombay University. Well may the latter draw a lesson from these courses.

For the *Degree of Doctor of Science* the course is more searching still. A high standard of attainment is expected. In no case is a candidate approved unless he shows a thorough *practical knowledge* of the selected subject.

In the *Faculty of Medicine* there is a Diploma (*not a Degree*) of Licentiate of Medicine and Surgery. A knowledge of Botany is required after the Principles of Hooker's and Bentham's Systems of Classification of Plants. Twenty-eight Natural Orders specially important in the Panjab are set down. This is a very wise rule.

For the *Degree of Bachelor in Medicine*, in the Preliminary Scientific Examination, a knowledge of Chemistry, Botany, Comparative Anatomy and Zoology is required. This is as it should be.

For the *Degree of Doctor in Medicine* there is no special subject set down in Natural Science. Under the Revised Rules relating to endowed Readers and Translators in connection with the Punjab University the following provisions are made for the encouragement of Natural Science :—

1. The *Alexandra Readership* is awarded to a Graduate who distinguishes himself in Natural Science or Mathematics (Value Rs. 70 per month, tenable for 3 years).
2. The *McLeod-Kapurthala Natural Science Readership* is awarded to a Graduate who has distinguished himself in Natural Science. (Value Rs. 72-14-8 per month for 3 years.)

One of the most striking features of the Panjab University which greets my eye in the Calendar for 1905-06, is at pages 408-409. It consists of a Report on the working of the *Yunani* and *Vaidic Classes* accommodated at the Islamia College and D. A. V. College, Lahore, respectively. The report on the Yunani system is by *Hakim Ghulam Mustafa*, M.O.L., B.A., Lecturer on the Yunani system, for the year 1903-04. It runs thus :—

"In March, 1904, 21 students appeared in the Examination, of whom, 2 students gained half the total

number of marks. In July, 1904, 24 students appeared in the Examination, of whom 15 students gained more than half the total marks. From October, 1903, till the end of September, 1904, 109 Lectures were delivered on internal diseases, i.e., Phthisis, Pneumonia, Pains in chest, Colic, and on Anatomy, Bubonic Plague, and on properties and uses of simple and compound drugs."

The following is the Report made by Pandit Amrita Lal Kavishekhar, Lecturer on the Vaidic Class of the Lahore D. A. V. College, during the year ending 30th September, 1904 :—

"The average number of students during the year was 17, and the average daily attendance was eleven. The number of Lectures during the year was 213. To the 1st year students, lectures were on Sharngadhar, Bhav Prakash, Madhav Nidan Mul, Kanduja Nadvigyan, and Madan Pal Nighantu. To the 2nd year students there were lectures on Sharngadhar, Bhavaprakash, Madhukosha, Sharirakasthan, Rasendra Sar Sangraha, Rasendra Chintamani, and Vagbhata. To the 3rd year students, there were lectures on Charak and Shushrut."

I make it a point to quote here these two Reports, one from Hakim Gulam Mustafa, and the other from Pandit Amrit Lal Kavishekhar, with a view to point out to the medical profession of Bombay the necessity of recognizing the claims of the Bombay Ayurvedic Institution founded by my venerable friend the late Prabhuram Jivanram Vaidya of Bombay. Unfortunately the members of the time-honoured Indian Medical Service to which I have had the honour to belong since March. 1877, and of which I am now a Retired Member, unfortunately, I repeat, my brother officers of the Indian Medical Service who are now ruling the education of our future Medical men in British Medicine and Surgery depreciate the merits of the Ayurvedic School of medicine, Therapeutics and Pharmacy. Dr. Popat—a former pupil of mine in Grant Medical College so far back as 1876-1877 and now my friend, is at the present day the head of the Ayurvedic Institute started by his illustrious father. I do hope and trust that some day the Bombay University may follow the noble example set by the

Panjab University and give a stimulus, in some shape or other to the study of the rich literature still to be found in the Archives of Ayurvedic Literature especially in the Department of Therapeutics and of drugs obtained from the vegetable kingdom.

Let me now examine what provision there is for the teaching of Natural Science in the Teaching Institutions of the Punjab University.

A.—ORIENTAL FACULTY:—1. *Oriental College, Lahore*.—Lala Jaigopal Bhandari, M. A., is the Kapurthala Natural Science Reader. 2. *Government College, Lahore*.—A. S. Hemmy, Esq., B. A., M. Sc., is Professor of Science, with Lala Ruchi Ram Sahni, M. A., as Assistant Professor of Natural Science. 3. *St. Stephen's College, Delhi*.—Here Chemistry and Physics are taught by Professor J. S. Martyn, M. A., B. Sc., and Khub Ram, M. A. 4. *Forman Christian College, Lahore*.—Here candidates are prepared for Science degrees. Vice-Principal Rev. J. H. Orbison, M. A., M. D., is Professor of Biology and English. R. G. Caldwell, Esq., B. A., is Professor of Science and Mathematics, M. C. Mookerji, Esq. B. A., LL. B., is Professor of Science. 5. *Dayanand Anglo-Vedic College, Lahore*.—The School Department was opened on 1st June, 1886. The M. A. class in Sanskrit was opened in 1895. This College was established in honour of Shri Swami Dayanand Saraswati, the Founder of the Arya Samaj, with the following objects:—(1) To encourage, improve, and enforce the study of Hindi. (2) To encourage and enforce the study of Classic Sanskrit and of the Vedas. (3) To encourage and enforce the study of English Literature and Science, both theoretical and practical. (4) To provide for technical education in the country. On the Tutorial staff there are among others the following:—L. Hansraj, B. A., Honorary Principal and Professor of History, Political Economy and Veda Patha. L. Sain Das, M. A., Science Professor. B. Kali Krishna Goswamy, M. A., Sanskrit Professor. 6. *Scottish Mission College, Sialkote*. Founded in 1886. It teaches up to the Intermediate Standard. Science is taught by Professor Harman Singh, B. A., but what branch of it, I am not able to say. 7. *Gordon Mission College, Rawalpindi*.—This was originally a large Mission High School. In June 1893 a College Department was opened in which from 1901 instruction has been given upto the B. A. Standard. Professors

W. E. Nicole, B. A., and Harris J. Stewart, B. A., teach Science. 8. *Islamia College Lahore*.—Teaches up to the B. A. Standard. S. Shah Mohammad teaches Science here. 9. *Randhir College, Kapurthala*.—It was started by H. H. the late Maharajah Randhir Singh Ahluwalia. It first taught upto the Matriculation Standard only. In 1896, H. H. the Maharajah Jagat Singh gave a greater impetus to higher education in English in his State by opening F. A. classes in the College. There is a well-equipped Science Laboratory attached to the College. Professor Sia Ram, B. A., teaches Science. The most noticeable feature of this College is that Pandit Vishnu Dutt, Vedic, teaches the Hindu system of Medicine, besides Astrology and the Vedas. 10. *Hindu College, Delhi*. This was established in 1899 for the purpose of giving cheap but efficient secular education side by side with sound religious instruction according to the principles of what is termed "Sanatan Dharma." All Hindu students are required to attend the Hindi and Sanskrit classes. Lectures on subjects connected with religion and morality are also delivered from time to time by qualified persons. The 4th year Class was added in 1901. Babu Nilini Nath Roy, M. A., is Professor of Science. 11. *The Khalsa College Amritsar*. Teaches Science for B. A. and B. Sc., but the name of the teacher is not given in the Calendar of 1905-06, as the B. Sc., classes were opened only in 1905. 12. *The Medical College, Lahore*.—Established in 1860 for teaching Western Medicine to the people of the Panjab. The College consists of a main building containing a spacious Library with Lecture Rooms and Museums, a large and handsome Anatomical school capable of accommodating 400 students with a Lecture-Theatre, and Museum attached, Chemical, Physiological and Pathological Laboratories, &c. Major J. C. Lamont, I. M. S., M. B., C. M. (Edin.) is Professor of Anatomy and Comparative Anatomy, C. C. Caleb Esq., M. B., M. S., (Dur.), M. R. C. S. (Lond.), is Professor of Physiology and Botany.

So far for the Panjab University.

We now come to consider the Science Curriculum in the University of Allahabad. This University was established in September, 1887. The Senate has the power to confer degrees after examination. In the Faculty of Arts there are the degrees of Bachelor of Arts, and Master of Arts. In the Faculty of Science there are the degrees of Bachelor and Doctor

of Science. In both these Faculties "Science" is set down as one of the subjects for examination. *Science* here means only Chemistry, Physics and Agriculture. What we understand by "Natural Science" is not studied in the Allahabad University. It is such a pity that one of the most instructive, interesting and useful branches of knowledge is absolutely neglected on the banks of the Ganges and the Jumna. No University Curriculum can be called complete or even decent if Natural Science is omitted from the Curriculum.

If my humble voice can ever reach the University Hall of Allahabad, its Syndicate or its Senate, through these pages, I would say to the Allahabad University, "Let there be more Science, more than merely the Physical Science, let there be something more of *Science* in the shape of Botany, Zoology and Geology, of the study of each of which there is the most urgent need in this country. We have had hitherto in all our Indian Universities enough, aye, more than enough of History and Philosophy, Ancient and Modern; we have had enough of Political Economy and Political Philosophy; we have been literally glutted with the study of Oriental and Occidental Classics. We are now having Archaeology and Epigraphy. Let them all be there; but the 'cry in the desert' of men like me is, let there be more 'Natural Science' taught to the Indian University student; nay, let there be due, if not ample, provision made for teaching Natural Science in our Indian Schools and Colleges. It is a long way off from England to India. The cry of such illustrious Scientists as Charles Darwin, Sir Joseph Hooper, Professor Huxley, Professor Flower, and Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury), is a far-off effort, as spontaneous as it is genuine and generous, calling upon the Government of India, through the Secretary of State for India to encourage the study of Indian Zoology by the publication of that excellent series edited by Mr. W. F. Blandford,

under the name of the 'Fauna of British India.' "

My meaning will be plainer if I quote some passages from a paper which I had the honour of reading before the Science Section of the Centenary meeting of the Bombay Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, on 19th January, 1905. The Science Section meeting was presided over by the Reverend Dr. D. Mackichan, Vice-Chancellor of the Bombay University. With reference to the publication of the above-mentioned Zoological series entitled the "Fauna of British India, Ceylon and Burma," I have said as follows in my afore-said paper:—

"What was accomplished by 'Hooker's Flora of British India' in the field of Botany is now being accomplished by the series entitled 'the Fauna of British India, Ceylon and Burma', under the Editorship of Mr. W. F. Blandford, F. R. S., the last product of which was published in 1904. It is encouraging to note that this elaborate attempt to help the students of Indian Zoology, under the auspices of the Secretary of State for India in Council, is the outcome of an earnest and spontaneous appeal made by distinguished English Naturalists, whose honoured names deserve a lasting place in the gratitude of Indian Naturalists. I cannot better substantiate my remarks than by a direct reference to the sentiments of Mr. Blandford himself, as contained in the very first volume of the series which he has published as his own work entitled 'the Mammals of India,' (1888—1891). 'The need for new and descriptive works on Indian Zoology', says Blandford, 'had for some years before 1881 been felt and discussed amongst the Naturalists in India, but the attention of the Government of India was, I believe, first called to the matter by a memorial, dated 15th September of that year, prepared by Mr. P. L. Selater, the well-known Secretary of the Zoological Society of London, signed by Mr. Charles Darwin, Sir Joseph Hooker, Professor Huxley, Sir John Lubbock (Now Lord Avebury), Professor Flower and by Mr. Selater himself.' The memorial was in due course presented to the Secretary of State for India in Council. It recommended the preparation of a Series of Hand-Books on Indian Zoology and Mr. Blandford's appointment as Editor of that Series. This appeal of Mr. Charles Darwin and his co-memorials was fully and promptly accepted. The day

when this was done will ever remain a red-letter day in the annals of Indian Zoology. Indian Naturalists, of all shades and capacities whatsoever, cannot be sufficiently grateful to the learned and disinterested British Memorialists for the mightily encouraging stimulus they have independently and unsolicitedly given to the further progress of Indian Zoology. May the beaming torch they have lighted shine brighter and brighter in days to come, and show us the bright-beaming light we have hitherto wanted! This light comes from the West to the East."

Now, while I am completing my paper of which this is the concluding portion, well may I ask, what our Indian Universities have done to avail themselves of the vast materials which have been published up to date for the benefit of *Indian* students of *Indian* Zoology! Is there any prospect near or even remote, for our Indian students of Zoology, of being blessed with a tutorial staff *in* at least *some* of our advanced Schools and Colleges? Or, is it to be a cry in the desert from such of us as are hungering and thirsting for more knowledge, in Indian Botany, Zoology Geology, Palæontology and Mineralogy? To the learned Memorialists of London, some of whom, alas, have passed away, it will be a poor consolation to find that our Indian Universities are centuries backward in teaching *Science*. I have before me, just as I am finishing this paper, an English Translation* of Dr. Francois Bernier's Travels in the Moghul Empire of India, undertaken so far back as 1656-1668 A. D. Bernier was a very learned man, and a Doctor in Medicine of the Faculty of Montpellier. He had travelled much throughout Europe before he visited India. He seems to have been a great observer of men and manners. After seeing the then existing state of society in Hindustan, he makes observations which may be made applicable, especially as regards the study of science, to even the present day, speaking *generally*, if not literally. The learned Traveller says thus:—

* Published by Archibald Constable, London, 1891.

"A profound and universal ignorance is the natural consequence of such a state of society as I have endeavoured to describe. Is it possible to establish in Hindustan academies and colleges *properly endowed*? Where shall we seek for *fountains*? Or should they be found, where are the scholars? Where the individuals whose property is sufficient to support their children at College? Or if such individuals exist, who would venture to display so clear a proof of wealth? Lastly, if any persons should be tempted to commit this great imprudence, *yet where are the benefices, the employments, the offices of trust and dignity that require ability and science, and are calculated to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student?*"

The italics are mine.

In our Indian Universities there are many endowments; but only a few, very few indeed, fall to the lot of the student of Science. There is no man possessed of enormous wealth that need be, under the present rule, afraid of making a display of it by founding a chair or two of Science in our Indian Universities. No body would venture to call him indiscreet for such a display. But it is rare to find a rich man sufficiently cultured to even think of using his wealth in that direction. The late Mr. J. N. Tata was a noble exception. Moreover, I have observed in my former papers that science students, generally speaking, after taking their degrees in Natural Science, do not pursue their studies in after life. The reason is not far to seek. In the words of Bernier, I have already mentioned it. Briefly it may be said that "there are no prospects for the really scientific man"; no employment, no office of trust or dignity, nothing "to excite the emulation and the hopes of the young student." Let me quote one more passage from my Centenary Paper mentioned above, which I think, will be an appropriate termination of my present contribution to the pages of this Magazine:—

"Sir John Lubbock (now Lord Avebury) as President of the 4th Congress of Zoology, held at Cambridge in August, 1898, in his inaugural address observed thus:—'We are, in fact, on the threshold of the

Temple of Science. Ours is, therefore, a delightful and inspiring Science. What a blessing it would be for mankind if we could stop the enormous expenditure on engines for the destruction of life and property, and spend the tenth, the hundredth, or even the thousandth part on scientific progress! Few people realize what science has done for man; and fewer still, how much more it would still do, if permitted! From a practical point of view, especially as regards our food supplies and the prevention of disease, the future progress of Zoology will, doubtless reward us with discoveries of great and practical importance. More students would devote themselves to Science if it were not so systematically neglected in our schools, if our boys and girls were not given the impression that the field of discovery is well-nigh exhausted."

On these glorious words of Lord Avebury, I have in the paper from which the above quotation is taken, made the following remark:—

"If these glorious words of Lord Avebury apply to Great Britain, how much more truly can they not be applied to India? How can we fail to utter the same cry that has been heard from the lips of one who has been a mighty worker and a profound thinker in the entire field of Natural History, the pages of which he has adorned with his exquisite pen for many years as an earnest and devoted student of Science?"

K. R. KIRTIKAR.

STUDENTS AND PUBLIC MOVEMENTS

THE acquisition of knowledge, the training of the body and the mind, and the formation of character,—these are the things that students should mainly attend to. Grown-up students may and should take part in the public life of the country in such a manner as not only not to interfere with their main work, but rather supplement it. Occasions may arise in critical times when the latter must devote their time and energy to the work of their country even to the detriment to their studies; for they also are members of the body politic; and, moreover, taking part in public life helps in the acquisition of knowledge from experience and in the formation of character. In many countries students have taken part not only in political movements but have fought the fight of independence and lost their lives in the battle field. But it is plain that they must not assume or aspire to leadership or take a leading part in any public movement; they ought rather to be intelligent and observant onlookers

with a view to the acquirement of knowledge, and, if need be, the helpers and intelligent instruments in the hands of the leaders. For leadership requires judiciousness and ripe wisdom; but the attributes of youth are energy and enthusiasm rather than calm judgment and mature wisdom. In the world's history there have been, no doubt, rare examples of specially gifted young men who have displayed the highest qualities of leadership, but we are not here speaking of exceptional men.

This is our answer to the question whether students should take part in political and other public movements. The part that our boys and young men have taken in public movements has been of this subordinate description, that of onlookers, listeners and helpers. They have never been members of our political associations, delegates to the congress and conferences, or electors of these delegates; nor have their votes or opinions been taken in our conferences, congresses and political associations.

We hope no one is so foolish as to think that political agitation is in itself bad and demoralising, like lying, stealing, drunkenness, gambling or betting on the race-course; or that a movement like the Swadeshi movement meant for the public good corrupts men's morals. Political agitation and public movements like the Swadeshi movement are neither illegal, nor immoral, nor irreligious. Those, therefore, who are opposed to students having anything to do with such movements cannot say that those who participate in them must inevitably become degraded. So the grounds of their opposition may be as follows: (1) students are unable to understand these things, or do not possess sufficient knowledge and judgment to arrive at correct conclusions on these matters; (2) participation in them leads to the waste of time and hence interferes with their studies; (3) they cause distraction of mind, which interferes with their studies, and they bias the mind; and (4) they induce habits of disobedience, lawlessness and resistance to authority, and thus "subvert the traditional foundations of Indian family life." These objections deserve consideration.

(1) Students are of various ages, and at different stages of intellectual development. What a schoolboy of 10 or 11 cannot understand, a graduate or a law-student of 20 or 22 can certainly understand. The intellectual development and maturity of judgment of all men are not equal at the same age. Pitt the younger governed an empire at 23. He or the like of him may have been exceptions; but it cannot be said that students as such cannot understand the object or significance of public movements. Take a concrete instance. A young man passes the Entrance or F. A. examination and engages in trade or accepts a post in some office, or manages his paternal estates. His class-fellow goes on with his studies, passes the B. A. or M. A. examination and begins to study law. In such a case, will the more cultured law-student

be considered less capable of taking intelligent interest or part in public movements simply because he is a student, than his quondam class-fellow, who may, no doubt, sometimes possess more knowledge of affairs? We are not speaking of a purely imaginary case. There are hundreds of municipal commissioners, members of district boards, traders, merchants and landholders, who are not as well educated as the students of higher classes in colleges, but who are considered fit to take part in, express opinions on, and even to be leaders in public movements. Some of them are not even more advanced in age than advanced students. We speak of age, as mere book-learning does not impart maturity of judgment or wisdom. As years pass, men grow wiser and maturer in judgment through experience. But we should not forget that mere length of days does not add to one's experience. A man must have the power to acquire experience, must have, that is to say, the power of observation, understanding and reflection. A thoughtful and intelligent man will acquire more experience in a year than an unthinking dullard in all his life.

It should also be borne in mind that in all countries, including those where political life is the most active and freest, of all those who take part in public movements, the number of thinkers is small, the duty of thinking is left to the select few, the majority are followers and take their opinions and methods of work "ready-made" from the leaders. If these unthinking followers can follow, why not grown-up students?

As to maturity of wisdom and judgment, we find in our country that those men please themselves by considering themselves wise who are extremely timid and worldly-wise, who find the seeds of failure lurking in every good movement, whose guiding principle in life is "every one for himself, and none for his country", who are afraid to speak the

truth that offends the Englishman, and who boast of their pessimistic experiences to throw cold water on every good project. Far better than these men are inexperienced and educated young men with the fresh enthusiasm of faith and hope and the courage of their convictions. They may make mistakes, but they have life; the wordly-wise men spoken of above are dead. Middle-aged and old men should not think that their judgment and conclusions must be right in every case. It may not always be possible to judge of the present or the future by their past experience. History repeats itself, no doubt; but it does not mean that nothing more than or different from what one has seen or read of can happen in the future. It rather means that as in the past history of man national rejuvenescence has followed national decrepitude, national activity has succeeded the torpor of ages, liberty has followed slavery, so shall it be in the present and in the future. It would be a mistake to think that no event or turn in the affairs of man which is of an unprecedented description can happen. In this universe ruled by infinite wisdom and infinite power, many new things have still to happen. Did the old and middle-aged men of India get any previous inklings of the new life that is undoubtedly stirring in the country? It is the babes that awake earliest at dawn of day and are the most eager to greet the light of the morning. Similarly in the history of man, too, youth may awake earliest, youth may see first the light breaking after the long night of national dependence, decline and torpor. We should not, therefore, despise or ridicule their hopefulness and enthusiasm. It may and does sometimes happen that our old experience prevents us like a blinder from seeing the new light.

The way in which our students take part in public movements does not make it indispensably necessary to have ripe wisdom, sober

judgment or a trained intellect. They hear speeches, clap their hands, carry flags, distribute handbills, and when necessary, even carry chairs and benches, &c. For work of this description a Bright, a Cobden or a Gladstone is not required. Our students have done "picketing" work in front of shops dealing in foreign goods, requesting, exhorting, entreating people not to buy foreign articles. This work, too, does not require high intellectual or spiritual equipment; even children of 10 or 12 can do it. It may be argued that youth is hot-blooded, and may proceed from entreaties to high words and ultimately to blows. But such cases, if any, have been rare and can and ought to be dealt with according to the ordinary rules of domestic or school or college discipline, or, if need be, the Penal Code. Under such circumstances, the multiplication of restrictive or penal legislation is the height of unwisdom. Of course, "picketing" is considered highly reprehensible by official and non-official Anglo-Indians. It may touch their national pocket. But we do not see why it is morally indefensible. Coercion is bad, persuasion never is. In Christian countries, which are also the most drunken, one form of missionary work is for temperance-workers to stand in front of liquor-shops to prevent by persuasion, and sometimes even by gentle force, men, women and children from purchasing liquor. Nobody, except the liquor-dealers, objects to such a practice in Christian countries, though it does certainly interfere with the absolute freedom of purchase. We know foreign cloth, sugar, &c., are not like liquor, injurious in themselves; but their purchase is in our opinion bad for the nation. But that is not the main question. The Anglo-Indian objection is professedly based on the principle of non-interference with the freedom of purchase, and we think we have shown that in his own country he does not object to picketing in one form. Hence it is clear, when in India he objects to the same

practice in another form, the disturbing element of self-interest comes in.

(2). It is true that some expenditure of the time of students is involved in attending political or other public meetings or taking part in public movements. The question is whether we should call it waste of time and whether it must be held to necessarily interfere with their studies. Let us see. Who has told the Government of India that our public movements have generally and seriously interfered with the studies of our boys and young men? Have the universities, have the Colleges, have the schools complained? Did Government consult them, as clearly they had a right to be consulted? Sir H. Risley's circular letter to the Provincial Governments on the subject does not mention any such thing. It seems then that Government has come to a conclusion without enquiry in proper quarters.

Students do not, cannot and ought not to, devote all their waking hours (*minus* the time spent in eating, bathing, &c.,) to study. Is it waste of time on their part to devote to public movements, to attending political meetings, to listening to the speeches of the leaders of the country, the leisure time which they spend or would otherwise spend in idle gossip, loafing, card-playing, smoking away cigarettes, and the like? Certainly not. But the objector would say, but they spend not their leisure hours alone, but other time also in public work, &c. It is admitted that this is sometimes true. But is legislation the proper remedy? Can it ever be an effective remedy? Consider what an amount of espionage (and espionage is demoralising to the watcher as well as to those who are watched) would be necessary to make any disciplinary rule against attending public meetings, &c., effective. Even then we are sure it will never be practicable to enforce it properly. Is such a disciplinary measure sincere? We think not. For up to the present time even

in Bengal where the political ferment has been the greatest, a far larger number of students have wasted a far larger amount of their time in card-playing and other idle games, in *bāra-yāris* (caste or village festivals including the indigenous theatricals called *jātras* celebrated by public subscriptions), in attending theatres where prostitutes are actresses, in holding amateur theatricals, in the idle occupation of spectators at cricket, foot-ball and hockey matches, &c., than in public movements (including the Swadeshi and the boycott) and attending political meetings. How is it that Government never took steps to cope with this greater waste of time, and now issues a rescript to check the political activity of students? The Calcutta theatres have been the ruin of a large number of students. Government has never done anything in the matter by way of restricting the liberty of students. Brothels and grog-shops in the vicinity of, and in streets and lanes leading to, educational institutions are as much in evidence now as before in spite of public protests. Cigarette-smoking is and has been for years a great curse to students. Government has never stopped their sale to minors, though such a law exists in many countries. We frankly say then that we do not believe that the present circular is the outcome wholly or mainly of a desire to do good to the students. The pestiferous moral atmosphere of the Calcutta theatres attended by students certainly vitiates their minds, if it does not produce worse results; but participation in political movements may lead at the worst to waste of time. The time lost in witnessing a play in these theatres is not the only loss of time. Every one acquainted with students messes and hostels knows how after the night of a theatrical performance, day after day students spend their time in discussing the merits of the actresses and worse. Political meetings also lead to subsequent private discussion, but they have their uses and no

demoralising effect. So it is easy to see which is the greater evil. It must not be supposed that the trend of our argument is that as students have been wasting their time in a dozen other ways, there is no harm in their wasting their time in an additional and new way. That is not what we drive at. What we mean to suggest is that the new restrictive circular letter is not the outcome of beneficence, but of the desire of the despot to crush nationality and of the exploiter to suppress the Swadeshi movement; for has not Lord Curzon told us that administration and exploitation are but the different aspects of the same operation?

It is true, as we have said before, that study is the main object of a student's life, with which, speaking generally, nothing ought to be allowed to interfere. So the general principle to be followed is that students may devote their time and energy to public movements only to such an extent as would not interfere with their studies. But as in the case of the other general rules, allowance must be made for exceptional occasions and circumstances. If there be any festival in a family, street, village or town, students waste much of their time in merry-making. Within certain limits this is allowable; but if the limits are exceeded, they are and should be curbed. But suppose there is illness in the family, suppose the father or the mother, a brother or a sister, falls ill. The care and nursing of the sick cannot be neglected. In most families the boys and young men have to do this work to the great detriment to their studies. What shall we think of a young man who would not attend a sick parent because he has no time to spare from his studies? Similarly, when one's motherland is afflicted, even a young student may be allowed to sacrifice his studies for the service of the nation so far as it lies in his power; for, the services of the adult population may not be available to a desirable extent in politically backward

countries or may not suffice in all cases. We have said before that many a student in many a land has laid down his life for his country in the battle-field. No doubt, the "cool-headed," "practical," "sober" man of "mature" wisdom will say, this is all nonsense, it is no argument, it is mere sentiment; a mother is a mother, but the motherland is a mere figure of speech. We confess we are guided by sentiment, if it be of the right sort; and being foolish to that extent must not argue further with people who are extremely level-headed. We will only say that even from the most matter of fact point of view one's debt to one's motherland, to the nation to which he belongs, is at least equal to one's debt to one's parents. But we do admit that the service of one's parents is almost always sincere, whereas the service of the motherland is sometimes due to love of excitement, notoriety, popular applause, or worse. But it is not the part of wisdom to counsel the giving up of even the genuine thing in the attempt to eschew its counterfeit. On the contrary we should try our best to inculcate on all Indians, young and old, genuine spiritual love and devotion to the motherland.

Much can be learned by attending political and other meetings and taking part in public movements. These, therefore, supplement the work of the class-room. They also provide training and inspiration for our future citizens. We know, of course, that all political or other meetings are not of the right sort from this point of view. But because some may produce a bad effect on the minds of the young, all need not be eschewed.

Many persons take it for granted that unless a student devotes all his time to study, he cannot acquire knowledge. This is not true. In America hundreds of students maintain themselves and pay the expenses of a University education by labouring in the fields, by doing menial or other work in hotels and stores, by being municipal lamp-lighters, &c.

In India many students do the work of private tutors morning and evening. If the acquisition of knowledge is possible under these circumstances, we do not understand why some time spent in attending meetings, &c., and this is not done every day or even every week, must interfere seriously with one's studies.

(3). It is true that participation in public movements may divert the minds of the students from their proper work. That many idle games and sports like card-playing in which students engage, and that presence in theatres where prostitutes are actresses and similar occupations, have this tendency, will not be denied. The difference between the two kinds of distraction is that in the latter there is no gain to anybody, but in the former some advantage accrues either to the students or their country or both. But still under ordinary circumstances we would not have students participate in public movements to the point of distraction.

Here an important point falls to be considered. Student life is a stage of preparation. One may ask, preparation for what sort of future career or life? Do we want the students to be mere monastic book-worms, or useful citizens? We should think that they should have such a sturdy and hardy manhood that no evil influence can undermine the sanity of their mind and character. There is a Sanskrit verse which lays down that they alone are self-possessed whose minds are not affected even when the cause of perturbation exists.* Hence we should not make our students like those children whose parents by excessive clothing and excessive protection against sun and rain and cold have made them so tender that the least exposure brings on illness. Let them be accustomed from their early years to distraction and excitement. We do not say, throw them into

the whirlpool of excitement, or the fire of distraction, all at once. But we do firmly say, inure them by degrees to the real agitating, exciting and perturbing facts of the world; let them learn to be self-controlled and moderate in speech and action, in the midst of excitement and sensational incidents. Theirs is not to be a cloistered calm, but the calm in the centre of the storm. If you be a real well-wisher of the students, tell them not to forget the main objects of their stage of life, even while participating in public movements. And it is not political movements alone that produce rancour and party feeling and warp the judgment. Religious movements have done it to a far greater extent. But rancour and party-feeling are not the necessary or only outcomes of religious and political activity.

(4). We have now to consider the last objection. We find some difficulty in understanding the terms of this objection. What kind of lawlessness does political agitation breed? Let us say once for all that we do not think it lawlessness for students to do anything contrary to such arbitrary circulars as the Carlyle Circular or the Risley Rescript. If bureaucrats do, we differ on first principles. Lawlessness must be understood in its universally accepted sense, the sense in which it is understood in all civilized countries. And in this sense, we emphatically say that our students as a class have never been, nor ever have shown a tendency to be, lawless. Let those who think otherwise confront us with facts. As to disobedience also, we do not think even students are bound to obey without protest every order, however unreasonable or arbitrary, issued by superior authority. But, as a rule, they should be amenable to school or college discipline, and that, as a class they have always been to a far greater extent than students in Western lands. As for resistance to authority, the history of England and Scotland is the history of resistance to despotic

* विकारहेतौ सति विक्रियन्ते येषां न चेतांसि त एव धीराः । कु ।

authority ; and our students would be less than men if they did not think it their duty to learn the correct lesson from British history and literature. It has been always the favourite device of autocrats and bureaucrats to hurl anathemas against lawlessness, disobedience and resistance to authority, when they really intended to suppress protests against or resistance to their own lawlessness, their own disobedience of the divine law of righteousness, and their tyranny. Neither our leaders nor our students have ever resisted the just exercise of authority ; even when authority has been arbitrarily exercised we have erred generally in the direction of non-resistance. It is sheer impertinence on the part of officials to think that Indian parents and instructors do not understand the difference between rowdiness and a spirit of independence, or between disobedience and courage of conviction. The real reason why Sir H. Risley has issued this edict seems to us to be a desire to crush the spirit of nationalism at the very incipient stage. If Lord Minto's Government had said so with brutal frankness, what a relief it would have been. But we do not appreciate the philanthropy which professed anxiety for the "traditional foundations of Indian family life" without having FIRST done ANYTHING to adequately punish and extirpate those demons in human shape in East Bengal who have organised a campaign of rape. What other foundation of family life can remain if the chastity of womanhood is outraged with impunity ? Gangs of scoundrels have been roving in search of prey in parts of East Bengal and committing depredations unchecked. Evidently, Government thinks our students are more dangerous and require more curbing, and more urgently, too, than these scoundrels. What a fine sense of proportion and urgency it has !

Lét us, however, suppose that Government is sincerely desirous of securing the traditional foundations of Indian family-life. It perhaps

refers to parental authority and filial obedience. If so, it is a gratuitous supposition that our boys and young men participate in public movements without the consent of their parents or in disobedience to their parental authority. It may be true in a very few cases, but in the vast majority of instances it is not so. But supposing the official supposition is true, is it within the province of the duties of a State to prop up parental authority ? If it be, we would challenge the Government to be consistent and thorough-going. Large numbers of persons become converts to Christianity or other faiths against the wishes of their parents or other guardians. Can or will Government legislate to prevent such conversions in order to uphold parental authority ? Can or will Government stop all preaching which incites people to forsake their ancestral faiths and thereby disobey their parents ? Can or will Government stop the Zenana missions, which undermine in the sacred area of the Hindu home itself the foundations of family life, and often kidnap young girls ? Every plank in the social reform platform goes against the rooted beliefs of the *orthodox* Hindu community. But large numbers of our young men are supporters of these reforms, *clearly in disobedience to parental authority*. Will Government for the sake of consistency legislate against students having anything to do with the social reform movement ? Taking the official supposition that our boys are Swadeshists, boycotters, picketers, congress volunteers, "national volunteers" and honorary hawkers of country-made goods, against the wishes or injunctions of their natural guardians, to be true, it is also true that they (such of them as are) are adherents of religious or social reform movements in far more pronounced antagonism to the opinions and authority of their parents. No doubt, officials possess sufficient arrogance to think that they know more about our

social and family conditions than we do. But that arrogance will not deceive us. Nor will the professed desire to do our boys good deceive. There is a Bengali proverb to the effect that she who loves a child more than its mother is a witch. And we think it incredible, too, that disciplinary rules which are really necessary and good for schools and colleges should not have been introduced long ago in England, but should have been reserved for the special benefit of Indian students and their teachers; for, we suppose, there is some political agitation in England, too, in which English students take interest and part. Is it a fable that political subjects, *contemporary, present-day, current* political topics, are discussed in English University Unions and Debating Societies? Is it a fable that students take part in electioneering campaigns in England? Is there less scholarship in England for that reason? Or are the traditional foundations of *English* family life sapped thereby? Or is the insulting suggestion meant to be made that the traditional foundations of *Indian* family life are laid in abject servility? Indian students are far more tractable and far less rowdyish than English students. If it be said, England is not India, that is equivalent to saying that repression of patriotic feeling is not required there, but is necessary here for the perpetuation of slavery. Even if English students did not take part in public movements, ours should. For England is a free country, but we have yet to win freedom; and the students are our future workers, who require training.

Taking part in religious, social and other movements and attending religious, social and other meetings also divert the minds of students from their studies, cause loss of time, and when they are of a reforming tendency, they induce disobedience and resistance to parental authority. We, therefore, think, that students should be forbidden by Govern-

ment for consistency's sake to attend all meetings of whatever description and to take part in all public movements. Students should also be provided at Government expense with patent ear-stoppers, when they go out for their walks or for marketing &c.

Students should prepare themselves for the work that they must do in life. It is the duty of every man to join and further all movements for the public good. Public life like everything else requires a long period of apprenticeship. We, therefore, do not see any harm in advanced students taking such subordinate part in public movements as they are fit for and as they may be assigned by the leaders of the community. Nay, it is necessary that they should do so. There is not the least harm even in small boys listening to the speeches, no matter if they be political, of good speakers, and attending great political gatherings for witnessing such inspiring scenes. The seeds of patriotism should be sown early in life. Even boys and girls should receive lessons in patriotism; but we cannot understand how such lessons can be entirely non-political. Not only should they receive lessons, but even they should be asked to *do something* and *sacrifice* something for their country. Just as in a family, even little children do household work according to their humble capacity, so also in the household of our motherland, even children and youth must practically feel and show that they are parts of a whole. The mere acquisition of knowledge is not their whole duty. The actual value of what they do and sacrifice for the motherland does not much signify, the feeling of membership of the national family is the real thing. Of course we do not mean that there is no other work for the country except political work that is patriotic. But we cannot exclude politics. Children kept entirely segregated from politics can never become thoroughly patriotic. The Empire Day celebration in schools is a political celebration. But

it is a celebration from the English point of view. If such a celebration is permissible for English and Indian boys, why proscribe politics in India, except to insult her and perpetuate her slavery? In England and other civilised countries even in elementary schools boys are taught the duties of citizenship. Many other methods are adopted there to rouse patriotic feelings in their breasts. In our country, unlike European and Eurasian boys, Indian boys cannot become volunteers. The books they read do not and cannot contain a single passage appealing to their patriotic feelings or their spirit of independence. And now they must not even attend public meetings and listen to political speeches. We think Government should now order them not to read any Indian newspaper and gradually close all schools and colleges.

What is history but to a great extent politics exemplified? If students are allowed to read history, we do not understand why politics should be tabooed to them. No doubt, the officialised Calcutta University has already begun to be consistent and has practically "boycotted" all history. As we showed in a note in our April number, a man may now graduate M. A. in Calcutta without knowing any history! In western countries, however, not only is past history not tabooed, but even contemporary history, which is almost synonymous with politics, is taught in such school journals as the *School World* published by Messrs. Macmillan and Co.

Political science is a branch of study in the Allahabad University. Has it any connection with politics or has it not? In teaching it, must the professor draw, is it possible for him to draw all his illustrations from past history? It is no doubt true that past politics do not excite, perturb or distract the mind as much as present day politics. But we have said before, that the aim is not to avoid all disturbing causes, but to become self-possessed in the midst of them. Lee-Warner's *Citizen of India* was long

a school text book in many provinces of India perhaps it still is. Could it or can it be taught without discussing contemporary Indian politics in the class-room? It is well-known to all teachers that students (both school children and young men in colleges) become thoroughly grounded in what they learn, only if they can verify their lessons by actual observation. This applies as well to history as to physical science. Party struggles, political contests, struggles for independence in various countries in the past, become luminous, and their lessons are driven home to the mind, when we find similar things happening in our own day. We are positive and say from experience that history can be properly taught only with reference to contemporary home and foreign politics. If such teaching cannot be had in schools and colleges affiliated to and recognised by the official Indian Universities, and if we want to give our boys the right sort of education, we must have in increasing numbers thoroughly independent schools.

We agree that in the class-room, in school or college, politics should not be discussed (as that is not the proper work of a school) except what may be necessary to elucidate a passage in a text-book or a lecture; but we think this exception indispensably necessary. Outside school or college hours, there is no reason why school or college buildings should not be used for political or other meetings of a legitimate description. The Risley circular lays down that "If certain students of an affiliated college do attend political meetings, and there so conduct themselves as to bring undesirable notoriety upon their college, or do engage in political agitation in such a way as to interfere with the corporate and educational work of the place, and still more, if such propagandism assumed the form of picketing, and open violence," the local Government would be bound to procure the withdrawal from the college, at any rate for a period, of the privilege of affiliation



KRISHNA AND SISUPAL.
The original painting by RAVI VARMA.

to the University. The very vagueness of the "if"s here is highly dangerous. If any students misbehave, let them be punished according to the laws of the land, or of the College or the University. It is unreasonable to punish their college. We have already said that so long as force is not used, or threats, picketing cannot be objected to. Open violence is punishable according to the Indian Penal Code. Further penalties are superfluous and objectionable.

Sir H. Risley has indulged in some hair-splitting distinctions between schoolmasters, professors and their students. But practically they are all reduced to the same level. Instructors in Government service must observe the conditions of their service. But the curtailment of the liberty of other instructors is highly arbitrary and despotic. The Risley sermon says that "A school-master has a right to his own opinions, as much as any one else,"—then follows a beautiful "but,"—"but he is subject to very special responsibilities, and it is recognized in every civilised country, that these responsibilities limit the extent to which he is entitled to give expression to his individual views."

Sir H. Risley must consider England as the

most civilised country on earth. Will he tell us what political disabilities school-masters are subject to in England? The sermon then goes on to prescribe disciplinary action if the unfortunate Indian school-master with his "special responsibilities" fails to conduct himself as a very good boy according to the bureaucratic code of morals and etiquette. As to college professors, they must also behave like very good boys, though slightly older boys.

With their poor pay and degrading, school-masters and professors have already a hard lot. Now that ignominious conditions are attached to their work, we are afraid educational work is bound to lose all its attractions for all self-respecting men of ability. But we think teachers and professors in independent institutions should not submit to this insult, this encroachment on their liberty. They should go on boldly taking part in politics as hitherto. And those among them who have any manhood in them would perhaps feel impelled to increase their public activity. No one can afford to sell his birth-right for a mess of pottage. He would be a disgrace to his community who would do so.

L'INDE CONTEMPORAINE

"Oh wad some power the giftie gie us
To see oursel's as 'ithers see us!"

SINCE this devout wish of Burns is not to be, what would we not give to know what others outside Anglo-Indian influence think of us and of our aspirations! Even so modest a wish seems difficult always to realise. Every cold weather India receives a thousand American and continental visitors. The majority of

them are mere sightseers, who go over the country whistling for want of thought; to whom India is nothing more than a land of Tajmahals and Fatehpur Sikris, and of a brown seething mass of lank-legged, goggle-eyed humanity in no way to be differentiated from the Abyssinian or the American Indian. There are others who pretend to some-

thing better, and are anxious to give the world the benefit of their experience. Unfortunately for us they prove nothing better than unconscious human gramophones, and record but Anglo-Indian pride, prejudice, and preconceived notions. Of those who have the capacity to see and judge for themselves, independently of the 'Burra' or 'Chota Sahib' at their back to put notions into their pates, or to set them right on matters from finance to famine, how few put their impressions of this land of many woes in black and white, either through modesty or a sense that they should not in any way touch the *noli-metangere* plant of British prestige, or what is more probable still, through a fear of the *et-tu-Brute* cry of Anglo-Indian Society which had petted, lionised and fêted them with proverbial Anglo-Indian hospitality. A small handful of these who have the courage of their opinions, and criticise without fear or favour men, measures, and methods, what martyrdom do they not suffer! Anglo-India cries them down as traitors and ingrates, and the beardless Anglo-Indian Sub from his oracular chair heaps his choicest epithets on their devoted head. They are Paget M. P's.; irresponsible busybodies; cheap notoriety hunters; rabid Anglo-phobists or worse. Anglo-India emptied its vials of wrath on Bryan, not forgetting to have a fling at his humble origin. Pierre Loti it never forgave for having studiously avoided its blandishments. Loti found pleasure in the company of men of "colour" and steered clear of the 'Sahiblog.' For the sin of mixing with the canaille, and the crime of neglecting the 'heaven born,' for his boldness in proclaiming that he had come to India to see the Indians and not the 'sun-dried' bureaucrats, how was he not calumniated! Anglo-India sedulously spread the report that he was a Russian spy and what not! The very title of his book '*India without the English*' set the Anglo-Indian papers raving at the impudence of the thing; it threw these

old women of the male sex into hysterics to think of the day when the wish might crystallize into fact. And there are many more noble souls, whom I need not name, who have suffered as much or more in silence for the sake of truth, for championing the cause of the 'political pariah.'

Men of this category are so rare, so few and far between that we make no excuse in introducing to our readers M. Ernest Piriou, a professor in the University of Paris, whose book *L'Inde Contemporaine et le Mouvement Nationale* is another bright confirmation of the saying that those at a distance see more of the game than those who are in it. The volume forming one of the '*Bibliothèque d' Histoire Contemporaine*' issued by the house of Felix Ancan, is the outcome of one of those tours round the globe which, thanks to the generous foundation of M. Albert Kahn, enable young French Professors of the University of Paris to see and study religious, social and political movements all the world over, to enlarge their horizon, to cosmopolise their views before they settle down to their University work.

M. Piriou has studied India behind the mud walls, in the palaces of its princes, in the mansions of the rich and in the humble dwellings of the middle class. He has mixed with all sorts and conditions of men; he has seen the land as very few have seen it; he has read it as an open book. In his '*L'Inde Contemporaine*' he deals with all those forces which are to-day putting new life into this moribund mass, inspiring it with new hopes and new ideals undreamt of before, shaping out a new India and ushering forth the bright dawn with illimitable possibilities of a glorious day.

Although he treats of subjects that are so well known—the Indian Village, the Indian Town, the New Society, the Political Situation, the Musulman Opposition, the Economic Situation, and the Indian National Congress;—things, that have been discussed threadbare

but all the same these are the questions and problems on the satisfactory solution of which hangs our national progress, our very national existence, and hence, they are never stale, they are of perennial interest to us. The views of a Frenchman, a foreigner, an unbiased onlooker on these matters assume a freshness and novelty all their own and when they are one with ours come upon us as a pleasant surprise. We will not detain the reader any longer from enjoying M. Pirou's views on our political situation. In the present issue, we shall give his views on the Musalman opposition, which, we trust, will be very opportune at a time when the question is agitating the minds of thoughtful people of all sections.

The Musalman Opposition.

"Le bel avantage, que de pouvoir crier aux Hindous ; Nous avons la cangue, mais vous l'avez aussi, et rivee par nos soins".—E. PIRIOU.

The animosity between Musalmans and Hindus.—The uplifting of the Musalman.—The foundation of the Aligarh College.—The *entente* Anglo-Musalman against the Hindus.—The cardinal point of English policy in India.

India is a world. In this vast peninsula which stretches from the Himalayas to Ceylon, one hundred and twenty different languages or different dialects are spoken. The colour of the skin varies infinitely, from the pure white in the north which shades, darkens, colours, bronzes in proportion as we descend southward bordering almost upon the central African black. Look at the crowds which move in the great cosmopolitan towns: what features, what different ethnic types! The ethnographers lose themselves in these varieties. There is, however, a principle of unity, and it is this: India is Brahmanic. It was a branch of the great white race (the conquering races called Aryas) which gave Hindustan its religion and its civilisation. The infusion of Aryan blood was light. But, the influence of these tribes was greater,

specially as they brought a superior civilisation.

However it is necessary to exclude sixty millions of Musalmans, who constitute outside this vast Hindu community, a compact group of dissentients. There is in India at the present moment a Musalman question. To declare that a great current of nationality is carrying the masses of the country towards a unity of which we have already a glimpse, is not to say that all racial hostilities, all rancours are miraculously being swept away before its onrush. No, alas; but who had foreseen that Indian nationalism would give birth to a Musalman nationalism, first sulky, then hostile and aggressive? Question of race? not at all; for the Parsis, though wealthy are in the front rank of the apostles of Indian demands. Some rancours and mistrusts of old, no doubt, but with new susceptibilities and, more than all, a divergence of momentary and partial interests are widening a difference which a clearer sense of common and lasting interests shall, I am sure, bridge over. At any rate the most dangerous enemies of Indian politics are the Musalmans. And they have not stopped midway, they have thrown themselves into the arms of the English so warmly opened to receive them. These irreconcilable enemies of the day before, artificers and victims of the revolution of 1857, are now the bodyguards of the Viceroy.

The Indians when they become very troublesome are shown the sword of the Musalman hanging over their heads. The menace even is not necessary. When the Indians strong in the opinion of the nation, demand simultaneous examinations in London and in India, it is so easy to tell them, with curled lips: "First begin by coming to an understanding amongst yourselves, and by converting the Musalman." The Musalman opposition is a marvellous resource. The English, I beg of you to believe it, know how to draw fine effects out of it.

If ever this misunderstanding, so skilfully nourished, happens to clear up, the English would be the most disconsolate. For this Islamic block is a force, and on this block, this solid point d'appui revolves Anglo-Indian policy.

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The magnificent progress of the Musalman expansion stopped in Asia as well as in Europe at the beginning of the 18th century. By that time there was probably not a nook of Asia to which he had not penetrated by raid or conquest. He even introduced himself into China. One day I was much surprised to discover in the heart of Cambodia, in a miserable thatched hut, some prostrate men who were reciting: "There is no God but God, and Muhammad is his prophet." India, this prey which tempted all the world, was invaded early in the 12th century by the Pathans, then by the Moghuls, coming from Persia and Khorasan, who gave the peninsula a period of prosperity and unheard of splendour. The great Akbar married Rajput princesses; he chose his governors and his generals from among the warlike chiefs of the country. That was a wise Indian policy which gave the 'indigenes' their legitimate share! It was the corner stone of the empire. It was not followed. Aurangzeb, who was a fanatic, wanted to convert by force all his subjects; he raised at Benares, on the sacred eminence, a mosque which still insults the Hindu pagodas. This unwise policy produced its effect. With the passing away of Aurangzeb began the dissolution; Rajputs and Mahrattas accomplished the ruin, and when the Europeans came, there was no empire, but independent fiefs, in the midst of an indescribable anarchy.

The Musalmans of to-day are the degenerate and despoiled children of the Pathans and the Moghuls, or at least they flatter themselves to be so. For how many are there, to speak the truth, in whose veins runs the pure blood of the conquerors? The evaluation is difficult.

George Campbell speaks of five millions. These five millions would be the genuine descendants of the officers and functionaries of the Moghul Court. The other fifty millions and more, are Hindus by race, whom the scimitar or interest, and rarely persuasion, has converted to Islam. Entire villages were circumcised by force. Such conversions in a country like India were necessarily superficial. When a Hindu becomes a Mahomedan, it means that to his ever open list of gods he has added a new deity. Will Allah be so exclusive that so many idols revered from such a long time, and whose resentment is to be feared, must needs be sacrificed? This is what Ibbetson wrote in the census report of the Punjab in 1881, which is the breviary of the Anglo-Indian administrators: "The local saints and gods have still their sanctuaries in villages which are wholly Musalman, and they are regularly venerated by the majority, although the practice is on the decline. The women are the first in this path, and a Musalman mother who neglects to sacrifice to the goddess of the small-pox, endangers the life of her infants...The Brahmins officiate at the marriages side by side with the Musalman priests. The superstitions have remained intact. A functionary relates that having entered an inn one day in a Hissar village, he found there the owners busy purifying the idol in an oil bath, while a Brahmin was reciting the sacred texts. They appeared a little put-out at being surprised in the act, but explained that the Mullah, at the time of his last visit, anxious to see the idol, had ordered them to bury it. But the Mullah was gone, and here, afraid of the vengeance of the idol, they were endeavouring to make reparations for this somewhat rude treatment." And the Brahmins are the most tolerant people on earth. Do we not see them devoutly following the Musalman processions; and celebrating the Muharram festival, like pious Musalmans? This is delightful, and this proves above all, that, when

people speak of fanaticism and irreconcilable hatreds, they deceive us. The Hindus and the Musalmans in the villages live on the best of terms. People often complain of the thousand interdictions and prohibitions, sacred or otherwise, which make of the person, or the dwelling of the Hindu, an object which nobody dare touch. The least movement might bring about such grave consequences! Things being so, provided no violence is offered to his scruples, the Hindu is the most tolerant man in the world.

But the true Musalman is a fanatic. In the towns, where he lives by preference, the dissensions are full of sound and fury. Still these quarrels, which sometimes explode, are a little artificial. The Musalmans form a large part of the city population. They are grouped specially in the north-west and north of India, in the valley of the Ganges. Half the population of Bengal is Musalman. They are numerous in the provinces of the north-west and the Punjab; at Agra, Delhi, Lahore, but lately flourishing capitals and intrenched camps of the Moghuls. Their ancestors lived in these imperial Versailles, great dignitaries and great functionaries or small artisans nourished on the crumbs of the Court. The red sandstone forts and the white marble mosques still raise in profile their delicate cupolas against the clear blue sky, but of the emperors and their Court, only the memory remains. The descendants of those who gave India a period of prosperity and splendour are in misery. They have suffered more than the Hindus, because the power was taken away from them, and because they have not been able to understand or to adapt themselves to the new conditions.

Such a fall is not without bitterness, not without regrets. The Government has had the shrewdness, aided besides by circumstances, to exploit them to its own advantage. In the presence of public opinion, availing itself of this hostility between the Hindus and the

Musalmans, which the Government stirs up to some extent, it may very well say, with all the appearances in its favour: "To go away, would be wanting in duty; let us remain at our post, which has been confided to us by Providence; for the day of our departure will be a signal for civil war. Never, let it be clearly understood, never will the Musalmans agree to be governed by the Bengalis." And the Government turning towards the Bengalis: "Our presence in this country is for your good; for, you know it well, no sooner we withdraw, the Musalmans will make but a mouthful of you." What fine disinterestedness! They only remain at their post to prevent a frightful conflagration. But what precisely is this menace of a civil war? It is, in my opinion, a scare-crow. In the villages the disagreements are so little marked that one would not know how to distinguish the believers of the two religions. But in the cities, we were told, it is not the same. The explosion is always to be feared. In 1893—it is not so distant—blood flowed in the streets of Bombay. In a conflict between the Hindus and the Musalmans 80 persons were killed and hundreds were wounded. And the same year the United Provinces, where the Musalmans form half the town population, furnished other examples of these fanatical explosions, which only a firm hand is capable of restraining. But these troubles are rare. They are severely checked. I know a country of Europe where passions which are not religious, cause, in spite of the display of troops, very serious and specially frequent disorders. And this country has a little more than one-tenth of the population of India. No, if it really exist, this fanatic hatred ready to flare up—although the temptation is great to magnify, and even to stimulate it, for the sake of a very obvious interest,—there is the risk of the most terrible conflagrations. The indigenous police, and the English hand will not be able to extinguish them so easily. Here and there frictions take

place, and burst into sparks. "You see the danger," they cry. I do not see it: India is not a powder mill. There the greater part of the population is peaceful. India need not vaunt its tolerance, she already possesses it. This remark was made to me by a professor of French in the University of Bombay. "Here," said he "Brahmins, Maulvis, Parsi priests, and even Christian priests sit at the same table, without exorcising themselves." It is the climate that requires it. Do you know who are the provokers of these troubles of which I have spoken? Some over-zealous maniacs, who have founded societies for the protection of cows and the sheltering of animals. Bombay possesses a hospital for invalid and infirm animals. The blood flowed for the fault of these persons so tender at heart. Lately, the Maharaja of Cashmere prevented, under pain of death, I believe, the eating of beef throughout his dominions. I admit it is a little hard on the English. The Musalmans eat no pork. And here is an opportunity for playing tricks! Some wicked wags hung up a piece of pork in the Jumma Musjid at Delhi. The Mahomedans made a vigorous repartee: they killed a cow in a pagoda, and with its blood they bespattered the idols... This is anodyne enough. The enlightened Hindus committed similar excesses towards their own co-religionists. And yet the Hindu, with exceptions, is a model of tolerance.

But when the English threaten the Hindus with the Musalman bogey they make an anachronism. Are the Musalmans so terrible, so energetic? This is much less true of the Musalman than of the Hindu—Mahrattas, Rajputs and Sikhs who demolished stone by stone, in the 18th century, the magnificent Musalman edifice—to the great profit of the English.

The truth is that the animosity between the Hindus and the Mahomedans was getting weak and dull with the years. During the revolt of 1857, the common enemy was the

Englishman. The Musalmans passionately took part in it. Since the last thirty years all this has changed. The Hindu is the common enemy of the Musalman and the English, leagued together against all expectation. Surely the volteface is complete and curious. A man who exercised a great influence over his co-religionists, made it his aim to arouse in them the pride of race and a sense of their interests. His name is well known in India: his name is Sayed Ahmed. The master-stroke of English policy was in discerning what precious aid this unexpected and as yet unavowed ally was bringing them. It covered him with caresses it monopolised him. For, not only did it co-operate with him with all its power in the uplifting of Islam, but it accentuated the rivalry between the Musalmans and the Hindus; it cunningly threw among them the apple of discord, so that the newly-born Musalman party soon became, in the hands of the Viceroys, an instrument to oppose the Indian demands with.

Consequently, what has happened? A movement insignificant in appearance in the beginning but in reality very important. It began with the foundation of the Aligarh College in the North-Western Provinces. The founder was a mystic, he had nothing in common however with the Faqirs and the Mahdis, who appear one day and disappear the next disconcerting their followers who believe in the divine incarnation. India has seen a number of these Mahdis, for Mahdism is throughout the Musalman world a chronic phenomenon, but normal like an epileptic crisis. I have already mentioned the initiator: he used to call himself a Syed, that is to say, a descendant of the Prophet. A Punjab proverb, which is put in the mouth of newly converted Musalmans, says:

I was a weaver last year, this year a Sheikh I am;
If grain is dear next year, a Syed I shall become.*

* Another version.

اولاً نداف بودم بعدة گشتيم شيخ * غله چون ارزان شود امسال سيد ميشوم

In other words, it is only necessary to be rich in order to be descended in the direct line from Mahomet. Syed Ahmed had other titles: he was, if not a descendant of the Prophet, at least a Musalman of ancient lineage, and belonged to an influential and respectable family.

The English Government made him a Judge. During the Mutiny of 1857, Sayed Ahmed tried unsuccessfully to restrain his co-religionists. It was easy enough to foresee a severe repression. Syed Ahmed was a witness to it, and since then he reflected on the means to prevent the recurrence of such a thing.

Such was the starting point. I give here the words of Mr. Morrison, the Principal of the Aligarh College, which I visited in 1901: "It was my predecessor especially who received all the confidences and all the projects of Syed Ahmed. The Syed never entered into the details of the teaching and the studies of the College; that was the business of Beck. He spoke English with great difficulty, but as an administrator, he was very able. He often told me how the idea of the College came to him. The revolt of 1857 had left him terrible memories: and a great deal of alarm for the future. The vision of accumulated ruin among his compatriots, the innocent paying for the guilty, haunted his spirit. A second revolt and the whole community would be annihilated. But how to prevent for ever a return of these horrors? By drawing nearer, according to him, the two societies—English and Musalman—which were ignorant of one another, which forgot themselves and swore at heart eternal hatred towards each another. Where were the reasons for this hostility? In fact they existed nowhere: it was only a misunderstanding. The Syed proclaimed abroad his connection with the English: he showed himself eating and drinking in their company. This created scandal; and the cause of the rapprochement was hardly advanced. The

Syed was a seer. The perusal of certain texts of the Quran struck him vividly. He believed these texts to be the voice of the Prophet himself, who spoke to him directly. He believed he heard every day the most distinct call: 'Go unto my people; point ye out to them their fallen condition and raise ye them up.' The means which he definitely resolved upon was the creation of educational institutions. The prejudice of the Musalmans against the Europeans was due to their ignorance. That is how he was brought to devote his life and fortune to the Aligarh College, which I shall take you visit, and which it is our ambition to raise to the status of a University."

The idea of founding this College came to the Syed after much groping in the dark. At first he wrote in Hindustani a pamphlet on the causes of the revolt of 1857, and he requested Sir Auckland Colvin to help him in translating it into English. What he said in substance was that the revolt was due more to misunderstanding than to any ill-will. The English and the Indians live on the same soil without knowing each other, without even making an attempt to do so. They take no steps to understand each other. I may be permitted to add here that what was true in 1857 is still more so to-day: the English do not go to the Indians, and the mountaineers not moving, the Indians take care not to do like Mahomet, and go to the mountain. The remedy, said Syed Ahmed, for this painful situation was to bring together the two races. The day when they will know one another, they shall learn to like, at least to respect one another and the problems of Indian administration shall be very much simplified. Throw open, said he, the Legislative Councils to the 'indigenes'. It is necessary that the authorised representatives of the country should give their advice in the making of the laws. Nothing better could have been said. The idea put forward by the

Syed in 1857 has been successful since, but a thing wholly unexpected, against his own will. When the National Congress pressed to obtain for the 'indigenes' an entry into the Legislative Councils, whose voice was it which was raised in protest? That of Syed Ahmed. The radical of 1858, with the halter round his neck, confessing his error, had the bitterness to see realised a reform betrayed by him, but taken up by others. It was obtained in 1892. At this date, the Syed had been hypnotised by the Hindu peril. Sir Auckland Colvin told us that on reflexion, the project appeared to the Syed adventurous and impracticable. How to bring together, round the same table, men of different races and origins, who have probably not one principle in common, who do not talk even the same language? There will be a nice confusion of languages, not one understanding the other. If you desire on the contrary, that the discussion be really useful, it is necessary that the 'indigenes' who are consulted, should be educated in English, and initiated in western culture to know how to express and to freely discuss their ideas. They should be purged of their local prejudices, and of their dogmatic intolerance. And that is why, before risking a premature experiment, the work of education should be taken up.

That is sensible. This sudden change is not so difficult to understand. The Syed was the very first to be frightened at the consequences of his own proposition. The Hindus, fire speakers, although somewhat loquacious, brilliantly defending the rights of the 'indigenes' the dumb Musalmans painfully following what was being said at the Council table, that is what he saw. There was nothing so pressing as a burnishing up of his co-religionists. It was on account of ignorance that they were not obtaining their legitimate share of political influence. The Government gave its offices to those who could show a diploma; now the Musalmans had their hands

empty. The Syed understood that without the English Government's support he could not build up his educational work: all the more reason for drawing nearer the Musalmans to the English. To them he declared, he preached, he proclaimed his devotion, his loyalty. The misfortune of his compatriots was in keeping aloof from, in looking down upon the English schools, in ignoring the presence of the English government in India: the attitude of sulky and imprudent infants, of silent and useless protestation which would only injure the protestors. The Syed was always preaching a loyal rally round the existing institutions. And why was he brought to oppose the Hindu agitation? May be because he saw in it a disloyal agitation, with complications and dangers, but really because the progress of the Hindus menaced the immediate interests of the Musalman community.

The policy of the Syed is contained in these three words: *Education, loyalty, opposition to the Hindus.*

The worst menace to the future of Islam was, in fact, ignorance. The number of Musalmans who attend the primary schools, is perhaps greater than that of the Hindus: but beyond that, in the secondary schools, at College, in the University, the Musalman student is a rarity. After all the reform of Macaulay is null and void for the Musalman: those who know anything else besides Hindi or Arabic, those who go beyond the education of the mosque, those who know English, and have become Europeanised, they are an imperceptible minority. When I say this, I speak of the first three quarters of the last century. The action of the Syed has completely changed these things. This condition was due to a first ostensible cause: to the secular University education. "If the State," very well said Sir William Muir, "taught Christianity in its schools and colleges, the Hindus and Musalmans would object to

it; for the same reason a Christian government could not teach the dogmas of Hinduism and Islam. The State is not indifferent to the general principles of morality; but all that concerns religion, the State ought to leave it for home teaching." Such is the necessary policy of the English in India. In this conglomeration of religions it has taken part neither for nor against any. It does not recommend even its own; it simply requires that they should live at peace. It was exactly this natural and secular State education which the Musalmans did not want. It excited the suspicion of the least hostile. For it is not sufficient to say like Hunter, President of the Indian Education Commission, that for an orthodox Musalman Education, in the proper sense of the word, includes religious instruction. The fact is that it is almost exclusively religious. The Quran is the basis and the substance of it and it is imparted at the mosque. I have seen at Cairo in the vast ancient mosque of El-Hazar, the Arab students: grown up young men, seated on carpets, their books scattered round them, with a porringer and some Indian-corn bread, reciting aloud the verses with a swaying of the body. What is precisely the value of this education? I have heard it said, that the Maulvis, in India, understand as little of it as their pupils. The Quran is not understood: the true dogma is smothered under the superstitions. This was the authoritative opinion of Syed Ahmad. And when a young man has undergone this sort of training, either he lacks the taste or the time to pursue other studies. The young Brahmins—it is remarkable—have neither these repugnances nor these prejudices: the "Godless" Schools do not disquiet them. Hunter adds another cause: most of the Musalman families are too poor to maintain their children at college during a long course of study.

To be able to draw the Musalmans out it was necessary to solve this double problem:

1st, to combine the teaching of the mosque with that of the University, the Quran with the languages and sciences of the West in the same college; 2nd, to give an education as cheap as possible. Such a college could only be founded by the Musalman community. Syed Ahmed appealed to the generosity of the subscribers, and, for the grants of the Government of India.

This did not go on alone. Nothing alarmed so much some of the best friends of the Syed as this idea of combining the English school with the Mosque. Conservatives clear-sighted enough to divine that out of this formidable competition the mosque will not come out victorious, they feared that their traditions, that their nationality perhaps, would go down in this experiment. The Syed fought for ten years against the indifference of some and the hostility of the others. He had a high and tenacious faith: the Quran did not prevent him from enjoying the Bible. He dreamed even of reconciling them. At any rate, he thought that the mosque had more to gain than to lose from a contact with the University. For all that he so ardently desired was a regeneration of Islam, political and religious. The two did not live apart in his thoughts. He was not afraid of the light of the West. The pure doctrine of Islam—it was his conviction—had nothing to fear from European literature, science, and history. On the contrary—it was his ardent hope—the Quran better known and better comprehended would induce a return to monotheism, which, a parasitic vegetation of polytheistic idolatry, growing in India like the jungle weeds, was choking.

However, if the Government of India had not come to the succour of the Syed, the work would have been in danger. It subsidised the college, and made a free gift of land to it. The Musalman princes, Nawabs, and the most powerful of these the Nizam of Hyderabad, subscribed generously. They

were followed by Hindu Rajas, in particular by the Raja of Benares, whom we found by the side of the Syed breaking lances against the National Congress. In the beginning the Hindu students were more numerous than the Musalman. The distrust took long in dying out. It was only in 1883, under the direction of the English Principal, Theodore Beck, that the College became a Musalman institution. It had opened the elementary classes in 1875. In 1878, Lord Lytton laid the foundation stone. Then the scholars began to flow in, not only from the neighbourhood but from all parts of the peninsula, from the Deccan and the South, in spite of the distance. The two main sections, the Sunnis of the north and the Shias are reconciled at Aligarh. Half an hour is reserved for theological instruction. The success of the College was due to the collaboration of Syed Ahmed and Beck. The Syed by his prestige, by his authority over his co-religionists, made the college popular. He made the students come, and it was Beck who undertook the internal management. To-day Aligarh sends up to the examinations the majority of the Musalman students. In 1900, of 30 Musalmans admitted to the B. A. degree of the Allahabad University, 21 were students of Aligarh. The wish of the Syed was granted. The Musalmans provided with diplomas could now compete with the Hindus. Better still, Aligarh carried a reputation as a model institution. An old boy of Aligarh was a title to be proud of. The best Musalman families were eager to send their children to it.

In 1901, when I visited the College, the two men who had made it successful against all obstacles, were just dead within a short interval of each other. The College could now live without its founders. I have already spoken of the new Principal, Mr. Theodore Morrison. He was giving me very kindly all the details of the history of the College, and of the organisation of the Musalman party,

which, as the worthy successor of Beck, it is his ambition to pit against the national party,* when Madame Morrison opened a door and said only these words : "The Queen is dead." A thunderclap in the room would not have been more effective. The Principal abruptly stopped his words, as if this national grief commanded silence. He confided me to the good care of a young Musalman student, who took me through the corridors and the lecture rooms, for all the professors at this news had dismissed their classes. The college buildings are like those of the English Universities. Each student has not only his chamber and, what in this country is a compulsory accessory, a bath room, but also a study room supplied with useful books, and prints of Queen Victoria, of the great minister Chamberlain, trinkets purchased in the bazars; and a *verandah*. This is for work if one desires it, or for repose. This boarding house is not as with us, a lodging. The student has his home and his liberty. My young guide made me walk over the vast cricket field, then deserted, and he said, full of manly enthusiasm : "We are the first cricketers in India." Of this he was specially proud. That was a piece of English work : Beck made athletics compulsory. An English Judge of Allahabad, in his address to the students of Aligarh, declared : "Whatever powers of decision and judgment I possess, I owe them to athletics."

What a revolution ! Compare this College with the Mosque at Cairo, or rather with the College at Benares, where poor sorry fellows—lean and pale, half naked, legs crossed on their mats, motionless like the Yogis, with a fixed and vague stare,—discourse on the Three Vehicles.

I read in an address to Sir John Strachey, Lieutenant-Governor of the North-Western

* Mr. Morrison is now a Member of the India Council.

Provinces, written under the inspiration of the Syed:—

"While some of our countrymen devote their energy to agitating their political grievances, real or fictitious, we, humble subjects of Her Majesty, have never forgotten the truth of the proverb: First deserve, then desire. We are guided by the profound conviction that our only chance of success under the British government is education; therefore, our principal object is to increase amongst our co-religionists the means of acquiring it.... We are proud to see among the objects of our efforts the elements of loyalty towards the Government at the same time as a desire to advance our own national interests."

The Aligarh College is the first stone of this building. The University movement, according to the Syed, is the starting point of a more extensive movement. The question is nothing less than the political and religious awakening of the Indian Musalman. All thoughts of aggression, for the present, and for the future, against the English domination, have been discarded from it from the outset. On the contrary the Musalmans offer themselves as allies, as Mamelukes, of the existing regime. To be the best Musalman means at the same time the most loyal subject. For, Europeanisation, which to-day is the condition of national elevation, will bring together the two races, which are only separated till now through mutual ignorance.

The ardour, the loyal faith of the Syed, recognised neither limit, nor objection. At the time of the visit of the Orientalist Blunt, he spoke these words, which must have sounded strangely, in the ears of some of his hearers who had not so freely rallied [round the loyalist standard.] "There is certainly nothing in the wish for sympathy between the Musalman and the English to surprise anybody. At no period, has any circumstance been able to give rise to sentiments of hostility between ourselves and the English, either inspired in the English a desire for vengeance, or, in us a jealousy of their growing prosperity." He admitted that the Musalmans were once the masters of India, but he added:

"When the English established their dominion in India, the latter was a poor widow waiting for a husband...and we, we helped in the extension of the British rule, in furtherance of our well-being. We and the English nation, we are joined together like *the two blades of a pair of scissors**...It is our ardent desire that British rule should continue not for a long time, but till eternity in the interests of our country. Therefore, there is no reason to suppose why there should not be sympathy between ourselves and the English, and by sympathy I mean this brotherly and friendly sympathy which we see in Mr. Blunt." And was it really Syed Ahmed who said this? Yes. Therefore, those who imagine that between Islam and England certain memories, not yet forgotten, stand in the way of the rapprochement, or that some cause of discord might arise, they know nothing of history...Is it not rather Syed Ahmed who forgets it in his loyalist fervour? How cleverly he passes the sponge: but do you think that the jealousy, the rancour, the fanaticism which burst forth only half a century ago, a cool, bewitching breeze has made them disappear as if by miracle? The fraternal sympathy of which the Syed speaks is nothing more than a spontaneous outburst of the heart. The truth is that English occupation is an old accomplished fact to which willingly or unwillingly you have to submit, at least in appearance. The old wound has been healing little by little, while a fresh wound, more smarting,—of all the humiliation and self-love, is breaking out and growing bigger. It is the Hindu, the conquered of to-day, who, not content to be richer, more educated, more civilised, is raising his head and demanding noisily a place at the Government table.

That is the miracle, that is the motive, hardly dissembled, of these tender caresses, of these fraternal embraces!

* Did not the Syed say also: "The Hindus and the Musalmans are like the two eyes of a beautiful maiden".

The English, it is well understood, give a vigorous shake to the hand thus offered, not however without misgivings. The advances and coquetries of the Sayed were at first met with a cold reserve. The grants took some years to come. Was this distrust or rather this sentiment due to the fear that in countenancing the rise of Islam and Musalman nationalism there was the risk of creating an enormous force, less manageable and less guidable, which some day might let loose the tempests? I believe so. The Sayed persisted; he carried the day. Sir William Muir, and after him the Lieutenant-Governors of the North-Western Provinces, Sir John Strachey, Sir Auckland Colvin, and the Viceroy favoured the movement. They brought to the College at Aligarh words of official favour. Lord Lytton laid the first stone. They hoped to raise in this way an advanced citadel in the heart of India. "You have a perfect right," said Sir John Strachey at Aligarh "to have national aspirations and not to forget your past. It is a great thing for a people to have a history. I honour the Musalmans for their pride of race and religion, and I am sure that these sentiments allied to those which education and knowledge will give them, will make of them not only men, but the best citizens and the most loyal subjects." Some years after when Strachey wrote his book on India, he was still of the same opinion. "The fear sometimes expressed of a general explosion of Musalmans fanaticism in India, and of a rising of Islam against our government has no grounds to rest upon. If Islam contains elements of political danger, they are nullified by the fact that the Musalmans hate the idolatrous Hindus more than they detest the Christians, and that the Hindus will never desire a restoration of Musalman supremacy. . . The existence side by side of these hostile faiths is one of the strong points in our political situation in India. The better classes of Musalmans are for us a source

of strength and not of weakness. They form a minority, comparatively small, but energetic, whose *political interests are identical with ours*; and who, under no circumstances whatever would prefer a Hindu domination to ours."

That is clear. The alliance is formal, and the cardinal point of Anglo-Indian policy is at Aligarh.

Their political interests are identical with ours: these words must have struck you no doubt. The English like to repeat it. What do they mean? That the Hindu agitation which menaces so many Anglo-Indian interests, threatens for the same reason and in the same manner the Musalman interests. Suppose the Hindus get the power. They are, it must not be forgotten, an immense majority: is it not inevitable that with a government by vote and election the Musalman minority will be swamped? Still more; who can guarantee that the Hindu majority, masters of power, will not yield to the temptation of crushing a minority, whose oppressive fanaticism they have not as yet forgotten? And the English do not spare themselves in exaggerating the peril: they trot out the spectres and the bogies, and make appear in the horizon the bloody clouds which presage merciless wars. They know well, I should think, that these are but half truths. They not only appeal to the interests but to the passions, on which they very cleverly work. It is very fine tactics, enrolling in its service, under colour of espousing their cause, the Musalman party disturbed at the progress of the Hindus.

At the head of their political programme the Hindus place the access to power. And to avoid a foolish bargain, they ask for simultaneous examinations in India and in London. Is it favourable to the interests of the Anglo-Indians? No. Is it against Musalman interests? Yes, at the present moment; because the Hindus have the

chance of outstripping the Musalmans in the competition. The alliance is made on this point. Since 1878 about a sixth of the posts in the Civil Service have been reserved for the 'indigenes.' But contrary to the principles in force the posts are filled on other considerations than success at the competitive examination; at the pleasure of the Viceroy and the governors of the Provinces. The selection is made from policy. Under these conditions, the Musalmans can enter by the back door. They obtain a larger portion of these posts than their competence or their numbers would otherwise assure them. There is the apple of discord. When a commission was appointed in 1888, to study the question of Simultaneous Examination, a long procession of Musalmans was seen to pass in de file before it. Was the Commission convinced that ten Musalman testimonies were not worth one Hindu evidence? At any rate, it appealed to numbers. All the Musalmans pronounced against the Simultaneous Examination: Sayed Ahmed led the chorus. When the National Congress was founded, the Sayed saw in it a disloyal agitation. This is the prelude, thought he, of a second revolt. He tried to give a blow to the Congress by bringing the Nawabs and Rajas together in the "Indian Patriotic Association," which was dissolved soon after. It raised the cry of war against the Bengalis attempting to storm the citadel of power. If the Simultaneous Examinations were adopted, "No face but that of the Bengali would be seen in the Courts of Justice. I am pleased to see the progress of the Bengalis . . . but do you believe that the Rajput and the Pathan would live in peace under the Bengalis?" And further on: 'If the English leave India, to whom will the power belong? Is it possible that the Hindus and the Musalmans would sit on the same throne. No, certainly not. The one will out of sheer necessity push the other down. But, remember that the

Musalmans, although they are less numerous than the Hindus, although there are very few of them who have received a superior English education, are far from being insignificant or weak. Probably by themselves they will be able to maintain their position. Supposing it is not so. Then our Musalman brethren, the Pathans, will run down the mountains, like a flight of locusts,—yes, like a flight of locusts they will course down—and I will make the blood flow from the frontiers of the North to the extreme limit of Bengal."

This war cry remained without an echo. The strange coalition, which formed the Patriotic Association, broke up quickly, while the National Congress of India is full of vigour and life, and the Bengalis are raising the tone of their demands. The Musalman effervescence was artificial. Some one—it was the Principal of the Aligarh College, Theodore Beck—blew vigorously on this fine fire, which went out like a fire of twigs. Beck and Sayed Ahmed are dead. Their policy, imposed by their memory, is followed by a fraction of the Musalmans. A great many others, and the most enlightened, rally round the Hindu opinion. There were Musalmans from the Punjab at the National Congress of 1900. These deserters, every day more numerous, alarm the Nawabs who are still under the fascination cast by the Sayed. I came upon Aligarh in full polemic, and I had the impression that the College was a stirring hot-bed of intrigues. Everybody seemed there busy sharpening arrows. Some one was preparing a series of articles, of which the signatory, an influential Nawab, knew not a word of English. The present Principal Morrison, who feels a vocation as a statesman, has taken up the role of Beck. The *Pioneer* of Allahabad has published several of his articles outlining a vast programme, creation of committees, founding of libraries, and journals. Musalman opinion is only weak, he says, for want of organisation

Shall I risk on the future of Islam in India a prophecy? No, not even a wish. For the worst thing that one can wish is that this enterprise may succeed as their authors desire. To remove the lid of this Pandora box, which is Islam, what short-sightedness! It is far from my thoughts to keep the Musalmans ignorant and inert. Let them be educated, but to momentarily bar the way of the Hindus, by awakening in the Musalmans the pride of race, by rekindling old rancours, by appealing to instincts of envy and brutality, by sowing thus with a secret hand the seeds of discord, this I can hardly understand. Clever you may call it, but what to call such a policy? Such a policy has a band over both eyes. For without being at all a prophet, it would be easy to foresee that Musalman fanaticism once exasperated, will not respect the Europeans. When they have once tasted blood, believe it well, they will prey upon their conquerors. Mr. Morrison shakes his head at this idea. When I asked him what sentiments the Musalmans of India profess towards their brethren of Asia and Europe, he replied: "They know nothing. When they do not know what is passing a few paces from their village, how can they be expected to know what is going on in Europe? They speak Hindustani; a very small number read Arabic. On this account they are unable to know their religion, their history and those of the other Islamic communities." However, some echoes of the Armenian massacres produced a commotion in the Musalman society. They took the Calif's part. At certain dates there are illuminations in India in honour of the Calif of Constantinople. And the Calif, successor of the Prophet, endeavours by sending missions and travellers to keep up intercourse with the faithfuls of Asia.

Now, what they are doing to-day, the diffusion of religious instructions, the teaching of Arabic, the recalling of traditions; all this will make this Pan-Islamic *entente* all the

more easy. May be, the Viceroy will have to count with the Calif one day.

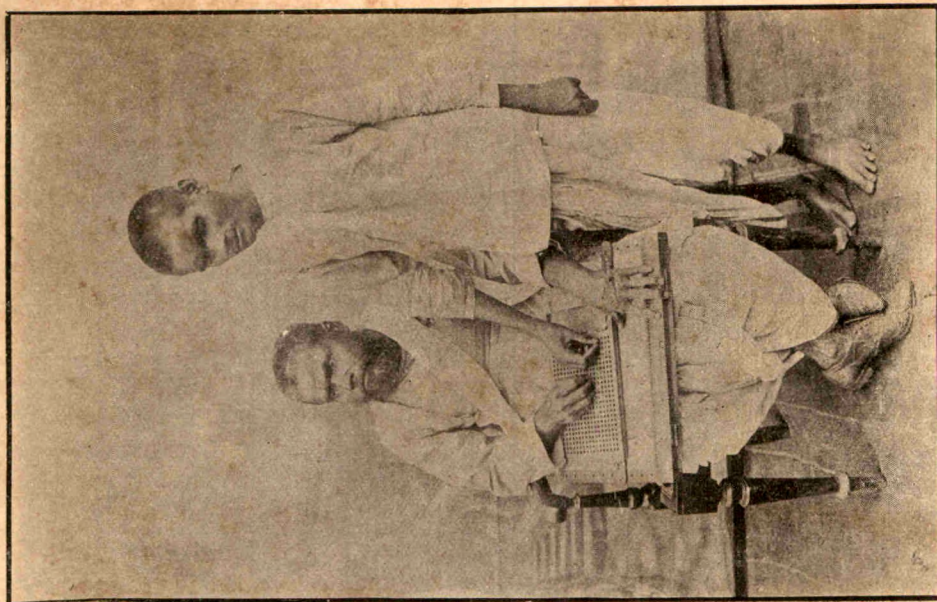
Yet to-day the majority of the Indian Musalmans are Musalmans only in name; adoring idols, observing caste, in what are they to be distinguished from their compatriots? What will be the result of a religious crusade? To bring back these infidels to a more strict observance of the faith; that is little likely; while there is the chance of embittering the religious differences, and of exciting the one against the other, the two communities which were forgetting the little which separated them and were carrying on their reciprocal tolerance to the point of worshipping at the same altar. Allah was not jealous of the homage offered to Krishna!..... There is, I know it, a political question. The Musalmans are not ripe for the reforms demanded by the Hindus, and these coming first will reap all the fruit of it. If the chestnuts must be drawn out of the fire, let it be for the English. No: on account of the English or on account of the Hindus, that is a humiliating role, unbecoming the Mahomedans. The glorious advantage, —is the power to say to the Hindus: We have the cangue,* but you have it also, and riveted through our solicitude. The conflict between the Hindus and the Mahomedans is passing. The Musalmans may stop it by the diffusion of education amongst their community.

I would remind them of the Hindu apologue. Two cats in a village found a loaf of sugar. There came a monkey, who, while they were quarrelling as to who should have it, said, "Peace be unto you! What are you quarrelling about?"—The sugar is mine, said one of the cats.—No, it is mine, interrupted the other.—"It seems to me," said the monkey, "that both of you are right. Bring me a balance." Then the monkey broke the loaf in two and he placed one on each pan. One

*A Chinese pillory carried on the shoulders. The convict is unable to reach his mouth or defend himself from insects, and is thus dependent on the good offices of his friends.



THE PRINCIPAL OF THE BLIND CHILDREN'S SCHOOL
AND HIS CLASS.



THE PRINCIPAL TEACHING A BLIND BOY ARITHMETIC. THE
BOARD WITH HOLES IS THE SLATE, THE FIGURES
ARE WRITTEN WITH TYPES,

INDIAN PRESS, ALLAHABAD.

of these pieces was heavier than the other. To equalise them he bit a portion off it.....and he continued biting off bits until there was nothing left.

"After all," said he, "I have only taken my share for the trouble I have undergone. Peace be with you my friends!"

E. PIRIOU.

AN INSTITUTION FOR THE BLIND

THE first institution for the blind of which there is any record was a hospital merely, namely, that founded by St. Louis at Paris in 1260, specially for crusaders who had lost their eyesight in Egypt. There have been many such hospitals, where no attempt at education was made. J. Bernouilli seems to have been the first (in 1657) to teach a blind girl to write. But it was Valencia Hallé of Paris who in 1784 made the first successful attempt to educate the blind. To him is due the honour of instituting a movement which has resulted in the establishment of institutions for education, and workshops for the training and employment of the blind in all civilised countries. They may be divided into six classes: (1) Schools for resident pupils; (2) a combination of school and workshop, (3) workshops, (4) asylums, (5) school and asylum, and (6) workshop and asylum.

In many countries the State provides for the education of the blind. In India we have not arrived at that stage yet; though the Government and municipal bodies make small grants to schools founded by private persons or societies. The institution of which we are going to speak in this article is called the Industrial Home and School for Blind Children. It is situated at 58, Elliott Road, Calcutta. It was founded in 1897 by its present Principal, Mr. Lal Bihari Shah, a Bengali Christian. Its object is to provide poor and helpless blind children of any creed or caste with a home,

and to educate them in such a manner as would enable them to earn an independent livelihood. The children are admitted free and receive board, lodging and all other requisites free of charge. They are given general education according to the Braille system, and are taught bamboo and cane work as well as music. At present the only industrial work they learn is the making of cane-chairs, *chiks*, &c., but if sufficient funds are received, they may be taught other handicrafts, such as carpentry, mat-weaving, &c. The home is supported by voluntary subscriptions and donations and two annual grants of Rs. 250 each made by the Bengal Government and the Calcutta Municipal Corporation. At the start, the Founder had to spend whatever little money he had and mortgage his wife's ornaments, and thus somehow or other succeeded in his effort to maintain and educate a few blind children. The institution has no building of its own. It is located in a hired house for which it pays a monthly rent of Rs. 62.

We shall now narrate the history of the institution in the words of its Founder and Principal:—

"The Home has a long history of its own, but here I intend to state in a few lines the incidents that led me to found this institution and other important and interesting facts.

"In the year 1894, I had the pleasure of being acquainted with Mr. L. Garthwaite, B. A., (Lond.),

Fellow of the Madras University and late H. I. M. Inspector of Schools, Madras, who taught me the art of teaching the Blind. With all reverence to my teacher, I would like to say that he taught me only the primary method, that is, the formation of letters and characters by means of raised dots. However, after a few month's stay in Calcutta, he went back giving me the following certificate:—"He knows the Blind Alphabet well and can transliterate correctly. He would be able also to teach the Blind."

"Now, before Mr. Garthwaite left Calcutta, he formed an association—THE BENGAL CHRISTIAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE INSTRUCTION OF THE BLIND. It was arranged that I should be appointed teacher of the Blind School which this Association would start. But, nearly four years elapsed and no school was started by the Association.

"However, in November, 1897, I happened to meet the Rev. Mr. Jewson in front of the B. M. Press. The reverend gentleman asked me, after some conversation, why I could not start a Blind School myself. I told him that it was very difficult to get the blind, as most of them were beggars and unless they were given board and lodging, it was impossible to bring them to school, and I being a man of poor means could not venture to start a Home without any funds. He, speaking in the biblical language, advised me not to "have the pound kept laid up in a napkin." He made me remember the verse, "The Lord is my shepherd, I shall not want." Thus we both came to the conclusion that I should start a Home and School for Blind Children without any further delay. We then went under the tree in front of the B. M. Press and Mr. Jewson offered a short prayer to the Almighty Father asking Him to bless the work that was going to be started.

"The next day, I published a circular informing the public that parents or guardians of blind children, who desired such children to be educated, were requested to consult with me. How great was my pleasure when, after a week, I found a blind man coming to my house and desiring to be taught that he might read and write.

"Meanwhile, feeling the necessity of fully mastering the art of teaching the blind, (for, at this stage, I knew only the method by which "blind" letters are made and not the method of teaching Arithmetic, &c.), I began to communicate with the British and Foreign Blind Association of London and brought Instruction Books and apparatus from them. I then came to know

the system well and began teaching the blind man whom I have mentioned before.

"With this blind man, I started the Home and School in the month of November in the year 1897. Next year in March three more boys came.

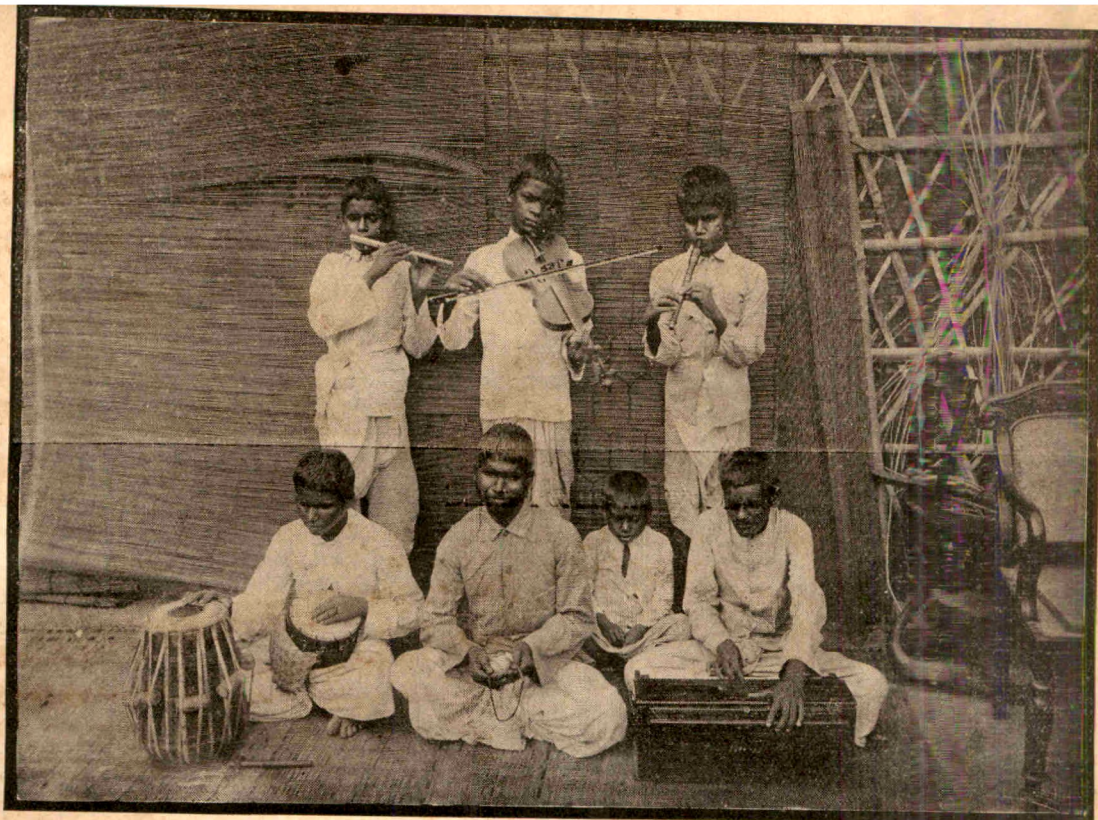
"When these boys, in the course of a year, learnt to read and write, I thought of making my institution known to the public. I went to Mr. K. C. Banurji, M.A., B.L. He examined the boys and granted me a certificate. In March, 1899, the First Annual Meeting of the Home was held in the General Assembly's Institution Hall under the presidency of Mr. Banurji. There was a large gathering, as it was altogether a new thing to Calcutta, nay, to whole Bengal, for a blind man to be able to read and write and work out sums."

There are at present 13 inmates and 2 day scholars. Most of the former are orphans. There are two girls. The first pupil the founder had is now a teacher in the school. Another boy is working as a preacher in Kalua under the Rev. McNicol, two others are with some Indian bands of musicians, and one boy, now a young man of 25, has become skilled in cane-work earning Rs. 15 or Rs. 16 a month.

There are at present four teachers. Mr. L. B. Shah, Principal, his son, Mr. A. K. Shah, Headmaster, Mr. V. C. Nath, music teacher, and Mr. S. C. Sen. The two last named gentlemen are blind. There is also a cane-mistress, while Mr. L. B. Shah has learnt cane-work and teaches the boys himself.

The most advanced of the boys at present in the school, is reading his English Third Reader and Bengali *Bodhoday*. As for Arithmetic, he knows up to Fractional division. The progress in the school has been slow owing to there being no printed books for the blind in Bengali. Mr. Shah has invented a process of printing books for the Blind in Braille characters with types. But owing to want of sufficient funds this important work has not yet been taken in hand.

One of the ex-pupils of the Institution knows as far as Stocks in Arithmetic and Simultaneous Equations in Algebra.



THE SCHOOL BAND.



The history of some of the inmates possesses a painful interest.

A Punjabi blind boy was kidnapped by a man of Calcutta and brought down to that city with the intent of making him beg. The poor boy's state of mind, the lad being only nine years of age and away from parents, may be easily imagined. Again, he was given a scanty fare, and was brutally punished now and then when the amounts obtained by begging were below the average. Under these circumstances the boy soon became seriously ill and was sent to the Campbell Hospital, the authorities of which institution sent him to the Home for the Blind. When he came there, he was totally naked, very thin, unable even to move. He stands on the left side of the violinist in the School Band group, playing on a flute.

A Santal girl has been lately admitted. She was found in a jungle by an officer of the Forest Department, who placed her under the charge of a missionary from whom the Principal got her. With long hairs and nails,

naked, dirty, she could scarcely be recognised as a human being. She at first did not at all speak, and it was thought she could not. But after a fortnight's stay at the school, she was occasionally found to speak one or two words in Santali. Mr. L. B. Shah knows Santali. When he speaks to her, she seems to understand him,—as when told to sit or stand or go, she acts accordingly; but seldom answers. Laughing, running and playing is all that she does. It seems that she likes to be naked. As she understands when spoken to in Santali, it is believed that she was left in the jungle at a very early age. She is now about 11 years of age.

There is not the least doubt that this school should receive generous help from the public and the State. It should certainly be permanently located in a building of its own which should be commodious enough to serve its needs for years to come. When it has received sufficient help, similar homes should be opened in other towns also.

NOTES

Unrest.

The past month has been one of crisis, from the Indian point of view. Unrest is deepening all over the country. Events appear to be precipitated, with undue haste, in the Panjab, as well as in East Bengal, and that not by the action of the People themselves.

To deal first with the question of the Jamalpur Riots and those in its neighbourhood. We quote "Max":—

Mr. Hare will likely find that there are real grievances which will have to be remedied and not merely be ignored or slurred over and a patient listening to these grievances, and setting of them right will lead

to peace; but there is one man to whom no quarter must be given, and that is *the unscrupulous and unpatriotic scoundrel who out of sheer devilment or from some selfish motive of his own, goes about and sows seeds of discord between Hindus and Mahomedans for the purpose of embarrassing the Government and raising in pice to himself.* Such a virulent rascal ought not to be tolerated for a moment. In Russia, they have a quick way of disposing of such human vermin. I am not an advocate of Russian methods in India, but the Government here have ample powers at their command for laying hold of and deporting undesirable persons and they should not be slow to put these powers in operation when they can unerringly lay their hands upon the cowardly miscreant. One such deportation would be quite enough. (The italics are ours).

Now this is excellent, as a proof that one honest and cheerful European gentleman has nothing whatever to say to such doings. But beyond this, "Max" must not be surprised, if the Indian people concerned look at the affair from a point of view much graver than that of his own honest indignation. The lesson that is being taught—whether by 'an unpatriotic scoundrel' or by others, to the East Bengal people, is that they must defend their own homes with their own lives. The outrages committed on women at Jamalpur and its neighbourhood within the last weeks, constitute a provocation which persons of foreign birth and alien civilisation may not perhaps be able to understand. It is a provocation which leaves the people concerned no option. It is useless to treat the question as one between Hindus and Muhammadans. The aggressors in the case were simply local *goondas* and *budmashes*, people as ready to be hired by one side as by the other. Musalman families of the higher classes may or may not significantly be exempted from the attentions of such for awhile. In any case, their immunity could not last. They have as much interest as Hindus in the maintenance of order.

The lesson the Indian people draw is one which would perhaps startle their rulers. There will be no accession of bitterness as between Hindus in general and Musalmans as a whole. Nor will undue importance be given to 'unpatriotic scoundrels.' A far deeper question is being raised in every bazaar and bathing-ghat, and the measures that are afoot may have more serious outcomes, the opinion that is rising may be more difficult to allay, than any now has the faintest chance of guessing. If authority has been unable to protect, it will be no long time ere it finds itself unable to compel. Men whose honour has been stabbed, men whose heads have been brought to the dust, will laugh at threats. They are fast realising that it is to themselves, and not to the costly stipendiaries they have

maintained that women must look for protection from dishonour, babes and women for safety. The opinion is already being expressed on all hands and being actively given effect to that every householder henceforth must be prepared to defend his own threshold. The youth are on fire with the notion, and perfectly rightly too, that he who cannot use a weapon is not to be reckoned as a gentleman. Whoever is responsible for the recent disorders has set forces in motion whose end can only be dimly guessed at. It is an ill day for a man when he arrays against himself all the finer sense of a country and a people. The higher classes may seem supine and smooth, but this is because the force by which they are moved is not hasty impulse, but consolidated opinion, not brutality, but mind, and mind is a vastly more potent weapon than force.

From the Panjab too, comes news that is equally disquieting. Hard on the heels of the *Punjabee* trial have followed a series of measures unprecedented in modern India, and here also the comment that occurs to us is one of gloom and warning. The rulers of the province seem to think that the temper of a Spanish *hidalgo*, with all its pride and courage and profound contempt for the lower orders, is to prove the panacea for political ill. They are deceived by the quietness and servility to which they have been accustomed. They do not know that men are transformed by ideas, and that for the plant of thought, there is no watering like repression, for the strengthening of a cause, no aid like martyrdom. This is not the case, when there is mere insubordination. But it becomes true, the instant the man who opposes the bureaucracy conceives of himself as an apostle. To say that the people of the Panjab are simple and childlike, fit only to obey, is, in such an hour, no answer to the crisis. For this is precisely the temper that leads men to throw themselves upon forlorn hopes. He will rule the Panjab success-



LALA LAJPAT RAI.

fully to-day, who can persuade the ruled that he is their leader. A Gladstone or a Bright might be able to do this. But the inquisitor, or the Philip II, will bring only disaster upon himself, and all about him, completing the work that Lord Curzon, of all men, was the one to begin!

**"Lala Lajpat Rai simply becomes
non est."**

So chuckles the magnanimous *Civil and Military Gazette* at the sudden arrest and deportation of Lala Lajpat Rai. But he does *not* become *non est*. Lajpat Rai removed from the scene of his fearless, self-sacrificing and all-embracing labours becomes a much greater power in the land than he ever was. His body is under arrest and removed to a distance, but "stone walls do not a prison make",—his spirit walks abroad; inspiring all to righteous and fearless lives for the sake of their beloved motherland. This is a distinct gain to the popular cause, inasmuch as prisons and deportation are losing their terrors, and glory instead of disgrace is coming to be associated with them. So that where formerly there were perhaps half a dozen men ready for the country's cause to defy all the frowns of tyranny, there would now be scores. To arrest and deport a man without trial is barbarous, we will not say un-English, for it is becoming daily clearer that the methods of Government, just even in critical times, associated with the English name, are soon to be in India a myth. The American writer Thoreau said at the time when slavery existed in America that "under a Government which imprisons any unjustly, the true place for a just man is also a prison." The British Indian Government is fast becoming a Government of this description. If it had any case against Lala Lajpat Rai which would bear the light of day, it should have tried him according to the established legal procedure. True he has been deported according to a regulation, but it was meant for other days and circumstances,

and judged by any just and civilized standard it is the negation of all law. The deference put forward on behalf of the Government in some Anglo-Indian papers is that Government will not want to make a martyr of him, or give him the notoriety of a public trial and so deported him. What a justification! And after all, is he not being considered a martyr, even by those Indians who do not belong to the class of extremist politicians to which he is said to belong? Is he not now more famous, notorious if you like, than ever he was, though he was sufficiently well-known before all over India? Evidently Government has acted upon the malicious and cowardly slanders of backbiters or its secret police, giving way to a panic which is utterly unworthy of its boasted strength and inexplicable in any government that really is and believes itself to be beneficent and just. It is again a case of conscience making one a coward. Ostensibly this despotic measure has been adopted to allay unrest and discontent. But the step taken will only deepen the discontent, though external signs of unrest may not be visible on the surface for a short while. It is plain that Government somehow connected the Rawalpindi riots with Lala Lajpat Rai but could not procure any evidence which would be considered conclusive in a law court. But the connection of the Nawab Salimulla of Dacca with the Comilla riots; if not with other riots in East Bengal, is very much clearer. But these riots having been directed against the Hindus the Nawab has been rewarded.

The mischief done, the property destroyed and the annoyance caused to Europeans in Lahore and Rawalpindi are a flea-bite compared to the state of utter anarchy that has prevailed in East Bengal for sometime past. Property worth *lakhs* has been looted and destroyed, houses burnt, men beaten and murdered, whole villages depopulated, and what is most atrocious, women ravished, almost under the very noses of European and

Indian officials who have proved themselves utterly unworthy of their hire. It has been openly alleged day after day without any official contradiction that Government officials not only did nothing to help and protect the people, but in some cases acted as the leaders of the bands of ruffians in much of this devilry, and not only did they not promptly arrest the ruffians, but in some cases arrested the injured Hindus instead. (Belated arrests of the hooligans do not mend matters). And all the while the scoundrel or scoundrels responsible for this state of things were (and still are) abroad, though their published utterances and public proceedings were proof positive of their guilt. On the other hand in the Panjab, on mere suspicion, a leader of his people is deported without trial, a man who

"was before the public, in the forefront of every movement for the good of his people—educational, religious, social and political—a man who was one in hundreds of thousands, and whom nobody ever accused of dark intentions or evil deeds, or anything approaching the shabby and the mean."

"A man so open-hearted and straightforward; so genial and disposed to be friendly to one and all without distinction of class or creed; whose services were at public command no matter from what quarter it came; of unsullied private character and spotless public career; whose life was an open book that any one might pass and read; who loved light and to work in the light; to whom nothing was so abhorrent as the powers of darkness—of tyranny and treachery, of persecution and perfidy, of bad faith and low association; who shunned the dark corners of dubious patriotism and always kept himself before the public gaze and in the sunlight of public criticism;—how could such a man of open movements and open actions bring upon himself a blow aimed in the dark, that in its terrible swiftness did not even allow him to lay bare his heart and show to all concerned how clean, how spotless, how devoid of mischievous thought or intent, in any shape whatever, it was!"

The lesson, therefore, that people will be inclined to draw is, if you agitate vigorously and effectively against the pet measures of the Anglo-Indian bureaucracy, *e. g.*, the partition of Bengal, if you set on foot a movement

calculated to touch the pocket of the shop-keeping Englishman, there will be all the horrors of anarchy let loose upon you; but if anywhere the mob molest any person of a white skin, a leader of blameless life must be deported without a trial! As if any Indian gentleman could ever have any sympathy with ruffians. It is certain that the Panjab Government could not digest its defeat at the hands of the canal colony passive resisters who refused to pay the increased water-rate; and so it caught hold of some passing disturbances to make a scapegoat of Lajpat Rai, the most prominent figure in the Panjab; though the agrarian difficulties are its own creation. But his deportation will create more unrest than the Government has yet imagined, not only in the Panjab, but throughout India. It is strange that even a British statesman of Mr. Morley's calibre does not understand that the cure for unrest is not repression, but the removal of the causes of unrest. The India Office has now become irretrievably the grave of Mr. Morley's reputation as a liberal statesman. We had long ceased to hope that he would do anything worth having for India, unless we could force his hands, which is under present circumstances impossible; but we never thought that he would consent to the Russianization of the Indian administration.

Repression and Liberalism.

In reply to questions on the subject of Lala Lajpat Rai's deportation in the House of Commons Mr. Morley took refuge in the time-honoured tyrant's plea that any discussion of the subject in Parliament or any division of opinion would weaken the authority of the executive. Alas for liberalism that it should come to this! That was Sir Edward Grey's plea in the Danshawi affair, it is repeated by Mr. Morley. But are executive authorities infallible? Is there to be no check over them? No Parliamentary control? There ought to be, there must be.

But how else, if not by discussion and division? In reply to a demand on the part of some members for the immediate repeal of the Regulation of 1818 under which Lala Lajpat Rai has been deported, Mr. Morley said his Government was determined not to strip the Indian Government of any weapon or law for the suppression of native disorders, "of which the mischief was enormous." We understand the meaning of liberalism now. Liberal is only Tory writ large. Let "native" disorders be suppressed by all means. But is there no civilised method of doing so? And were the Jamalpur riots not "native" disorders? What has Mr. Morley done to suppress them? One act of repression follows another in quick succession. Lord Minto has issued an ordinance empowering provincial Governments to practically deprive people of the right of public meeting in proclaimed areas. This is good. The mask is now thrown off. We are now privileged to see British rule in its native shape and hue. It is not of the people's choosing that discontent must now seek dark corners. It bodes ill for both England and India. But we must make the best of a bad situation. The blow is aimed particularly at Swadeshim and boycott, and generally at the rising spirit of nationalism. If we have any life, repression would be our salvation. If we have not, repression or its opposite would be all the same to us.

Anarchy in East Bengal.

Some Anglo-Indian papers aver that in Mymensing it was the Hindus that gave the provocation. Let it be granted. If so, why not detect the offending Hindus and punish them according to law? Are innocent men, and particularly women, to suffer for the provocation supposed to have been given by unknown persons? Are we to suppose that henceforth for that provocation instead of the rule of law, there is to be utter anarchy and rampant ruffianism? Where then does

British authority come in? What is its place? We are often told tauntingly and threateningly by Anglo-Indians in answer to our demands for self-rule that if to-day the British were to withdraw from India, the fate of Indians would be horrible. The British have not withdrawn from India;—nay, their iron grip is apparently firmer than ever. And yet there is a state of things in Mymensing which is in no respect less horrible than any state of anarchy that we have read of or can imagine. The tales of atrocities committed in Armenia or Russia stir the blood of the English people. But when such things happen in their own dominions, in India, why, are not the white men on the spot as just and merciful and infallible as angels, or perhaps more? But we digress. If the Hindus of East Bengal can survive this anarchy, and they will and must survive it, surely they will be able to survive the withdrawal of the British. If the Government could not promptly put down anarchy, it is unworthy of respect and confidence and unworthy to rule; if it could protect, but did not, in spite of previous warning which was actually given, it is still more unworthy to bear sway over a population which it has disarmed and has thereby emasculated and rendered defenceless. As a matter of fact the Hindus of East Bengal openly say that they have no confidence in the Government. And confidence or no confidence, Nemesis dogs the steps of the rulers of a country where the cry of ravished women assails the skies all unheard like a cry in the wilderness. The male population, too, of such a country must be worse than vermin if they cannot and do not risk their lives and all to safeguard the honour of their women. The whole affair is, in fact, most disgraceful to all the parties concerned: disgraceful to the local Hindus for the cowardice they have displayed in offering no resistance to the desecration of their temples and the destruction of the images of their gods and to the ravishing of their women; disgrace-

ful to the local Mussalman community for the large number of scoundrels that it contains; and disgraceful to the Government in whose territories such things could happen, unchecked, for days and weeks. The local Hindus seem to have reserved all their energy for sending telegrams to the papers by the yard. People would have felt more respect for them if they had made as many scratches on the bodies of the ruffians with even their finger-nails, as they have done with their pens on paper. All honour to the two Mussalmans who have lost their lives in defending others, and to the two Hindu women at whose hands two ruffians have got their deserts. Their heroism sheds the only ray of light on these horrible and disgraceful incidents.

What provoked the East Bengal ruffians.

It has been stated by Anglo-Indians that the Swadeshi and boycott movement is the cause of provocation of the Musalman mob. Before discussing this assertion, we will ask a question. These same Anglo-Indians have also stated at various times that the boycott was a myth, that it was still-born, that it was on the wane, that it was a failure; and they have quoted figures from the trade-returns to support their statements. Now, what we want to know is, if these assertions be true, how can the other statement be also true? If the boycott exists only in name, how can it provoke people? If it be a myth, a failure, it cannot have touched anybody's pockets, including the pockets of Muhammadan traders dealing in English goods, and, therefore, it can never have been a cause of provocation. As a matter of fact, however, the movement concerning itself as it does mainly with cloth and sugar, has benefited Musalmans more than Hindus. For in East Bengal the number of Musalman weavers is far larger than that of Hindu weavers. In Jamalpur itself, the place where ruffianism commenced, there are 1,110 Musalman weavers against 355 Hindu weavers.

And the Musalman agricultural population is vastly larger in that province than the Hindu. So that an increase in the area under the cotton or the sugarcane crop will certainly benefit the former community more than the latter.

These Anglo-Indian assertions, therefore, will not hold water. Nor is it at all probable that the Hindus can have persecuted the Muhammadans. For the latter vastly outnumber the former, and have proved that they can take care of themselves. Moreover, Hindu-Musalman relations in East Bengal have never been strained. Even now the better class Muhammadans condemn the excesses of their ruffianly co-religionists as strongly as the Hindus. As proof conclusive of the good relations subsisting between the two communities until almost the other day, may be adduced the fact that during the flood and famine last year the Musalman peasantry and labourers received from their Hindu brethren the largest amount of help. And it is the Hindu young men who are the most active Swadeshists and boycotters who worked hardest to give relief to the sufferers. Those evil-minded Musalmans who have been busiest in stirring up race-hatred, have, on the other hand, never moved a finger to help their famine-stricken co-religionists. The fact is, the arch offenders in this campaign of exciting race-hatred are Lord Curzon, Sir B. Fuller and his favourite subordinates, Mr. L. Hare, the Nawab Salimulla and his clique, including the authors of the Red Pamphlet, a section of the Anglo-Indian press and some unscrupulous Bengali Musalman papers in Bengal. But there is no one to bring them to book. Evidently, as the *Panjabee* trial shows, if Europeans kill or murder "Natives," that does not excite race-hatred; but if a journalist ventures honestly to comment on such cases, he is held to excite race-hatred. The act is not criminal, the comment is. Exciting hatred or the fury of



THE MELON-EATERS.

By Murillo.

the mob against the Hindus, as the Bengali Musalman papers *Mihir o Sudhakar* and *Moslem Suhrid* have been doing, is not criminal, no. For are not the Hindus as a race, either negligible, or *non est*, or worthy of no treatment? If we take it for granted that Government had good grounds for interfering from the annoyance caused and damage done to a few Europeans that these were the premonitions of a bloody rising or its like, and, therefore, took prompt and decisive steps to meet the emergency, how shall we explain its indifference to, or incapacity or delatoriness in suppressing organised robbery, murder and rape in East Bengal? Was a cynical contempt for the Bengali Hindu who talks and writes but does not strike at the bottom of the different attitudes of Government in the two Provinces? Or shall it be justifiable to suppose that Government thinks the boycotting and anti-partitionist Hindu has been rightly served? Or shall we think that the Englishman is chivalrous only in the case of white women, but does not care how many "native" women are outraged? We know anyone of these suppositions will be repudiated, but an explanation of the different attitudes of Government noted above would be wanting.

the Bengal Partition and efficiency.

One of the grounds on which the partition of Bengal was supported and effected was "administrative efficiency." It is a fine phrase, but can even the most brazen-faced among the supporters of that detestable measure now assert that it has produced administrative efficiency? It has been a great engine of oppression and a potent instrument of race jealousy, though happily the better class Musalmans are still uninfected and probably will remain so in spite of bureaucratic efforts to the contrary. For, as we have said in our first note, the outbreak of hooliganism in East Bengal is not an interracial feud.

Krishna and Sisupal.

During the *Rajasuya Yajna* of Yudhishtira all the kings of India assembled at Hastinapur. In the *Yajna-griha* or Hall of Sacrifice Bhishma asked Yudhishtira to show respect to all kings assembled there by offering them flower-garlands. But the custom was to give a garland first to the most important personage among the guests. Yudhishtira asked Bhishma to whom he should give the highest honour. Bhishma's opinion was, 'who but Krishna is worthy of such honour!' On this Sisupal, Krishna's lifelong rival, became enraged and began calling him bad names and uttering insulting language to Krishna, Bhishma and Yudhishtira.

This scene of the Mahabharata is depicted in this picture. Sisupal is standing on the step of a dais on which is seated Bhishma. Being stung to the quick at Sisupal's insolent language Bhishma and Sahadeva are rushing forward from opposite directions to punish his insolence. In front is seated Krishna, quite composed and calm, and is restraining Sahadeva from the affray with a smiling face. It is to be noticed that in no picture has Ravi Varma painted Krishna with a dark complexion.

O. B.

The Melon-eaters.

The picture of the Melon-eaters reproduced in this number is one of the best painted by the famous Spanish artist Murillo. The original painting forms the richest treasure in the Pinacotheca or picture-gallery of Munich. On a hot summer-day, as we are having now in our province, two street-boys are eating melons with great relish. Their dog would also like to have a share in their feast. Was ever prince happier?

Buddha and Sujata..

Sujata, the wife of a rich land-holder of Senani, the village near which Buddha sat meditating under a banyan tree, had vowed an

If India ever presented the spectacle of a nation in that sense in which that word is understood in Western countries, it was in that period when Buddhism was at its zenith.

country. If we analyse the causes which contributed to the success of the building of the Indian Nation in that period, we find the main cause in the abolition of the caste system and hence in the elevation of the depressed classes.

There is a law in physics that when we wish to heat a liquid mass, so that the whole of it may be heated, we apply the heat to the top, but to its bottom. The phenomenon which is noticed on the application of heat to a liquid is known in physics as *convection*. The particles at the bottom being heated, rise to the top and those at the top go down to the bottom. It is by this interchange of particles by means of convection, that the whole mass becomes heated. Similarly, a movement to be a success must follow this law of physics. Those who are at the lowest stratum of society should be approached; they must be brought to the surface first by means of convection. Unless this is done, unless the depressed classes are elevated, there is no prospect of nation-building in India. If those men who are loudest in talk, are sincere, they should do what Buddha did. They should sacrifice their ease and comfort and aristocratic style of living and take to the methods of Buddha. Buddha was born a prince and by sacrificing his kingdom he succeeded in his divine mission. He did not believe in the classes. He elevated the depressed people. He spoke to the people in the language which they understood and not in the learned Sanskrit.

Nation-building in India can never be an accomplished fact unless and until the depressed classes are accorded the rights of man, and every attempt be made to bring them to the surface. Hence the great necessity of the abolition of the caste system. Unless this evil is got rid of, no thorough reform in any direction in India is possible—no reform whatever, whether political, social or religious.

We need not dilate on the necessity of approaching the people through the medium of their own language. Now-a-days, most of our leaders try to gain proficiency in speaking and writing only in English. But writing or speaking only in English will not contribute much to nation-building. To reach the masses, our vernaculars must be cultivated. Unless we do that, we shall not be able to influence the masses, who form the backbone of the nation.

Indians in the South African Colonies.

Last month a public meeting of the Indian residents was held in Madras to express sympathy with the resentment against the persecution of Indians in the South African Colonies. Mr. G. Subramania Iyer moved the following resolution:—

That in view of the persistent cruel persecution to which our countrymen in the South African Colonies are subjected, and also in the fact that his Majesty's Government has declined to disallow the Asiatic Ordinance in the Transvaal, this meeting records its opinion that no inhabitant of such Colonies, as has refused to treat Indians on a footing of equality, should be allowed to enter Civil or Military service in India.

That no such inhabitant should be permitted to acquire land or establish plantations in this country, or enjoy any of the benefits of labour legislation, and that such of them as are here already, be allowed to do the above only on certain restrictive conditions. This meeting further resolves that the public of India be exhorted to employ more largely, more rigorously, than at present, the weapon of boycott as a means of retaliation on the Colonies.

This is nothing more than what every self-respecting nation would do under the circumstances. Of course our Government not being a national Government, its sense of self-respect does not coincide with ours. Our demands will not, therefore, be given a hearing. That is certain. But nevertheless it is right and proper to formulate them.

Officials.

Our officials, both European and Indian, having human hearts, are capable of self-

improvement. So we hope they will not take it amiss if we ask them to ponder on the following passage from Count Leo Tolstoy's "Resurrection":—

"Officials are impermeable to the feelings of humanity as this paved earth is impermeable to the rain. Perhaps it is necessary to pave slopes with stones, but it is sad to look at earth deprived of vegetation, when it might be yielding corn, grass, bushes, or trees, &c. And it is the same thing with men. Perhaps these governors, inspectors, policemen are needed; but it is terrible to see men deprived of the chief human attribute; love and sympathy for one another. The thing is, that these people acknowledge as law what is not law, and do not acknowledge

as law at all, the eternal, immutable law written by God in the hearts of men. They are terrible, more terrible than robbers. A robber might, after all, feel pity, but they can feel no pity, they are inured against pity as these stones are against vegetation.

"There is a kind of business, called Government service, which allows men to treat other men as things without having human brotherly relations with them; and that they should be so linked together by this Government service that the responsibility for the results of their deeds should not fall on any one of them individually. It all lies in the fact that men think there are circumstances when one may deal with human beings without love. But there are no such circumstances."

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ENGLISH.

Key to interpret the Veda, by Professor R. R. Bhagawat, St. Xavier's College, Bombay; pp 64; price eight annas.

The object of the author is to prove that the Devas, Āsuras, &c., were originally tribes of men. Prof. Bhagawat has quoted many passages from the Rig Veda, but what he has been able to prove is that the name 'Deva' was sometimes applied to Rishis and the name Asura to their enemies, as in the following passage: "May we, the Devas, thus overpower the Āsuras!" Rv. x. 53. 4. From this it does not follow that the Devas and Āsuras were two tribes of men. Our interpretation is that the worshippers of the Devas were sometimes called Devas and the worshippers of the Āsuras, Āsuras. In the Avesta we find that the worshipper of Ahura-Mazda is to declare:—

"I cease to be a Deva (Nái sími Daevo). I profess to be a Mazda-worshipper of the order of Zarathustra" (Yasna. xii. I).

So they were two religious sects and not tribes of men.

It is contended that 'Sina-deva,' 'Mura-deva,' 'Sura-deva' were divisions of a particular tribe named the

Deva. These words are not in the 'Karmadharaya Samasa' as the Professor takes them to be, but these are examples of 'Bahuvrihi Samasa.' "Sisnadeva" means those persons whose Deva or God was Sina (Phallus) i. e., Phallic worshippers. The other words should be similarly interpreted. Even in the Upanishads we meet with similar compounds as *Pitri-deva, Matri-deva, Atithi-deva* (Tait. 1. 21).

The Professor further says that Brahman and Rishis were also names of different tribes of men, but these mistakes are too glaring to need refutation.

We are also told Mitra, Varuna, Agni, Asvins, Soma, Vayu, Ushā, Ap, &c., were all names of particular individuals. It appears that our author has completely failed to grasp the meaning of the Vedic texts. He has taken in a literal sense what are really poetic expressions of devout souls. When a worshipper won a victory, he might justly sing that his gods fought for him—nay, he saw them fighting for him. When a Rishi said that he and Varuna embarked together—this does not mean that a person named Varuna accompanied him, but simply that the Rishi felt the presence of the god at the time. It should further be borne in mind that man creates gods after his own image and describes them as if they were men. From

anthropomorphic character of the gods we should conclude that they were really human beings.

The Asvins are taken to be joint rulers of a tribe called 'Asva'. This tribe is said to have been polyandrous—simply because the two Asvins had one wife named Suryyā. Here Max Muller's theory seems to be correct. The Asvins are Day and Night, or rather the gods of Day and Night, and as the sun moves between Day and Night, it may practically be called their wife. Hence the feminine form of the Sun—Suryyā.

That gods are but deified men is not a new theory and Mr. Bhagawat has tried to revive this theory and establish it from the Hymns of the Vedas. But he has quoted only those passages which describe the character of gods anthropomorphically; and in many cases his conclusions are based on obscure passages.

The Professor has written a learned treatise, but we cannot accept his interpretations and conclusions.

M. C. G.

The Deccani Brahman.

This is a pamphlet written by the same author and is being distributed *gratis*. The tract is very interesting and contains useful information regarding the Deccani Brahman. There was a time when the Brahman class, with the next three, formed a compact whole, and there were no discordant elements in society. The higher classes had no objection to dining with Sudras. But everything changed with the rise of Jainism. The doctrine of *Ahinsa* [not killing] destroyed the enviable harmony prevailing among the four classes. "The breach thus caused in the camp for the first time by the bursting of the bomb of *Ahinsa* (!) was with all likelihood the beginning of the caste system." The two castes formed just at the beginning of Hinduism were the vegetarian and the non-vegetarian, and under the slow working of the dogma of '*Ahinsa*' the nation has been split up into the several sub-castes as we find them to-day.' The author exhorts the Deccani Brahmins to do away with the caste system and throws out a few hints as to the method of procedure. This is the sum and substance of the pamphlet.

The theory of Mr. Bhagawat is a novel one, but it will not stand the test of criticism.

M. C. G.

Adam Smith, by F. W. Hirst. (Englishmen of Letters New Series).

When Mr. John Morley first designed the Series of *Englishmen of Letters*, and drew up a selection of authors who are the contemporaries of all ages by virtue of their style, or thought or subject-matter, he perhaps little dreamt that a time would come when writers of indifferent worth and inferior significance would be indiscriminately included and monographs on them exceeding the prescribed limits would be flung about. Every season the publishers make new announcements, and the net being spread wide all sorts of mediocrities have come in. The original plan of Mr. John Morley to admit only authors who have climbed the steep path leading to the temple of fame has been discarded, and arrangements have been blindly made to perpetuate the memory of those whose repose in the vaults of oblivion the world is loth to disturb. For instance, we have read the lives of Crabbe and Thomas Moore, whose poetry judged by the canons of modern criticism appears rigid and jejune. The ferocious realism of the one, and the lyrical tawdriness of the other so much appreciated during their day are things which readers of the present generation can never bring themselves to relish—and yet both the poets have each about 200 pages devoted to their works by writers who have made it clear from the very beginning that they are dealing with literary nullities whose harp-strings are much too mouldered to make any articulate music to set our pulses athrob.

In looking through the present volume we have been agreeably employed. Adam Smith though not a master figure in literature, is the bearer of what has been called a world-moving idea, which has changed the financial basis of every civilised Government.

Mr. Hirst treats of the salient features of Smith's life with an unsurpassable lucidity and has woven in apt anecdotes to enliven his pages. 'The store is rich and the steward is bounteous.' Mr. Hirst's style never shows any traces of rhetoric of the lower sort, and he is never open to the charge of being a lawless architect of reckless phraseology. His remarks about Smith's works do not certainly constitute any elaborate and far-reaching criticism but are rather in the nature of a running commentary to help and elucidate the chief points. The most refreshing chapter is on '*The*

Wealth of Nations and its Critics", and some of the passages are full of genuine eloquence. There is no strain of sensational hero-worship in Mr. Hirst's nerves. We, therefore, make no apology for giving below one or two extracts:—

"How is it that the *Wealth of Nations* is still read and studied and quoted as if it had been published yesterday? How is it that British statesmen from Pitt to Gladstone should have sought authority in the same pages? After all, the question we are asking is a wider one. Why is this one of the great books of the world? We would like to say simply: It is the world's verdict; take it or not as you like; but whether you like it or not it stands. One cannot argue with universal consent . . . So far from being an isolated study of abstract doctrines, political economy is treated from first to last as a branch of the study of mankind, a criticism of their manners and customs, of national history, administration and law. Even when silencing a battery or throwing up a counter-work he is very seldom disputatious or doctrinal . . . There is no scarecrow of their abstractions and deterrent terminology flapping over the pages to warn men off a dismal science. The laws of wealth unfold themselves like the incidents in a well-laid plot. It was left for his successors to show how dull economics might be, and how suitable for the empty class-room of an endowed chair."

In another place Mr. Hirst goes on to say:

"But Smith took no narrow or penurious view of national economy. He did not prize thrift for its own sake. Like Burke and Cobden, he valued frugality in nations as a safeguard against wrongdoing, a prime source of security and independence, and a perpetual check upon the lust of conquest and aggrandisement that so often lurks under the respectable uniform of a missionary civilisation. As he describes the discoveries of the New World and the beginnings of modern empire, a poignant epithet or a burning phrase tells the lesson of man's romantic scramble for the fleece that was so seldom golden, of man's credulous hunt for a fugitive Eldorado."

The last paragraph of the book is thus rounded off:

"Of his contemporaries, the nearest perhaps in spirit are Turgot and the younger Burke, the Burke of the American Revolution and of Free Trade and Economical Reform. But Burke and even Turgot were in a sense men of the past. Though their radiance can never fade, their influence wanes. But Smith has issued from the seclusion of a professorship of morals, from the drudgery of a commissioner-ship of customs to sit in the council-chamber of princes. His word has rung through the study to the platform. It has been proclaimed by the agitator, conned by the statesman, and printed in a thousand statutes."

The book has been brightly written as the above extracts would show, and though we shall not go so far as to say that the author has made any substantial contribution to the science of Political Economy which Adam Smith has decked with so many points of light, we must unhesitatingly pronounce it to be one of the most readable in the New Series.

Ghazipur.

HIRA LAL CHATTERJI.

URDU.

Dunya ke nau Mahapurush or The Nine Great of the world, by Mr. Dewan Chand, M. A., Prof. D. A.-V., College, Lahore (Price five annas).

In this little book Mr. Dewan Chand has brought together the lives and sayings of nine great men, two (i.e., Socrates and Epictetus) from Europe, two (Franklin and Garfield) from America, and five, (Ramchandra, Yudhishtira, Buddha, Guru Gov Singh and Swami Dayanand) from India. The idea of making the lives of really good and great men of as well as foreign countries familiar to our English knowing countrymen, through the medium of their own vernacular, is a happy one, but it has been happily executed. First, as to the selection of great men and the way in which the lives have been written. We think that in his selection Mr. Dewan Chand has been more than partial to his own country and less than fair to the rest of the world. He has chosen five of his nine heroes from India, but mentions Europe, the great and mighty world of Islam and regions of China and Japan are entirely unrepresented. As he gives to his book the title of *Nine Great Men of the World*, this is hardly just. Moreover, in choosing Garfield instead of Lincoln as one of the two representative Americans, we think, he has again made a mistake. Apart from these mistakes of selection his method of describing the lives of his heroes is not at all interesting. The narrative of facts is bald and meagre, while such as it is, Mr. Dewan Chand has made it too didactic. The moral of a biography or of a story should spring naturally out of it and ought not to be obtruded constantly on the attention of the reader.

As for the language of the book, it can by no stretch of imagination be called literary: it bristles from beginning to end with Punjabi provincialisms and with unidiomatic and barbarous translations of English expressions. It is true that Mr. Dewan Chand has tried to disarm criticism to a certain extent by saying in the preface that he does not know better Urdu; but this explanation can be hardly deemed sufficient. Every author is responsible for the purity of the language which he uses, and we are sorry that in writing books in Urdu our Punjabi friends depend too much upon their own "current" language and do

take the trouble of studying the old masters and taking copious draughts from the well of Urdu style. For such a book as Mr. Dewan Chand's—such as regards matter and language—there exists a very good model in Urdu, the first two parts of *Qisas-e-Akbar*, and we hope that when Mr. Dewan Chand makes his next effort in this direction, he will try, in due measure at least, to imitate those charmingly-written sketches.

M. Z.

Prakasha Deva ji ki Sawaneh Umri (The Life of Gauama Buddha), by *Prakash Deva ji*, in three parts—printed at the *Rifah Am Steam Press, Lahore*, Price Re. 1.

This is a short but well-written biography of the founder of Buddhism written by Mr. Prakash Deva, a Brahmo missionary. Such books are a welcome addition to Urdu literature for they help in the diffusion of light by acquainting our ignorant and bigoted friends with the facts of their own old religious movements, movements of which the present reform movement is the legitimate successor. The book is written in a simple and vigorous style, but the language is hardly literary. It presents a very good sample of that *khichri* style of Urdu, which some Arya Samaji writers have created in the Punjab and against which we think it our duty to protest. Another defect which we wish to point out is the absence of the critical spirit in the sifting of facts. Ancient biographical literature whether Hindu, Buddhist or Jain, teems with the marvellous, and it is the duty of all modern writers to winnow for the golden grains and to accept only those facts which stand the test of rational criticism. We hope to see improvements in both these respects if another edition of the book is called for.

M. Z.

1. *Sukhundan-i-Faras*, by *Maulana Azad*. *Mufid-ul-Im Press, Lahore*. Rs. 2-8-0

2. *Qand-i-Parsi*, by the same author. *Newalkishore Press Printing Works, Lahore*. 8 annas.

3. *Maktoobat-i-Azad (Letters of Azad)*. *Makhzan Press Agency, Lahore*. 6½ annas.

We do not think that there is any genuine lover of Urdu who does not love *Azad* and his writings, and it is with great pleasure that we welcome the new edition of that author's works which is being issued from Lahore. He is one of the few, very few, writers of really good Urdu prose, and his style though simple, easy and natural, is without full of many beautiful images, happy phrases and charming conceits, which show the hand of the master. *Azad* handles the Urdu language, as one to the manner born, alike in prose and verse, and though the credit of reforming Urdu literature is given by a certain school to *Maulana Hali*, we think that it belongs rightly to *Azad*. His style is free alike from the dignified dullness of his predecessors and contemporaries, and from the mental debauchery in which many of the present day fiction writers like to indulge. The artificial diction, the false allegories, the meaningless antitheses and the barren rhymes which the taste of the pre-mutiny literary world approved, are not allowed to encumber *Azad's* style, but in their place we find in it a freshness, a sincerity and a direct and fertile return to Nature which is truly exhilarating. *Sukhundan-i-Faras*, the first of the books under review, consists of two parts. In the first, *Azad* deals with the philology of the Persian language, a language which he knew as well as he knew his own native Urdu and which he loved with all the fervour of his ardent nature, and deals with such a dry subject in such a popular and interesting manner that even a beginner may follow him with ease and pleasure. He traces the common ancestry of the Persians and the Hindus and discusses the similarity in their manners, customs and religion with the impartiality, the breadth of view and the knowledge of a real critic. His comparative analysis of Persian and Sanskrit words and his explanation of many philological difficulties which had puzzled several generations of Persian Lexicographers because they were utterly ignorant of Sanskrit and, refusing to see beyond their noses, tried to explain everything by the help of Arabic, are as happy as they are convincing. He opened a vast field of inquiry, and though it has been neglected by those who came after him, yet their neglect and ignorance cannot affect the credit which belongs to *Azad*. In the second part the author deals with the history of Persian Literature and explains in his own beautiful way the

modifications which it had undergone under different influences—geographical, religious, social and political. Azad tries to bring out prominently the native strength and beauty of the Persian tongue and proves that as compared to Arabic it is neither so weak nor so poor as many people seem to imagine. It is regrettable that Azad could not bring his account down to the present day and give us a description of the Persian literary Renaissance of the Nineteenth century. But incomplete as it is, it is one of the finest books extant in Urdu literature, alike in its matter and manner. It deals with subjects—philology and literary criticism—which were till then quite unknown to the Urdu-reading public and is written in a style which is alike the admiration and despair of his imitators.

Qand-i-Parsi is an elementary book written with the object of teaching that language, as it is spoken in its native home, to the people of Hindustan. Persian was for many centuries the literary language of the ruling race in India, and Indian authors and poets have written much in that language which the world will not willingly let die. But being transplanted from its native home, it ceased to grow after a time and got stereotyped. The way in which it was taught and learnt in our *makhzabs* and the way in which it is taught and learnt in our schools, reminds one of those deplorable defects and errors in the teaching of classical and foreign languages in England, of which one reads in English educational books. It was to cure this defect and to teach Persian as it is spoken that this bright little book was written. The author in addition to his excellent education in Persian had the advantage of living for a considerable time in Persia and he has dealt admirably with his subject. The last book in our list is a collection of the letters of Azad which at first appeared in the *makhzan* and are now published in

book-form with an introduction by *Jalib*. Their charming style, their literary grace, their naturalness and their dramatic touch reminds one of that period of Urdu letter-writers, *Ghalib*. We hope and trust that among the heaps of trash which is being published day after day under the guise of Urdu literature, the genuine literary gems of Maulana Azad will not fail to be appreciated even by a reading public which revels in fifth-rate translations of unsavoury English novels.

M. Z.

BOOKS RECEIVED.

From Macmillan & Co., Ltd., London.

ON MUNICIPAL AND NATIONAL TRADING. By the Right Honourable Lord Avebury. Second Edition. 1907.

From the Clarendon Press, Oxford.

THE GOVERNMENT OF INDIA: being a Digest of the Statute Law relating thereto. By Sir Courtenay Herbert, K. C. S. I. Second Edition. 1907.

From Thomas Nelson & sons, London.

NELSON'S INDIAN READERS. Books I, II and III. 1907.

From the Panini Office, Allahabad.

THE PRIVATE JOURNAL OF THE MARQUESS OF HARTINGTON. Reprinted from the Second Edition. 1907.

From N. M. Tripathi & Co., Bombay.

MARRIAGE FORMS UNDER ANCIENT HINDI LAW. By Gowardhanram Madhavaram Tripathi, B.A., LL.B. 1906.

From G. A. Natesan & Co., Madras.

REPORT OF THE MADRAS PROVINCIAL CONFERENCE. 1907.

From Cassel & Company, Ltd., London.

THE OTHER SIDE OF THE LANTERN. By Sir Frederic Treves. Popular Edition. 1906.